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Portrait of Mr. S. P. Gauss

S. P. Gauss

AN ACCOUNT
OF THE
PRIVATE LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES
OF
SALMON PORTLAND CHASE,
BY
ROBERT B. WARDEN.

"It does not astonish me that some good men consider me an enigma."

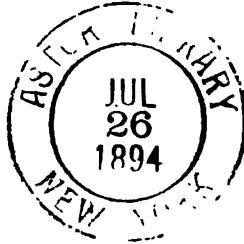
CHIEF JUSTICE CHASE'S REV. MR. DANFORTH.

CINCINNATI.
WILSTACH, BALDWIN & CO.,

1874.

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CHIEF JUSTICE WAITE:

DEAR SIR:

Acquainted with your virtues, long familiar with your learning and ability, and very proud of your esteem, I venture to inscribe to you, without your knowledge, this account of the private life and public services of your illustrious predecessor. That the work which takes this liberty is markedly imperfect, no one can perceive more clearly than I; but, in spite of its defects, I am quite certain that at least to readers such as you, it must appear inspired by no unworthy object. Would that it were worthier of its design!

Yours truly,

R. B. WARDEN.

WASHINGTON, 1874.

May 1951
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1951

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¹ Of this gentleman's book about Rosecrans' campaign, Mr. Chase said: "It is vivid, rapid, clear."

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INTRODUCTION.

"A GREAT trust!" said Mr. Sumner, very gravely, when he fully learned the nature of the matter furnished for this work by Salmon Portland Chase. It was, indeed, a great trust which the hero of this work, in full possession of his faculties, deliberately, without having been pressed, and after much reflection, reposed in my discretion. In extremely trying circumstances, after his decease, I clung to the performance of that trust, and, in extremely trying circumstances, I have faithfully discharged it, according to the best of my ability and understanding. The result is here presented to the public.

Salmon Portland Chase did not elect to repose in any member of his family the confidence in question. He did not even wish to empower any member of his family to supervise or, in any manner, influence my biographic work. His fondness for his family was very proud, but it was not blind. He must have felt that, having been thrice married, he could not have properly allowed to either of his daughters, or to both, the right to overrule or modify the confidence by him reposed in a preferred biographer. And very well did he understand, that I would not have suffered either him or them, or any other person, to supervise or even greatly influence the composition of the work which had been more than commenced when, without even a suggestion from me as to the kind of matter proper to be furnished by him, he began to select letters, diaries, and other documents for my use.

In Chapter LI will be found all but a few paragraphs of a birthday letter, which was answered, in characteristic fashion, by Chief Justice Chase. In that birthday offering I made known to him the then intended *method, scope, and spirit* of this work. The few paragraphs just mentioned read as follows :

"You had learned, before I wrote this letter, that, in order to compose a work of the desired, and, as far as possible, *determined* description, aid from you appeared to me almost essential. You can point out some materials which, without your help, I could not—at least might not—easily discover. You can *furnish* parts of the desired material. Under this head, I would be happy to receive some autobiographic contributions, as shall be explained. Why not? Supposing you to have the leisure

and the disposition to assist me to the full extent desired, why hesitate about complying with my wishes?

"Full compliance can not make you in the least responsible for any word or syllable of mine, either in this letter or in any [other] part of the work of which it is to form a portion. What I *resolve* in this respect, you will quite naturally *wish*. You will desire me to set out with perfect freedom from any one's dictation or suggestion, and to maintain that freedom to the end. This letter, being inserted in the book as its obviously becoming introduction, will serve to protect each of us in the respect to which attention is now given.

"Of my wish to win, if possible, some autobiographic contributions, a more particular account must form, in part, at least, the subject of another letter."

There never was a time when I would have allowed the Chief Justice himself, or any other person, to dictate to me a word of the work, except as just indicated. Nor was the fact of that determination confined to my own breast. It was published to the readers of the *Ohio State Journal*, and to other persons.

Knowing well my purpose in that behalf, Chief Justice Chase did not even wish to change it, and, in view of it, reposed in me a confidence which I may well say was quite unlimited. And he who so liberally trusted me was well acquainted with the faults and foibles of the man he was so ready to accept as preferred biographer.

In the birthday letter, from which an extract has already been given, I very naturally expressed my hope that the work might be completed during the life-time of its hero. He had not much hope, as he explained to me on more than one occasion. Even had he been as hopeful as myself, he would never have been even willing to supervise the work, or *to be responsible for my utterances in it*. He knew quite well that my views, in some important points, were very different from his own—especially with reference to public economics, political parties, and religion.

In the exercise, however, of the delicate and difficult discretion thus confided to me, I have given much consideration to the evident conceptions of Chief Justice Chase himself, as to the due fullness and minuteness of biography in its relation to inner life.

At three and twenty years of age, he contributed to the *North American Review* a biographic sketch; and he once intended to offer to the public a life of his legal teacher, the illustrious Wirt.

Of this I first learned when, substantially, he said to me, responding to my intimation that I had been urged to write a life of him, and that, on certain conditions, I might be inclined to undertake that public service:

"I can only say to you what was said to me by Mr. Wirt on a similar occasion: If it is to be done at all, I should prefer to have it done by such a friend as you."

After his death I learned much more about the matter here referred to. In one of his letter-books was found a memorandum, indicating that he must have actually undertaken to write a life of Wirt. On that occasion, doubtless, he considered more than superficially the requisites of good biography. Indeed, there are indications that he probably devoted study to that subject, not only when he wrote his biographic sketch of Brougham, but shortly afterward, when he received that number of the *North American Review* which gave to readers his own article on the *Effects of Machinery*.

Article V of the number here referred to is entitled *Croker's Boswell*. Doubtless, it was read by Mr. Chase with more than ordinary interest. Very well, this article discusses the extent to which biography is free and therefore bound, if I may so express myself, to show the private life of its hero. Here is an extract from it:

"It has been very common to speak of the biographer of Johnson in terms of contempt. He has been heavily charged with violating the intimacy of friendship and the sacredness of private life, in giving the character of Johnson so openly to the world; but it should be stated, at the same time, that he did it, not in malice, but in admiration, and that he was sustained in it by the authority of Johnson himself. The *Tour to the Hebrides*, which is even more particular in these points than the *Life*, was submitted to Johnson, who, far from disapproving, added to it some of his own recollections. Sir John Hawkins states, that when Johnson himself was charged with being guilty of the same offense in his *Lives of the Poets*, he said: 'The business of the biographer is to give an exact account of the person whose life he is writing, and to discriminate him from others by any peculiarities of character and sentiment he may happen to have.' So that, in the opinion of the person most interested, Boswell is clearly justified in what he has done. The truth is, that mankind are much more apt to outpour their indignation on follies than on vices; and to this taste, on their part, Boswell, who was highly gifted with the former attributes, has always been a victim. It is evident enough, from his portrait by his own partial hand, that he was vain to a degree which irritated his inferiors; that his curiosity was intense and prying; that he had a feverish passion for excitement, which made it his special delight to attend intellectual parties and public executions, and all scenes that could for the moment interest a mind whose activity was far beyond its strength. But it seems absurd to deny that he had the capacity to estimate and the taste to enjoy the intellectual society of such a man as Johnson. We remember that Dr. Clarke, the traveler, says, that for the sake of Tweddell's society, he would have consented to black his shoes; and one can readily believe that Boswell was influenced by a similar enthusiasm in the case of Johnson, whose conversation would certainly repay such attentions and sacrifices as well as that of any man who ever existed."¹

Dr. Clarke, the traveler, either thought too much of Tweddell or too little of himself. But the passage just quoted is presented on account of that which it suggests, respecting the extent to which

¹*North American Review*, Vol. 84, pp. 92, 93.

biography may go, or must go, in complete performance of its undertaking.

I have endeavored so to handle my material that the work at large may be found so to show the tenor of the life that it professes to relate, that every fair-minded peruser of its contents may be enabled to give sentence according to the rule of judgment thus¹ laid down by Chase himself: "It seems to me better and wiser to judge particular acts by the general tenor of life, than the general tenor of life by particular acts."

On the whole, considering how very largely this volume has drawn from Chase's diaries, letters, and other word-work, readers may expect to find, in the work at large, a pretty accurate account of the character and the career of the man who, in 1868, wrote to an old acquaintance that he was not astonished to find some good men considering him an enigma.

Does this work effect the reading of that riddle? We have seen that if the judgments which my humble part in the production of these pages has, from time to time, expressed or less distinctly intimated, as to the characteristics or the conduct of the life before us, shall appear unwarranted, each reader is to have at hand the means of forming his own judgment for himself.

On the other hand, to *hide* my own opinions would have been improper. To advance them pedagogically, or with the air of final judgment, would have been as unbecoming. They are calmly and dispassionately offered to the fair consideration of enlightened and attentive readers.

Let me say a word about the matter of distinctively historic interest, presented by this work.

In a notice of Sparks' biography of our lame revolutionary dandy, Gouverneur Morris—a most interesting character—the *North American Review* set out as follows:

"There is no sin which more easily besets the biographer of public men than a reluctance to admit the fact that they ever had any private life; yet we know not that the dignity of a statesman would be impaired by such an admission, or that the parlor and the fireside are much less interesting than the Cabinet or the legislative hall. Sir James Mackintosh assures us that the biographer should introduce historical detail no further than the clearness and accuracy of his narrative require; and that the historian, on the other hand, should be careful to avoid all private particulars which can not be regarded as essential."²

¹Letter to Oliver Johnson, Esq., dated May 30, 1864.

²Vol. 34, 465.

Dr. Peabody subjoins :

"The rule is certainly a judicious one ; and it has been faithfully applied in his own biography of one of the greatest and best men in England's annals."

If the word accuracy denotes enough to comprehend the notion of fullness, the rule would indeed seem unexceptionable.

Something like an overture to the whole public life of Salmon Portland Chase may be found in an article, contributed by him, at three and twenty years of age, to the *North American Review*. That piece, which had first done service as a lyceum lecture at Cincinnati, went before the readers of the *Review* in July, 1831. Having for its subject the *Life and Character of Henry Brougham*, it contains these paragraphs :

"It is well said, that 'history is philosophy teaching by example.' But history seldom condescends to the teaching of individuals ; and when she does, she instructs us rather in the arts of war than in the works of peace ; noticing, briefly, and withal somewhat superciliously, the noblest designs and labors of philanthropy, and even the most glorious civil triumphs, while she records, with all the blazoning of the most gorgeous description, the achievements of military prowess, or details with scrupulous minuteness the intrigues of courts. Thus the examples furnished by history are not adapted to the instruction of common life. They show us man in his robes of state and under the influence of artificial constraint ; not in his every-day dress, and acting from the genuine promptings of the heart. They exhibit to our view a man, not of nature's making, but of art's making.

"Now biography teaches by better examples than these. Her instructions are adapted to peace as well as to war ; to man as an individual as well as to man in society. She holds up for our admiration and imitation men who have never seen the tented field. She sits by the philosopher in his closet, and notes the laborious processes of thought by which his mind struggles to reach, and at last does reach, some mighty and all-comprehending principle. And, to waken in the hearts of other men a noble emulation, she tells of the inexpressible triumph with which he exclaims, *Εὐρηκα*. She accompanies the traveler in his toilsome journeys from land to land, to gather some worthy offering for science, or to add some yet undiscovered realm to the dominions of knowledge. She deems it no unworthy task to tell with what self-sacrificing spirit philanthropists have labored on through difficulty, and discouragement, and opposition ; to give effect to some grand scheme of benevolence, in many instances dying without one glimpse of the glorious triumph which was destined to crown their exertions. By examples such as these does biography teach, and teaches noble lessons.

"There is, however, yet another use of biography. It helps us to a better understanding of the way in which the great machine of society works. Thoughts and feelings are the prime forces that act upon it—the thoughts and feelings of individual men. And it often happens that one man, by the force of circumstances, or by the resistless energy of his own spirit, is placed or places himself in a situation to control, like an earthly god, the destinies of whole nations ; still oftener originates some new thought, or makes some new discovery or invention, destined in its consequences to change the whole aspect of society. It is important, there-

ferre, to know something of individual character and conduct, in order to understand the operations of these latent, but powerful, influences. Indeed, for our own part, if we might be permitted to preserve all the memorials of such men, we should hardly be disposed to quarrel with time for devouring the remainder of his omnifarious offspring."

Here, it seems to me, is error as to the force of the one in relation to the many; but the extract seems to me of decided interest as part of proper preparation for the body of this volume.

Let me add, that the object of this work is indication more than vindication. Often, too, in spite of its unfeigned and very high esteem of its hero, it is forced to own that it can not approve some act or saying of the man whose life it so faithfully endeavors to relate, whose character it so faithfully endeavors to portray.

I have, in a public print, defending the memory of Salmon Portland Chase, confessed that he did not seem to me a saint, or a deputy Omniscient. Holding that the article on which I was commenting paints a character which is little less than libelous to ascribe to the hero of this work, I have nevertheless distinctly indicated, in the public print referred to, my opinion that the biography of Salmon Portland Chase, which shall represent him as a faultless character, a man who lived a wholly blameless life, will be vainly false and foolishly unfaithful.

But, be that as it may, there should be no question that, in the matter drawn from his letters, diaries, etc., the attractiveness of this work, *in point of substance*, is at once various and great. Be the book, *in point of form*, acceptable or unacceptable to critics, who can fail to see the richness and variety of its contributions to the inner history of Lincoln's administration, and of other administrations? In the matter so derived, we see much of Lincoln, Seward, Stanton, Sumner, Grant, McClellan, McDowell, Hooker, Halleck, Hunter, Garfield, Butler, and somewhat less of Sherman, Sheridan, Rosocrans, and other famous figures. If I have not used my large discretion wisely, I have at least used it conscientiously; and the result is an extensive presentation of matter, as to which I can speak freely.

Mention also should be made in this connection of the light shed by passages in the body of the work on the inner history of Johnson's impeachment, and on the character and conduct of the man therein impeached.

Nor should this Introduction fail to mention that the body of the work presents a pretty full account of the Wirt family, in their relation to the hero's forming traits and tendencies; and that extracts from the hero's writings yield very interesting notices of

John Quincy Adams, Andrew Jackson, Martin Van Buren, Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, John Caldwell Calhoun, Chief Justice Marshall, Judge McLean, General Harrison, and other celebrities, whose days have been for sometime numbered with the past.

Of Cincinnati, particularly, and of Ohio at large, the volume, though entirely free from local partiality and sectional aversion, naturally takes large notice.

I have been charged with the high crime of not abandoning my trust. I plead guilty. I am proud of having so offended. And I venture even to predict, that the matter just referred to, having already enabled this work to survive prophetic criticism of all kinds, will save it against all efforts of any other form of pretended criticism to "review" it out of existence, or to circumscribe its proper circulation.

ROBERT BRUCE WARDEN.

WASHINGTON, 1874.

CHAPTER I.

ABOUT THE TOWN OF CORNISH AND THE CHASES—ANCESTRAL RELATIONS.

SALMON PORTLAND CHASE was born at Cornish, in New Hampshire, January 13, 1808. He greatly glorified the eminently honorable name he bore; but he was not the only Chase of whom the town of Cornish may be proud.

The Chases of the Cornish race appear to have been hardy, worthy men and women. In a note of the Appendix¹ will be found a pretty full account of them down to the days of our hero.² Let me pressingly persuade the reader to examine at once, at least cursorily, the matter offered in that note.

The same note of the Appendix calls attention to the so-called secession from New Hampshire of Cornish and fifteen towns associated with her in the act so designated.³ It may seem to some readers not a little remarkable that the Chases of Cornish should have so foreshadowed the action of the Southern States attempting to secede from the Union. And it may be thought that, in view of the course of Mr. Chase in 1861,⁴ the tract of Cornish history referred to tends to show that there was, if one may so express himself, secession in the hero's very blood. But this volume clearly proves, if it proves any thing, that Mr. Chase was not, in 1861, in favor of secession; that he never was in favor of secession; that he never held the singular political and social tenet, that a member of the Union may, by a simple exercise of sovereignty, without cause of revolution, and against the will of the States united with her, cease to be a member of the Union.

And it can not be necessary to devote much space in order to ef-

¹ Note A.

² Quite ridiculous appeared to me the ridiculing of the words "our hero," as used in a former work of mine. They are convenient words for use in such a work as this, and I have used them freely, simply to avoid too frequent use of other words.

³ Note A, Appendix.

⁴ Post, Chapter XXVI.

fect the showing that the so-called "seceding towns" of New Hampshire did not really secede at all.

This volume does not undertake to *vindicate* the views of Mr. Chase in 1861, as *indicated* in his noble letter to Judge Taft. The object of these pages has been fairly set forth in the Introduction—as indication rather than vindication. But of that no more need now be said.

A memory-haunted edifice of architectural pretensions faces the memory-haunted house in a room of which some of these paragraphs have been composed. *That* is the building in which Lincoln, looking on a stage of mimic life, was wounded mortally by a professional tragedian; *this* is the plain structure in which the assassinated President expired. I look over my left shoulder as I write and see the façade of what was Ford's Theatre. What wonder if I find myself comparing Chase with Lincoln?

Let me say, that, in my judgment, Lamon's *Life of Lincoln* is not written in the proper spirit where it touches Lincoln's lineage. The lineage of Chase is here respectfully and even tenderly regarded. In a certain sense it is a noble lineage. It has not what is often written and spoken of as gentle blood; yet it is gentle, in the best sense of that term. But had I found our hero's lineage like that of Lincoln, as described by Lamon, I would not have felt at liberty to treat it as that writer treats his hero's origin.

On the other hand, I have not felt at liberty to begin this work in such fashion as that in which Kennedy began the *Life of William Wirt*, our hero's legal teacher. Kennedy set out as follows:

"A narrative of the Life of William Wirt will present us the career of one who, springing from an humble origin, was enabled to attain to high distinction among his countrymen."

What do we mean by humble origin? I acknowledge that the origin of Salmon Portland Chase does not appear to me an humble origin. It rather seems to me a highly honorable origin, like that of William Wirt, as I had the honor to explain to the only surviving daughter of the last-named worthy, Mrs. Admiral Goldsborough, who, I may passingly remark, has allowed me, in this volume, to use a letter of her's, written to me on a very interesting occasion, during the life of her dear friend, Chief Justice Chase.

Eleven years ago, for the special benefit of a student-soldier (mentioned, we shall find, in moving terms, by Secretary Chase, in

a letter to the author of this work), I contributed to a paper habitually read by that young charge of mine, a piece called *At the Doctor's*. In that seeming story, Dr. Frisch, depicted as a person of the Hamlet mold, according to the views of Goethe, in his *Wilhelm Meister*—namely, of the fat and philosophic type—is represented as discoursing of a science, by him invented, which he calls Typonomy—the science of the thing called type, as it variously manifests itself in individuals, in families, in nations, and in races. Dr. Frisch is represented in one passage as explaining that what we often call the type of character “appears to be more sharply cut and boldly prominent in field and workshop than in drawing-rooms and boudoirs.”

“But,” adds the Typonomer—so Dr. Frisch is called—“we can discern great typic differences, even in the ‘higher circles.’ Goethe, I know, has ridiculed an English author for pretending to view nations by comparing the *ton* of each; but the ridicule itself appears to me somewhat ridiculous. The gentleman is, indeed, a type of cosmic dignity. We find it under the equator, at the tropics, and beyond the explorations made by Dr. Kane. And every-where we find the *ton* attempting to divest itself of *type*.”

“Explain that sentence, please,” said America.

“What I mean,” said Dr. Frisch, “is only this: that the lady and the gentleman are such, in part, by virtue of the efforts which they make to become pure woman and man—gentlewoman, gentleman; that is to say, refinement, culture, what you please to call it, seeks to eliminate all habits, tendencies, etc., which set up typical distinctions in the untaught lowly. It succeeds imperfectly, however. Still we have well-marked varieties, or types, of gentlehood, as well as well-marked types of boorhood, or villeinhood. Gentlehood appears, indeed, to be, to some extent, a bloodhood—to be born into a man or woman quite as much as it is taught into a man or woman. It appears accordingly in all conditions, from the highest to the lowest, from the cottage to the palace. Ah!

“The man’s the man for a’ that!”

“Yes,” continues Dr. Frisch, “refinement fails to obliterate *type*. *Ton* is only tone, and tone is sometimes *type*. The differential characters of a people—its types—may be studied in its ‘best circles,’ in its upper tens, as well as in its field or workshop classes. True, these type differences may appear less striking in the drawing-room than in the workshop or the field, in the man of fashion than in the peasant; for I repeat, the aim of *ton* is ever to divest itself of *type*.”

“Rather,” interrupted America, “to appear, as itself, the type of all types.”

“Not so,” insisted Dr. Frisch. “A *type* is a peculiar stamp impressed on a variety, by which it differs from the *model form* of all its kind—the standard, in other words, from which its *typical* distinctions vary it.”

In the same piece, the attention of the reader is directed to the daring lines of Dekker:

"Patience! why 'tis
The very soul of peace. The best of men
That e'er wore earth about him was a sufferer;
A mild, meek, patient, gentle, tranquil spirit—
The first true gentleman that ever breathed."

Perhaps, a bitter man might say that "the first true gentleman that ever breathed" was also the last. Let us here avoid all bitterness, however, and remember that the terms in question evidently refer to the *perfection* of the qualities by which a gentleman is marked. Assuredly there are, of native as of foreign birth and breeding, real gentlemen, most amiable, admirable gentlemen, in every portion of America. But, just as certainly, each bears about him some characteristic imperfection or defect, directly traceable to the characteristics of his people or his province; and each bears the *credit* also of provincial or national distinctions.

A deeper study of New England manners has made me more and more admire the households of that portion of the country. It appears to me, the "Yankee" portion of our hero's life was no bad preparation for his life at Dartmouth College and elsewhere.

Ruskin says that "you shall know a man *not* to be a gentleman, by the perfect and neat precision of his pronunciation." Certainly, the pronunciation of New England, generally speaking, was not perfect; certainly, in some particulars, New England manners could not be regarded as entirely unexceptionable. But good society, in the best sense of that expression was to be found at Cornish, Keene, and Royalton, at each of which places, as well as at Washington and Cincinnati, part of Chase's boyhood made its way toward manhood.

A dash of Western manner may have shown itself in our young hero on returning to New Hampshire from Ohio. Well, that dash may have improved him not a little.

It was an Eastern man who said, some years ago: "The Western man is the most representative of all our types, and best expresses the American idea." As this work unfolds its revelations, we may find that there is reason to reject that doctrine, if the Western man intended is a native of the West. The life before us is, perhaps, to show that the most representative of all our types is the man born in the East and liberally educated there, who early wanders westward and soon settles down, as a man of action and reflection, at the West, as did the hero of this narrative.

Lincoln was, no doubt, in the thoughts of Theodore Tilton, when he wrote the words just quoted, to the effect that the Western man, as best expressing "the American idea," must be deemed "the most representative of all our types." As already intimated, Chase appears to me more representative than Lincoln.

Chase, in one respect, was clearly very representative. He represented the mixed population of the country.

While Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Chase wrote to Hon. John H. Prentiss, of New Hampshire, a letter, containing a most interesting autobiographic sketch. Composed hurriedly, one morning before breakfast, that bit of writing is nevertheless a fair sample of the epistolary style and diction of the pen by which it was worked off. Its tenor is, in part, as follows:

"My father was an upright Christian man; was honored by the confidence of his fellow-citizens in an unusual degree. He was a farmer in Cornish, and is well remembered there. It was from Cornish that he was sent so often by the district to represent it in the State Council. My mother was the daughter of Alexander Ralston, of Keene, one of the early settlers, and a considerable proprietor. She inherited from her father, in the division of the estate, the large yellow building, occupied as a tavern, nearly opposite to the old Shantliff tavern. When my father removed from Cornish to Keene, late in 1815 or early in 1816, he kept that tavern for a time—perhaps a year or more. He died there in 1817, and his tombstone yet stands in the burying-ground of Keene. The change in the tariff, and other causes connected with the close of the war, had embarrassed his affairs; for he was concerned in mercantile business and in the manufacture of glass; and my mother was left with a considerable estate, heavily incumbered by debts. When these were paid she was comparatively poor, and we children had to depend somewhat on ourselves. She sacrificed and stinted herself as a mother only can to secure to us the best education she could. After my father's death she sold the tavern place and removed to the old yellow house."

Here is, quite clearly, indication of an eminently proper feeling toward parentage and pedigree. And here are, just as clearly, indications of an origin which ought not to be characterized as "humble."

Never was a word, good in itself, so shamefully misused as has been that word humble. Chase was no Uriah Heep. He was, on the other hand, at one time, clearly tinctured with what he himself has called, perhaps not happily, aristocratic feeling; but he never was a flunkey or a snob. He never was ashamed of father or of mother. He was always proud of mother and of father; always grateful for his lineage and for his nurture.

One account that has been furnished me, in answer to my wishes, runs as follows :

"Chief Justice Chase's mother was Jeanette Ralston, a Scotch woman, daughter of Alexander Ralston, Esq. Her mother's maiden name was Jeanette Balloch, who, in company with three of her daughters, (of whom Mrs. Chase was one) came from Scotland, in 1792, to join her husband, who had preceded her, and was established in business in Boston. He afterwards settled in Cornish, New Hampshire, and finally moved to Keene, in the same State, where he died. In the same ship with her was James Balloch, her cousin, grandfather of Gen. Balloch, of Washington, and her nephew, James Balloch, still living in Baltimore at an advanced age. Mrs. Ralston was a woman of remarkable energy and force of character, and from her the Chief Justice inherited many of his strong points."

Ithamar, the father of our hero, had for father Dudley, who, with his faithful Alice and seven children, his and hers, removed from Sutton, Massachusetts, to the banks of the beautiful Connecticut, before the town of Cornish had become a considerable settlement. According to Bishop Chase, he was the first white settler of that town, to which, in memory of the English town from which his ancestors had come, he gave the name of Cornish. But the Bishop also states that the town was originally granted to his father by Governor Bowdoin, while we are elsewhere told that Cornish was originally granted, June 21, 1763, to Rev. Samuel McClintock, of Greenland, and sixty-nine other persons.¹ But it is also related that the town was settled in 1765 chiefly by emigrants from Sutton, Massachusetts, whence, as we have seen, came stout Dudley Chase and noble and devoted Alice Chase, the paternal grandparents of our hero.

If I trust a memorandum furnished me by the Chief Justice, I may set down that Dudley Chase was born August 17, 1729. Alice Corbett's birthday, however, is, in that memorandum, set down as February 28, 1733, while the inscription on her tomb, giving the date of her death as September 13, 1813, sets down her age as eighty-one. Some accounts represent her place of birth as Meridon,

¹Historical Facts Relating to Cornish, New Hampshire, by H. Chase. Esq., Farmer & Moore's collections, II, 163. An article in *Harper's Weekly* says: "A little more than a century ago, Judge Chase, with his sons, General, Doctor, and Deacon Chase, became the proprietor of the township; gave two hundred acres, as by law compelled, to the church of England; named it after the town from whence their ancestors came; built themselves homes on the banks of the Connecticut, and in 1763 had it chartered."

Massachusetts. In that memorandum, Bellingham, in that State, is given as her birthplace.

In the Cornish graveyard is a tomb bearing the inscription: "In memory of the Honorable Samuel Chase, Esq., who died August 12, 1800, aged 93 years.

"Sweet peace and heavenly hope and humble joy
Divinely beam on his exalted soul.
Distinction gild and crown him for the skeys
With incommunicable luster bright."

Samuel's wife was Mary Dudley. Dudley Chase, our hero's grandfather, was their second son.

On Mary's tomb is the inscription: "In memory of Mrs. Mary Chase, the amiable wife of the Honorable Samuel Chase, Esq., who died February 12, 1789, in the seventy-eighth year of her age.

"Here lies in this grave the pious and the just,
The pattern of true wisdom, sleep in dust.
The memory of the just is blessed."

The father of Samuel, who was born at Sutton, Massachusetts, was Daniel, born at Hampton, September 20, 1685. Moving to Sutton, Daniel married Sarah March, January 2, 1707. This marriage was quite fruitful, Samuel being its first issue.

Daniel's father, Moses Chase, was the youngest son of Aquila. He was born December 24, 1663, and, on the 10th of November, 1684, he became the husband of Ann Folansbee, who bore to him many children.

Ithamar Chase married Janet Ralston at Keene, New Hampshire. Eleven children, of whom one died in infancy, were the issue of this union.¹

How admirably the beloved mother of this household knew and loved and served her children and her husband, evidence enough has

¹ Those who did not die in infancy were:
Hannah Ralston, born December 22, 1792.
Alexander Ralston, born April 17, 1797.
Abigail Corbett, born May 26, 1799.
Dudley Heber, born September 14, 1801.
Janette Logan, born November 8, 1803.
Alice Jones, born October 29, 1805.
Salmon Portland, born January 18, 1808.
Edward Ithamar, born March 2, 1810.
William Frederick, born June 8, 1818.

been already presented. How was it with the father of the family, the gentle Ithamar?

We have already seen that his renowned son, Salmon, wrote of him, in 1864, as follows:

"My father was an upright Christian man."

Not Christians only should accept that sentence as at least intended to express much meaning and convey important testimony. Christianity, even to the Jew, or to the Islamite, should seem at least the best, as it is the latest civilization, guided and directed by religion.

In one of the Trowbridge letters our hero says:

"My father was a good man, and well informed for one who had only the education of country schools and the yellow house. He kept me pretty straight by the mildest means."

The father was, perhaps, by nature and by habit, milder than the son who so portrays the former's character and conduct. Salmon was, it seems to me, of sterner stuff than his father, Ithamar; but we shall see as we go forward.

The same letter, in the next sentence, tells this anecdote:

"One day I and two or three more were rolling nine pins. There was an alley on our premises. My father came and said: 'Salmon, come and go with me to the field.' I lingered, hating to leave the game. 'Won't you come and help your father?' Only a look with that. All my reluctance vanished, and I went with a right good will. He ruled by kind words and kind looks."

Here is another account by the same son of the same sire:

"He was esteemed among his neighbors; was elected and for many years reëlected to the Council of New Hampshire; a Justice of the Peace, with Honorable before his name and Esquire after it, in which prefix and addition my mother took an innocent pleasure, mixed, perhaps, with a little pride. He was the honored and beloved friend of Mason and Webster, much younger, then a young lawyer, just entering on his career."

Long live the memory of Ithamar, our hero's father! It is wholesome to learn all we can of characters so patriarchal.

In the Prentiss letter, part of which I have already given, are the words:

"I have not seen the *Boston Courier*, and know nothing of what

it contained concerning me or my honored father, except from your notice of it. Why any body should seek to misrepresent facts concerning my early life or origin, which, in themselves, have not the least possible importance for the public, is not easy to understand."

What the *Boston Courier* contained about our hero and about his "honored father," I have not investigated. Not, indeed, because I would say of facts relating to Chase's early life, or of facts relating to his origin, that they, "in themselves, have not the least possible importance for the public." That Mr. Chase expressed himself but hastily, and rather thoughtlessly, when he so wrote to Mr. Prentiss, he himself had shown already in his Trowbridge letters; and when he came to furnish me with matter for this work, he showed himself particularly anxious about my liberally drawing matter from those autobiographical letters, which, as we have seen, devote so much attention to his origin and to his early life.

But, before I read the Prentiss letter, I had heard a very scandalous account pretending to set forth the parentage of the Chief Justice; and it was striking to me, that, going down the Potomac on a pleasure trip, not long after the death of the Chief Justice, I was told a story not less scandalous about the parentage of his legal teacher, William Wirt. I have no reason for desiring to learn more of either story. Both are evidently foolish fabrications or malicious lies. The *Boston Courier*, indeed, may have had reason, or apparent reason, for putting before its readers what it said, on the occasion here referred to, about Salmon Portland Chase, and about his father, Ithamar. Of the *Courier's* responsibility, in that behalf, I can say nothing.

I have learned that Ithamar, our hero's father, was, for some time, a distiller. That he was, for some time, also, a tavern-keeper, we have seen already; but distillers, in those days, were not considered murderers by poison; and there was nothing at all degrading to a farmer in the keeping of a tavern in connection with his farm.

Let me now invite attention to the feeling, not devoid of vanity, and strongly marked by pride, with which our hero viewed his blood relations, especially on the paternal side. I would that he had seemed to care a little more for the kith and kin of his nevertheless well-beloved mother.

Montesquieu, Madame de Stael, and other writers, magnify the worth of vanity in nations. Montesquieu, indeed, appears to look

on vanity in individuals as virtuous rather than vicious. Our own Franklin, who was himself a vain man, writes in a half-serious, half-jesting manner, in excuse for self-laudation—nay, in praise of self-praise. At least, he pleads for the privilege of speaking of one's own perfections. Chase was not like Erskine, Cicero, and other oratoric worthies as to egotism. Generally, he avoided with great care the *forms* of egotistic phraseology; but he was not afraid to use the terrible word *I* on fit occasions. Nor did he pretend not to know that he was not only big, but brainy. Writing about the house in which he first beheld the light, he could express himself as follows:

“The yellow house was more famous than the White House for brains. Indeed, the neighboring folk used to say that in that yellow house more brains were born than in any other house in New England. The Beecher family was then ‘in the loins’ of I know not what proprietor. There were born in that house Simeon Chase, the eldest, who, being eldest, was probably caught early and put on the farm. He lived and died a plain, honest, manly farmer. There was Salmon Chase, who went through Dartmouth, became a lawyer, had a great repute for sagacity and integrity; is much talked of even now by old people at Portland, where he lived and died just before I was born, whence the misfortune of my name. Then there was Baruch Chase, also a graduate of Dartmouth, and also a lawyer well reported of, who flourished at Hopkinton, New Hampshire, many years; and there he died. Heber Chase and Corbett Chase were two other sons, who became physicians, I think, and died comparatively young; one of them, as I seem to remember having heard, at Philadelphia. Dudley Chase, Senator from Vermont, after having been four times Speaker of the Vermont House of Representatives, in 1813; resigned in 1817; elected Chief Justice the same year, and continued by annual election till 1821; again Senator from 1825 to 1831; and brought to his end, after an honorable career, at Randolph, Vermont, was another son. Philander Chase was youngest and best. When a student at Dartmouth, the young son of the congregational deacon, poring over some books which had somehow found their way into the college library, became convinced that the Episcopal Church was that which the apostles had planted, and, prompt to act on his convictions, joined its communion. His zeal or his logic wrought mightily with the yellow house folk. They all became Episcopalians—the venerable deacon, his beloved wife, and all their children, so far as I know, without exception. This change must have been wrought about the beginning of the century, for certain it is there an Episcopal Church was built and consecrated; and the family were devout worshippers there when I was born. The Bishop's history you know from the Reminiscences. He was earnest, able, faithful, valiant, imperious, it may be; confident in himself, more confident in God; always saying Jehovah Jireh, God will help, and always finding himself

helped; good-humored when not angry; always ready with an anecdote, always ready with a good turn."

Alexander Ralston, we have seen, was his grandfather on the maternal side. But who and what was Alexander Ralston? I like the character of Sandie Ralston, though he does not seem to have been quite a modern Joseph. Sandie was, we have already seen, a native of the land whose choicest bard composed the lines, not seldom sung in public at Burns' Suppers:

"Jennie's always wat, puir body,
Jennie's seldom dry;
She draggled a' her petticoatie
Comin' through the rye."

But Jennie Balloch—Scotch enough that patronymic!—whom our Sandie wedded in the land o' Burns and cakes, was not the Jennie of the song. She seems to have been chaste as Diana, and severe as "Good Queen Bess," in rigid moods. Tradition tells an anecdote of "Stacey's Pasture" (pronounced *pastoor*), owned by Sandie Ralston, in the neighborhood of Keene—an anecdote in which Jennie, Sandie's "guid" wife, played the role of a Scotch-Yankee feminine avenger, and, taking her unlucky spouse and another "party," *flagrante delicto*, vigorously chastised her husband on the spot with what she fancifully called "a wee bit hazel rod," but what, in point of fact, tradition says, was a stout cudgel.

Sometime between April 29, 1830, and July, 1831, our hero made this entry in a diary which, like most other diaries, was only now and then a book of daily entries:

"The modes of speech in the rustic parts of New England are so peculiar that I have determined to set down some of the odd phrases which I every day meet with. Here they are:

"'Sharp as the *little end of nothing, whittled down.*' 'You don't now, do you?' 'I hain't another stick to save my gizzard'—this is equivalent to a Musselman's oath by his beard. 'Gumption.' 'Never saw any thing like this growing among corn'—which is an exclamation of astonishment. 'A plaguy neat kind of a chap'—which is an expression of commendation. 'Curious varmint'—which signifies curious creature. 'Make yourself scarce'—an intimation that your company is not wanted. 'Understood the whole squinting of the business as slick as a whistle'—know all about it. 'I conclude, it's best to cut stick'—a resolution to depart."

The mother of our hero probably used a dialect in which a curi-

ous combination of Scotch-English with New English—in other words, with the novel English of New England—could have been traced. One of her surviving relatives, with whom I am acquainted—one of the Ballochs—uses the English well, indeed, but so that more than traces of the combination just referred to are distinctly visible in his discourse. However marked or unmarked the dialect of our hero's mother may have been, that which is most certain is, that she was one of the best women who have yet been wives and mothers. A future chapter offers letters which appear to me most precious documents—letters written to our hero by his mother. I am very proud of their contents, and very grateful for their indications.

Buckle says:

"We often hear of hereditary talents, hereditary vices, and hereditary virtues; but whoever will critically examine the evidence will find that we have no proof of their existence. The way in which they are commonly proved is, in the highest degree, illogical; the usual course being for writers to collect instances of some mental peculiarity found in a parent and in his child, and then to infer that the peculiarity was bequeathed. By this mode of reasoning we might demonstrate any proposition, since in all large fields of inquiry there are a sufficient number of empirical coincidences, to make a plausible case in favor of whatever view a man chooses to advocate. But this is not the way in which truth is discovered, and we ought to inquire not only how many instances there are of hereditary talents, etc., but how many instances there are of such qualities not being hereditary. Until something of this sort is attempted, we can know nothing about the matter inductively; while, until physiology and chemistry are much more advanced, we can know nothing of it deductively."¹

In nearly all that Buckle says about received ideas, one can easily discern exaggeration and a decidedly morbid disposition to reverse the saying:

"Whatever is, is right."

He would have been far more apt to write:

"Whatever is, is wrong,"

or, perhaps,

"Whatever is, is not."

But let us hear dear old Adam Clarke on this subject. He says:

"Though it has not been found that any branch of the family of the *Clarks* claimed *nobility*, yet it has always appeared that the

¹Note 12, 1 Buckle Hist. Civ. Eng., 127.

character of *gentility*, *generosi*, or *ingenui*, has been conceded to them, and to them the Roman definition of *ingenui* is in every respect applicable. They came from a pure and ancient stock; they had never been in bondage to any man; had never been legally disgraced, and never forfeited their character. In this family I have often heard the innocent boast, *None of our family has ever served the stranger.*"¹

Chase might, to himself, at least, have whispered the like. For, after all, we all believe in *blood*, whatever we may think of *rank*; and quite too many of us have great faith in rank itself.

If our snobocracy believed in blood rather than in money, it were better for the country and the age in which we live—we Americans about to enter the latter quarter of the nineteenth Christian century—we New World Christians and non-Christians—we adorers of success and show.

Yet it must be owned that what we know about inheritance, in point of personal characteristics, physical and psychical, is far from great. And to the rules we think we have discerned, as governing the transmission of parental traits, our observation forces us to acknowledge very numerous exceptions.²

Instances are by no means rare in which the admixture of characters we could naturally expect to find in the offspring of a pair well known to us, does not manifest itself; and, indeed, "in almost every large family (and sometimes even where there are no more than two children) it will be observed that the likeness to the father predominates in some of the children, and the resemblance to the mother in others."³

Do we, then, know *nothing* on the subject? We consider that we know a little. We consider that we know that, normally, the influence of both parents on the constitution of the offspring is manifested in the admixture of their characters, perceptible in the latter. We consider that we know, that the same influence manifests itself in the tendency to the hereditary transmission of perverted modes of functional activity which may have been habitual to either, as, for example, in gout, in scrofula, and even in insanity.⁴ True, "the subject of hereditary temperament and tendency to disease is still

¹ Autobiography of Adam Clarke, 41.

² Carpenter, *Human Physiology*, 780. Am. Ed. ³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.* And see Holland's *Medical Notes and Reflections*, chapter on *Hereditary Diseases*, and chapter on *Gout as a Constitutional Disorder*. See also Holland's *Mental Physiology*.

largely open to inquiry."¹ I have given much attention to that subject; and, therefore, it is that I speak of it with caution rather than with confidence. But I think it is well established that the corporeal peculiarities of the parental organisms enter, modified, into the organism of their offspring; and that habit, as it is perceptible in the parental organisms, often reappears in their offspring as instinctive action or tendency.² And I think it ought to be considered reasonably certain that the instincts of the soul, if I may so express myself, the habits of the intellect and the affections, may be transmitted, modified, by the parents to their offspring.

"Less familiar to the popular mind," I have elsewhere observed, "are certain theories, some of which attribute to the mother the furnishing of certain parts, and to the father the furnishing of other parts, in what is constitutive of the offspring. One of these supposes that the characters of the *animal* portion of the fabric are especially, but not exclusively, derived from the male parent, and that the characters of the *organic* apparatus are, in like manner, derived from the female parent."³

I consider that these theories are far from well defined, and, therefore, far from well established.

In the present work, I think we have a special interest in the phenomenon called *atavism*. This appears in instances in which, even when the distinctive peculiarities of one parent have been overborne, as it were, in the immediate progeny, by the stronger influence derived from the other side, they reappear in a subsequent generation.

It appears to me, that in Salmon Portland Chase appear more of the distinctive traits and tendencies of Aquila Chase, than appeared either in our hero's father, Ithamar, or in his father's father, Dudley.

Of Aquila Chase, who is, practically, it would seem, for us, the *propositus* of the Chase lineage, we know far less than we could

¹ Holland's *Medical Notes and Reflections*, chapter on *Hereditary Diseases*.

² Dr. Holland teaches that habit, in such cases, appears as "superimposed" on instincts, which it is able to modify.

³ Carpenter, 779. "The Physiologists distinguish between the Organic, or Vegetative Life of Man and his Animal Life, or Life of Relation. The Organic Life of Man, although most intimately connected with the Life of Will, and constantly affected, more or less, by willful acts, and by emotions springing out of willful acts, is quite involuntary. It belongs, therefore, to nature, which I would distinguish as the realm of the Involuntary." Warden, *Man and Law*, 9.

wish to learn. But all we learn about him tends to prove that he was a man of extraordinary energy—of energy not seen in either the father or the grandfather of our hero, but in him, himself, remarkably apparent.

But I respectfully warn the reader against thinking too much of theories of any kind, relating to inheritance in instinct or in habit; in corporeal characteristics, or in spiritual proclivities.

If rank, like blood (of which it is designed, in some degree, to be the sign), deserves to be considered, much of the consideration due to it must be referred to *culture*. Rank, in general, is in association with pecuniary means; and money, while it can not purchase blood, can pay the salaries of tutors and tutresses.

The force of education may, itself, indeed, be overrated. Even education can not work miracles. Though mind is very evidently mightier than matter, education can not lengthen a leg or prolong an arm, or make a bull-necked man a man of well-shaped upper person, or make that man an Apollo who was born to be an Æsop.

Possibly, Lavater hits the nail pretty squarely on the head, where he conveys the pleasing lesson, that a man is as free as a bird in a cage—the cage the Swiss enthusiast alludes to being just the human body. Education can do much for the enjoyment of the freedom limited by the dimensions of that cage; perhaps, it can even widen, deepen, or exalt them somewhat; but what more?

CHAPTER II.

THE HERO'S EARLIEST RECOLLECTIONS.

VERY interesting seem to me the earliest recollections of our hero, as communicated in the Trowbridge Letters. Here are a few specimens:

"I remember the Frenchmen who came over, refugees from *La Belle France* and from the Bourbon restoration. They fled when the great Captain fell—Bonapartists all of them—ready for any thing, willing to work—versatile—a few days with the Yankee farmer, chopping wood and teaching his little tow-headed boy *un, deux, trois, quatre, cinq*, and so on, till he could count a hundred in French, and thought himself a proficient in the tongue—then gone, none knew whither.

"I remember, too, the hired man, who, vexed beyond all bearing with a corn on his big toe, performed rash surgery on the offending member, with a chisel, a mallet, and a block of wood. The corn troubled him no more, but the toe was gone."

Here is another extract from the same letter:

"And I remember the school, and my sister, the school-mistress—a young girl fresh from Parson uncle Philander Chase's female seminary at Hartford, but who seemed to me as awful as Minerva and Juno—not of my acquaintance then—as I walked respectfully on the other side of the road, creeping to school; and the soldiers, going to or coming from the war, who amused themselves, when they saw my attempts to avoid them, by catching me and questioning me, and letting me go; and the birds I attempted to catch by putting salt on their tails; for had I not been told, and that by my mother herself, that, if I could put salt on the birds' tails, I should be sure to catch them?—and was there not a whole flock of yellow birds on the bank of the ravine, just under a bridge I crossed on my way to school; and did I not rush eagerly home, clutch a handful of salt, and, hastening back, fling the whole of it over the whole flock; and must not some of it have fallen on some bird's tail? And yet did they not all fly away, so that catching of them, or any of them, was a simple impossibility? How I reproached mother and all for deceiving me; and how I was laughed at for my pains; and what abatement my proneness to belief received, what need to tell?

"These, and such as these, were the events of my most youthful ———. ¹ I had a kind aunt, my mother's sister—whose husband, a

¹ A word illegible.

gruff, but honest man, son of old General Chase, a Judge also, seemed great in our eyes, and had what seemed better, stores of grapes and honey and other good things. Of these things my aunt was liberal—her husband not so liberal—and, sometimes, when my mother wanted me to take medicine, and I was rebellious, my good aunt would subdue my refractoriness by a promise of a cup of honey, which eagerly, devoured, made me sicker than the medicine. This kind aunt was another of the gentle sort—like my mother, and always sweet and good. Her face shines now, indistinctly but sweetly, upon me, through the mists of time.

“It was in the summer of 1815, I think, that my father sold his farm in Cornish, to our neighbor, Marsh; and in the fall of that year, we set out on the long journey of forty miles—how long it did seem then!—to Keene. I think, we stopped the first night, at Walpole or Drewville, and the next day reached Keene.”

Here is another extract from the same letter :

“I remember parties of boys and girls to the cold spring meadow, where we gathered fresh wild strawberries, which, were doubtless, small and sour, but which imaginative memory makes large and sweet.”

That passage is far sweeter than the fruit that it so neatly pictures. Not less interesting is the statement :

“I remember, also, the great eagle which soared high in air, over our farm-houses, and which the boys could see, and I fancied I could; for, if they saw something I thought I must; for I had no idea of differing powers of vision, and fancied my eyes could see what everybody's eyes could. Now, I think I saw nothing, but simply imagined I saw.

“I remember, too, a sleigh-ride with my father, up the Connecticut, and the joy of the sleigh-bells, and how pleasant it seemed, with the sparkling snow, the jingling bells, and the warm sleigh-ropes; and my visit to the Cornish Flats, the town, with my father, and how important I felt at the tavern table for the first time in my life.

“And I remember my calf, of which I was so proud and so fond, and which, after all, I found to my sorrow was not mine. And the going a-fishing with my brother on the Connecticut, the pulling up stream in a small boat to where a little brooklet came in and made a sort of quiet eddy in the water, where we put out our lines and I felt something nibbling at the end of mine, and pulled up, and lo! nothing—whereupon my brother told me I must not pull till I felt the fish running; and I let my line down again and gave heed to his instructions, when pretty soon the nibbling began again, and then the line seemed to begin to move off, and I gave a twitch and a pull, and a pull, until at length a big snake came squirming and wriggling to the side of the boat, and my brother caught hold of the line, and said, ‘*It's an eel*’—my first introduction to those slippery gentlemen.

"And the sliding down hill on the snow over what seemed steepest descents and longest distances, headling, on my wooden sled—distance and declivity which seemed tame enough when I saw them years after."

This most interesting document concludes as follows :

"There, my dear Mr. Trowbridge, you have the substance of what I told you when you were here—in a shape, perhaps, fitter for your use. You see, I was a rustic boy—very rustic—full of faults—not very much given to asking for the causes of things—ready to accept what was told me, but equally ready to correct errors of information by better information or by experience; *ambitious to be at the head of my class, but without much other ambition*; and not grudging that place to any one who fairly won it, and, least of all, to pretty Betty Marble.

"Now, if with a kind father and mother watching over such a boy, with old Ascutney looking on him every morning from his mists and every evening from his royal panoply of gilded cloud; and the Connecticut river rolling by, and the Connecticut meadows and Connecticut-New Hampshire hills over which to roam and make hay, and gather flowers, and pluck strawberries—if, with these materials, and a good imagination of your own, you can't make something—why, it can't be helped."

Autobiographic writing, everybody knows, is full of difficulty. It is difficult even if one do not demand of it that which certain writers¹ seem to consider essential, namely, an unusual degree of self-knowledge and a still more unusual love of truth. Did Burns display his usual hard sense when he wrote :

"O wad some power the giftie gie us
To see oursels as others see us?"

Is it certain that

"It wad frae mony an error free us
An' fulish notion?"

On the contrary, seeing how others differ in their judgments of us, and feeling how unjust many of the curiously differing opinions of us are, perhaps we would be tempted to yet vainer, prouder self-

¹ "Es gehoert zur Autobiographie ein seltener Grad von Selbsterkenntniss und ein noch seltener Grad von Wahrheitsliebe, zwei Eigenschaften, die nur von Demjenigen zu erwarten sind, der im gerechten Gefuehle seines moralischen Werthes auch seine Schwaechen und Fehler ohne Beschaemung bekennen darf, wie wir dies z. B. in Alfieri's trefflicher Autobiographie finden." Brockhaus' Conv. Lex.

appreciation. I believe, indeed, most men of sense are far better judges of themselves than of their neighbors.

Here is an account that seems to me suggestive:

"My father took possession of a large tavern house which my mother's father¹ had built, and opened it to the public. It was an old yellow building with a long portico before it, and pretty large for those days. The number of the rooms seemed very great to me, though I now hardly think there could have been more than twelve or fourteen. There was a garden immediately in the rear, and behind a tract of land, extending back to the Ashuelot, narrow in front and width, but deep, containing, say forty or fifty acres, perhaps less. I remember only one spring and one summer at the old tavern—the spring by the melting of the snow and the rushing of the water through the channels, natural and artificial, which conducted them to the Ashuelot—the summer by a ridiculous attempt I made to dry up a small pool of water by building a fire on an extemporized raft of planks, and setting it afloat upon it. I had somehow lost a shoe in the pool, and, knowing that water can be dried up by heat, I undertook to dry up the pool. It would probably have been no great undertaking had the fire been under instead of over it, for the quantity of water was not considerable. As it was, I was not long in finding that I was not likely to recover my shoe in that way, and abandoned the experiment in disgust."

How often older boys try like experiments, in legislation as in physics!

"I remember the summer time also," continued Secretary Chase, "by the lessons I used to take of my sister, the same who kept the school at Cornish, who undertook now to initiate me into the mysteries of Latin grammar; and, when I failed to accomplish my prescribed tasks, would insist that will, not capacity, was in fault, and send [me] out in the garden to stay by myself till I could say my lesson—not a very serious punishment, and not repeated often. And I remember the fall by the black cherries in the big black cherry tree, which I climbed for the fruit, and from which, climbing too venturously, one day, on a branch of it, I fell, dislocating my wrist; but, determined not to show a faint heart to my elder brother, who was with me, and was hastening down from the tree to my relief, I sprang up, and shouted to him, 'I got down first.' And when he asked me, 'Are you much hurt,' answered, 'No, only broke my wrist.'"

This anecdote appears to me decidedly denotive. It denotes, it seems to me, quite clearly, the peculiar temper of the man who tells it of himself. He never was a whiner. He was able to endure great suffering with but little demonstration of the inward anguish.

¹ The aforesaid Sandie Ralston. Chapter II.

The experiences, the observations, of young Salmon at that tavern home, were not all, perhaps, of the best order. Yet, on the whole, they probably did not affect him prejudicially.

Doubtless, there was talk there about party politics—about Jackson, Madison, and Monroe. We must not fail to note the time. We have already seen that our hero was seven or eight years old; that it was in 1815 or 1816 that his father became a tavern-keeper.

Salmon was then old enough to listen to political discussions. Did he care to hear them? We shall see that, while at school at Windsor, opposite his native Cornish, he began to study printed politics; but had he not already learned at least a little about such matters as the war with Great Britain, the Hartford Convention, Jackson's victory at New Orleans, the peace?

Of that more may be said hereafter. Let us now go back to those Latin lessons, given by a sister.

Franklin represented Latin as like a French chapeau at a party—not to be worn, but only shown—the chapeau being carried, not on the head, but under the arm. How utterly mistaken Franklin was in that respect it is unnecessary here to indicate. No man of liberal culture ought to be without some knowledge of the Latin language. How was it with Salmon's sister, giving him instruction in that idiom? Was Latin good for her as well as for her brother Salmon?

That it actually *was* I venture not to say. It is enough to say it *might have been* as good for her as for her brother.

I have heard that Ithamar, her father, said, in effect, respecting his intention to give Salmon a better "schooling, than that given to his other children; that that discrimination was occasioned by the fact that Salmon had not wit enough to take care of himself without a thorough education." It would seem, according to that story, that 'Squire Ithamar did not discern in his son Salmon

"A mother wit and wise without the schools."

But Ithamar but jested. He knew well that Salmon had mother wit as well as other wit beyond his brethren.

Ithamar, we shall discover, was more marked by love of substance than by care for form, though he did have Honorable before his name and Esquire after that already locally distinguished patronymic. He was a judicial and no doubt judicious person—justice of the peace, to-wit. If he allowed his young son to read Shakspeare, as

we shall find he did, no doubt he read "Sweet Will" himself, and was by no means a New English type of the Dogberrian magistrate.

The office that he held is, every-where in the United States, an office ill-considered, yet of great importance to the welfare of communities and individuals. A justice of the peace, though not, in theory, invested with the power of suspending the execution of the laws, possesses, practically, in his narrow sphere, that fearful power. He can mitigate or harden justice in his ministry thereof. Far more importance ought to be attached to the selection of good men for this neglected office.

I suppose Ithamar was a federalist, as was his brother, Philander, whose relation to the early education of Chief Justice Chase we shall find to have been so important.

Let me here invite attention to a statement in a biographic document to which we have already been under obligation:¹

"At the age of nine years he read Rollin's Ancient History and Shakspeare's plays, with a boy's relish for the entertainment they afforded."

He was not, perhaps, precocious as John Stuart Mill appears, from his own statement, to have been. And how different, particularly as to religion, was the education of that English thinker from the education of our hero! Yet, when we take into consideration that there was a nine-pin alley on the premises of Ithamar Chase; that that alley was no stranger to young Salmon's love of pleasure; and that Salmon, at the age of nine years, was free to read such works of fiction as Rollin's history and Shakspeare's plays, it would hardly seem that there was much of puritanic rigor about the religious training of our hero's boyhood.

Yet that training was unquestionably such as to dispose him to unfeigned religiousness—a consideration the momentousness of which can hardly be entirely manifest at present. Gradually its importance, with reference to a thorough comprehension of the life we study, must become quite evident.

Secretary Chase wrote to Mr. Trowbridge:

"I was about five years old when I received the first impression that men must die. My venerable grandmother went away with the flowers in the early fall of 1813.² She was eighty-one years of

¹ Very often I have found myself unable to agree with the writer of that piece which, however, coming down to 1856, has been of some service as a guide.

² I think this is an error.

age, and died on the 13th of September. The plain stone at the head of her grave in the Cornish churchyard bears the inscription: 'This is the road to immortality.' I have the most indistinct impression of her death and burial; so indistinct that I can hardly distinguish recollection from impressions from hearsay. It seems to me that I remember more of my grandfather's death. He survived his wife just seven months. A fall on the frozen ground, passing between the two houses, perhaps hastened his departure. He died on the 13th of April, 1814, aged eighty-four years. On his headstone is still legible an inscription from his favorite poet, Young, the greater part of whose *Night Thoughts* he could repeat from memory. I am not sure that I have the inscription correctly:

" 'What though we wade in wealth or soar in fame,
Earth's highest station ends in 'Here he lies,'
And 'dust to dust' concludes her noblest song."

Among the matter furnished me by the hero of this work himself was a biographic sketch of him, composed, I understood, under his guidance. That document—for such it is in relation to this work—contains these words:

"At Sunday school he committed more verses than any other scholar; once repeating accurately almost an entire gospel, in a single recitation."

But no memory goes back to the beginning of existence. Writing, as we have already seen, to Mr. Trowbridge, Secretary Chase could not relate all his experience and observation. He could not go back to the beginning of his days. We can not use his language in endeavoring to frame a reasonable fancy as to what he must have been in earliest infancy.

One is schooled when one is reprimanded. All the life of Chase, at home and abroad, may, on the other hand, be treated as a school, in the sense of an instruction, without special reference to reprimands or to rewards. But the schooling that our hero took directly in the school, so-called, is of great interest to this whole work.

The biographic document first referred to has the words:

"The first school of Salmon was the District school—that first public institution of his country with which the citizen-child becomes identified. A little State of itself—with its rulers, its ranks, its parties, strifes, and ambitions, all engrossing for the time. There he learned the alphabet from a strip of birch bark on which his father had printed it. There he was taught to spell and read—and there his emulous spirit pointed him to the head of the class, where he generally stood, except when sometimes the luckier star of a neighbor's daughter was in the ascendant."

In a letter to Mr. Trowbridge, Mr. Chase said :

"Of the two years and odd months—almost another year—which elapsed after my father's death, before I went West, I passed several months, including a part, if not the whole, of one winter, at Windsor, Vermont, under the charge of Col. Dunham, who had established a ladies' school of great repute there. The Colonel was a friend of my father, and proposed to my mother to send me and my sister Alice to his school, which she did."

Of the schooling in the District school at Keene we have already seen a little. Let us look a little more attentively at the evidence relating to that portion of our hero's training.¹

"I have," wrote Secretary Chase to Mr. Trowbridge,² "a dim recollection of the District school—there were several in the town—as a dark room with a great many boys in it; on our side of the street, between the tavern and the meeting-house. One day I got into a fight with a neighbor boy, the only personal fight I was ever in."

In this connection let me quote a letter written by Chief Justice Chase, in 1868, to Rev. Mr. Blanchard—the same letter to which I am indebted for the motto of this work. That letter says :

"It is curious how men best acquainted with each other mistake as to matters of personal history."

After giving an important instance affecting himself, the writer adds :

"And you, too, are mistaken in your facts. . . . Judge Burnet, Groesbeck & Co. never cut me. Judge Burnet was a very kind, personal friend; though neither he nor Mr. G. approved, I dare say, of my anti-slavery views, and I should, no doubt, have been better received in society had I better suited the prevailing Cincinnati tone."

It is, indeed, curious how men best acquainted with each other mistake as to matters of personal history. But it is also curious how a man may be mistaken as to matters of his own personal experience.

¹Be our views friendly or unfriendly to the public schools, we must agree that the facts to which attention is here given are of capital importance to a study of our hero's character and to a proper understanding of his conduct in important crises of his life. The system of our public schools appears to me affected quite too much by an unwholesome zeal, political and religious; but, with all its faults, the system has worked wonders, and, well managed, it may render yet more admirable service to the welfare of society in this new world.

²January 19, 1864.

A letter from my friend, Gen. Thomas Kilby Smith,¹ describes what certainly must have seemed to him at least quite like a "personal fight," of which the hero was none other than the modest hero of this work. And I have good reason to believe that Secretary Chase forgot some parts of his life when he wrote, as we have seen, to Mr. Blanchard, as well as when he said to Mr. Trowbridge, that that affair of his boyhood was the only personal fight he was ever in.

But let us look at the account given by our hero of that boyish battle. It runs thus:

"He threw a brick or stone at me. I closed on him with my fist; but we were soon parted, and there were no serious consequences. I remember well that I did not want to fight; but thought a crisis had come—I did n't know the word, then—and thought I must hit him, and I did."

When that was only an "impending crisis," how did our young Salmon feel? Was he a physically plucky boy, or had he only moral courage? Rosecrans reported that he had fired several shots at the retreating foe in order to produce a *moral effect*. What was the moral effect of the missile hurled at Salmon by that neighbor boy? The brick or stone, it seems, like the issues of the cannons fired by Rosecrans on the occasion just referred to, did not reach the enemy; but in the case of Chase, the foe was not retreating.²

¹ Post.

² Anecdotes of this description are not trivial. One only wishes that this anecdote had been a little less imperfect.

School-boy battles are not necessary, it may be, to the perfection of scholastic education. Yet it is not quite unpleasant to be able to record that Salmon Portland Chase once used the sublime, unsundered, unsunderable right of self-defense through the balled fist, and actually brought that natural weapon into active use.

Did he know how to use it with effect? At that time, was he able to defend himself with skill and force combined? One doubts that. Such boys as he are apter to excel in dialectics than in duels.

Many of the old ideas of the English law, the ancient usages now legally considered obsolete, survive at school. The wager of battle still remains a mode of trial among school-boys. Boys, indeed, at home and at school, still hold to the old notion, that it is the greatest merit that is destined to be most successful—that the strongest are the mightiest—that conclusive proof of capability is given by success in all enterprises of great pith and moment as well as in affairs of little consequence.

Indeed, we shall soon see that our hero long believed that merit could command success.

That is, as we shall more and more perceive as we progress, a doctrine as pernicious as untrue; and never was a life more illustrative of the truth to which it is opposed than we shall find the life traces back to its birth and follows throughout its career.

Here is another extract from the letter of January 19, 1864:

"My father was a farmer's son, and himself a farmer. Through my mother he came into possession of considerable property, for those days, in Keene; and invested a part in the manufacture of glass. After we went to Keene, I sometimes visited the factory, and wondered at the way bottles were blown out of little lumps of metal, and plates were cut from layers of the same, spread thinly out."

Was Ithamar, the father of our Salmon, thrifty? Was he an economist? Had he read Franklin's *Way to Wealth*? Perhaps, he knew the way to wealth, if there be such a way, but could not walk therein. It may be questioned whether, even if there were a well-defined way to affluence, the greatest difficulty would be so much in finding out that way as walking in it when discovered. Economics is, no doubt, a science. One of its cognitions, I would say, is, that success is not to be commanded by desert in the pursuit of riches. Every man can not become a modern Croesus. All of us can not be rich. Did gentle Ithamar aspire to be a millionaire? That may be doubted. But he seems to have tried many ways to better his condition.

Possibly, indeed, the difficulty with him was that he tried too many ways. Perhaps he had "too many irons in the fire."

What was the teaching of the local clergy on that subject? Worldly wisdom often seems to be the wisdom which the preacher is most studious to learn and to disseminate. Our miraculous Beecher seems to be not less devoted to the object of at least marking out the way to wealth than was Poor Richard.

But your preacher often seems to have but little knowledge of the Biblical philosophy relating to accumulation.¹ That philosophy,

¹ Not long ago, I listened, possibly somewhat too critically, to a sermon on the gospel of the day, which—I mean the sermon—rendered, most imperfectly I thought—the meaning of the words:

"And for raiment why are you solicitous? Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow: they labor not, neither do they spin.

"And yet I say to you, that not even Solomon, in all his glory, was arrayed as one of these.

"Now, if God so clothe the grass of the field, which to-day is, and to-morrow is cast into the oven: how much more, O ye of little faith?

"Be not solicitous, therefore, saying: What shall we eat, or what shall we drink, or wherewith shall we be clothed?

"For after these things do the heathen seek. For your Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things.

well studied, can be completely reconciled with the doctrine on the same subject, ascribed by Plato to his master, Socrates.¹

Writing of his early life at Keene, our hero said, in 1864 :

"I remember little about my school days while I lived there. One winter I attended the District school—not the same as that I went to while we lived at the tavern house, but in the lower part of the town. The school that winter was kept by young Wilson, a student of Harvard, and son of 'Squire Wilson, one of the Keene magnates. He was afterwards member of Congress from New Hampshire, and

"Seek ye, therefore, first the kingdom of God, and his justice: and all these things shall be added to you."

The last verse is thus given in a French Protestant version:

"Mais cherchez premièrement le royaume de Dieu et sa justice, et toutes ces choses vous seront données *par dessus*."

In a French Catholic translation, we have the words:

"Cherchez donc premièrement le royaume de Dieu et sa justice, et tout le reste vous sera donné *par surcroît*."

In parallel columns, here are a Catholic German and a Protestant German rendering of the same verse:

"Deswegen suchet zuerst das Reich Gottes und dessen Gerechtigkeit, so wird euch dieses Alles auch *beigegeben werden*."

"Trachtet am ersten nach dem Reich Gottes, und nach seiner Gerechtigkeit, so wird euch solches Alles *zufallen*."

It is evidently necessary to a full, clear exposition of the doctrine here in question, be it human or divine, to notice the whole tendency of the context, which is clearly to the point, that too great solicitude about material things is unworthy of the sublime mission of a human soul, completely conscious of its capabilities and of the obligations which spring out of its relations to the other beings of its order, in the midst of whom it has to choose between noble and ignoble objects and pursuits.

It is quite certain that no man can be happy without goodness; but whoever teaches that a good man can not be unhappy, or that merit can command success, has not yet learned that sublime philosophy of aspiration after goodness, which alone can comprehend why it is always *bad to be bad*, always *good to be good*.

¹ Post. See birthday letter to Chief Justice Chase, Jan. 13, 1878. I heard a sermon from the lips of Lyman Beecher, which I never can forget. It contrasted the Protestant propagandist with the "Romish" propagandist, and advised the former to imitate, in some respects, the latter; and particularly as to due attention to corporeal compassion. Baxter's "Saint's Rest" he lauded as a truly admirable work; but as a propagator he considered that it might, in some cases, prove inferior to bread and butter, coffee, tea, and sugar. But I have no doubt that Lyman Beecher understood the doctrine of success and failure pretty well, not only in the pursuit of material happiness, but in more exalted matters.

Nothing succeeds like success in all things. Ithamar, our hero's father, did not, as a fortune hunter, in a certain sense, succeed; but let us not too rashly judge him as a failure. Economics was not taught in the schools as a science in his day. It is not well taught now, in the schools or thereout. Of that, however, more must be advanced hereafter.

subsequently held an important position in California. I remember his coming to our house in a furious snow storm to see me safe to school. He was always genial and kindly, and remains so, I believe, to this day."

Let us dwell a little on that grateful tribute. It is equally of credit to Wilson and to Chase.

"Before my District school experience," continued Secretary Chase, "I attended Miss Fiske's school for young ladies, to which, by favor, two or three boys were admitted. It was a great day for us when 'Squire Wilson invited us all to his house—how grand it seemed to me, that moderate, square, brick house, with its grounds and garden!—and we had the privilege of the garden, and of the ripe currants. *It was one of the few holidays I ever had.*"

Here is, no doubt, exaggeration, though unpurposed. He who wrote the sentence I have just laid under special stress, was a good worker, and he lived a most laborious life; but he might have been a harder worker, and he might have lived a more laborious life. Of that, however, I propose to say a farther word or two hereafter.

In the chapter following, I have attended somewhat to the teaching of the circumstances that surrounded Chase's early life, at Cornish, Keene, and Windsor—to the force of aspect and the force of use and usage, which, while he was yet a young observer of this world, affected the peculiarization of his modes and tendencies of action and reflection. If, indeed,

"The boy is father to the man,"

we do not pay too much attention to this portion of the study given, in this volume, to the life of a man, who, in spite of all his foibles and his graver faults, was truly great in spirit as in body, though, as I have intimated, he was not particularly marked by philosophic depth.

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CHAPTER III:

A FARTHER STUDY OF THE HERO'S EARLY LIFE — FORESHADOWINGS.

THE present volume is to be in itself complete. In another volume, I propose to offer to the public *An Edition of the Speeches and the Writings of Chief Justice Chase, with Annotations and Connective Commentary*. In the present work, accordingly, great preference is given to the matter that relates to the hero's private life, especially his early life. Much of his life belongs to history, and much of that which interests us, in the present studies, may well be supposed to be somewhat known to every reader; but the matter that relates to his first years can not be supposed to be known to even the best-informed reader.

Secretary Chase wrote thus to Mr. Trowbridge:

"As I have told you, I don't remember much about my earliest years. I have been told that one day, when my father and mother were absent on a visit to my uncle Philander, at Hartford, Connecticut, I came home from school complaining of headache, and was put into a cradle or on a couch by my sister, and fell into a heavy sleep. It so happened that Dr. Toucy, of Windsor, our relative and physician, came by and looked in to see my sister. Observing me, he inquired what was the matter. My sister told him, and he examined me more closely, and pronounced me in great danger of a malignant fever then epidemic. My sister, greatly alarmed, proposed to send for her father, eighty or a hundred miles distant. The doctor thought it was useless. The crisis would pass before they could return; he would stay and watch. Anxious hours were those which followed, and the issue seemed very doubtful; but God spared my life—the fever yielded; and I was on the high road to recovery when my parents came back."

The same letter relates as follows:

"I was religiously educated, but not held under any very severe restraint. I was baptized into the Episcopal Church, and, among my earliest recollections are those of a square pew on the south side of the church, about half way from the west to the east wall, where, I think, I did more sleeping than any thing else. The impressions

made by parental teaching on my moral nature were strong. Sometimes I would infringe their rules. Once, on Sunday, I went sliding down hill, with some boys, on the dry pine leaves, and when I came home my father took me into a private room, and reproved me so impressively that I never felt inclined to transgress that way again.

"It shocked me greatly to hear boys swear, and I obeyed my mother's injunction to keep away from them as much as I could."

The moral Hygiene and the moral Medicine, if I may so express myself, with which our hero's earliest years were made familiar, appear to have been somewhat of the puritanic order; yet I would consider that they were of the very mildest type of puritanic theory and practice.

Let us now consider, somewhat more particularly, how his early years were influenced by the aspects and the uses of the things that formed its "physical conditions."¹

It appears the town of Cornish is a tract chiefly made up of hill farms. Its greatest glory is the river by which part of its extent is washed.

Among the best descriptions of this interesting stream, I remember, but I have not now within quoting reach, one made by Harriet Martineau, in her *Society in America*, a work, I was surprised, some years ago, to find quite rich in graphic contributions—contributions

¹ Aspect force may seem a novel term. But, very clearly, aspect is a force as well as use, with reference to education. I am not about to follow Dr. Draper, Henry Thomas Buckle, Charles de Secondat, Baron de la Brède et de Montesquieu, or any other writer, into any known exaggeration on the subject of the educating force or influence of physical "surroundings."

Once, I talked with Chase himself about the long nameless science which Humboldt might have been expected to denominate Toponomy, a science to which his immortal *Kosmos* has most admirably furnished light and guidance. I excepted to the minuteness of Tyler's *Life of Taney* in describing a place, where Taney lived, not in his infancy or in his youth, but at a time when it was to be supposed that his character was too distinctly molded to be greatly influenced by his surroundings, physical or psychical. But "my Chief," a little curtly, *more suo*, told me that my criticism was but hypercriticism—that too much attention had not been devoted by Tyler to the matters to which I referred.

More meo, I adhered to my opinion, not quite lightly formed, and thereupon launched into some account of what I had discovered, or apparently discovered, in the course of what I called my toponomic explorations.

Chase apparently approved that designation. And, indeed, it seems to me entirely fit to name the purely scientific cognitions which relate to the appreciable influence of place on individuals and nations. The Chief Justice took a lively interest in my desire to have him dictate to me a good description of his native town.

to American topography. Here is an extract drawn from Bryant's admirable *Letters of a Traveler*:¹

"Soon after reaching the highest elevation on the road, we entered the State of New Hampshire. Our way led us into a long valley formed by a stream, sometimes contracted between rough woody mountains and sometimes spreading out for a short distance into pleasant meadows; and we followed its gradual descent until we reached the borders of the Connecticut. We crossed this beautiful river at Bellows Falls, where a neat and thriving village has its seat among craggy mountains, which, at a little distance, seem to impend over it. Here the Connecticut struggles and foams through a narrow passage of black rocks, spanned by a bridge. I believe this is the place spoken of in Peters's *History of Connecticut*, where he relates that the water of the river is so compressed in its passage between rocks, that an iron bar can not be driven into it."

A river must be badly shored if it be not an object of great invitation to the lover of the picturesque. The shoring of the picturesque Connecticut is not like that of the Ohio, which, indeed, appeared to Parton, as did the other rivers of the West, as little better than a drainage ditch, cut by the hand of nature, in a mood of the prosaic order, I suppose. The banks of the Ohio are not firm; they have been cut away, in places, almost as the Mississippi banks have been operated upon by that resistless current; yet I would as soon accept John Randolph's character of the Ohio River as agree that

He would have done so had his occupations and his health permitted him to render that not unimportant service to this work. But, for the time being, he referred me to the Trowbridge letters, which I had not then found, and to the curious book in aid of which those letters were composed—*The Ferry Boy and the Financier*.

What he thought about that work of Mr. Trowbridge I have elsewhere shown, in language used by Secretary Chase himself. I call the book a curious production, chiefly on account of its mixture of mere fancy with more solid and substantial matter. I have not made much use of it at any time, and some one having carried off the copy furnished me by our hero himself, I have not been able to procure another copy.

Of its topographic matter I have made no note, and my remembrance is quite faint. The topographic matter of this chapter is derived from other sources.

Of the inner life of Cornish a note of the Appendix gives a pretty full account, extending over a considerable and a very interesting tract of history. I much regret that I have been so situated, during the preparation of this work for printing, that I have not felt at liberty to pay the once intended pious pilgrimage to our hero's place of birth. It is with "mind's-eye" vision only that I have been able to behold the Cornish landscapes.

¹Page 141.

Parton has described, correctly or appreciatively, the River Beautiful of the Ohio Valley.¹

The Connecticut I never saw, though, as already hinted, I have naturally desired, and even purposed to pay to its waters a pious pilgrimage, in memory of him whose life is here related. But that river, I am sure, must be a very interesting water-course to every observer. That it must have greatly interested Chase's infancy is hardly to be questioned.

In the spring it overflows its banks. We shall read, by-and-by, a good description by our hero of a flood in the Ohio—that of 1832. Most of us have read, in school-books, vivid accounts of the Connecticut's performances in flood time.

Windsor, where our hero passed some time at school, has for its eastern limit, a beautiful, mile wide meadow, dividing it from the Connecticut, into which, on the south, flows the Mill River, while, on the north and north-west, Polk-Hole Brook empties into the same main artery of water. By the brook and Mill River is formed, at the west of the village, a natural isthmus. The whole site of the village is uneven, and the main street is what Mrs. Malaprop would have called decidedly turpentine.

Chase wrote to Mr. Trowbridge, of the Dunham grounds, at Windsor:

"The place was beautiful, and beautifully situated—shrubby, fruits, and flowers, and walks, and, that wonder, to my young farmer-boy's eyes, a little pond with gold fishes, made it very pleasant. These months, perhaps, passed as agreeably as any other of my younger years."²

How was it with the aspects and the uses of the scenery at Keene? Writing of that lovely village, in a letter to Mr. Trowbridge, dated January 21, 1864, Secretary Chase employed these terms:

¹ Referring to article *Cincinnati* in the *Atlantic*.

² We must not fancy that the landscapes of that region lacked the charm proceeding from the harmony of works produced by art with works fashioned by the hand of nature. Art and nature are not naturally enemies, if the expression may pass criticism. Landscape gardening (which should be called landscape architecture or landscape building, if the tasteful reader pleases), often mars the face of a fine landscape; and the works of merely useful art not seldom unintentionally spoil a prospect which, but for them, would be beautiful or picturesque; but, after all, the term "betterments," and the term "improvements," as applied to changes of the purely natural in landscape, are not without teaching truth.

"The town of Keene occupies quite a level plain, through which the Ashuelot makes its way toward the Connecticut."

It seems the Ashuelot runs a little west of the village site, and enters the Connecticut a little above the line of Massachusetts. A pond in Washington is its source. At Keene it receives a branch issuing from ponds in Stoddard. Having passed Keene, it takes its way to Swanzey, where it receives another considerable branch.

According to Bryant's *Letters of a Traveler*, Keene bears description as "a flourishing village on the rich meadows of the Ashuelot, with hills at a moderate distance swelling upward on all sides. It is a village after the New England pattern, and a beautiful specimen of its kind—broad streets planted with rock maples and elms, neat white houses, white palings, and shrubs in the front inclosures."¹ The principal street is a mile long.

Some notion of its neighborhood is yielded by this farther extract from that pleasing book of Bryant:

"During this visit to New Hampshire,² I found myself in a hilly and rocky region, to the east of this place, and in sight of the summit of Monadnock, which, at no great distance from where I was, begins to upheave its huge, dark mass above the surrounding country.

"I took much pleasure in wandering through the woods in this region, where the stems of the primeval forest still stand—straight trunks of the beech, the maple, the ash, and the linden, towering to a vast height. The hollows are traversed by clear, rapid brooks. The mowing fields, at that time, were full of strawberries of large size and admirable flavor, which you could scarce avoid crushing by dozens as you passed."

Though, when I first met Salmon Portland Chase, he had evidently been long accustomed to contend with the difficulties of short-sightedness, his diaries afford clear evidence that there was once a time when he could see, or fancy that he saw, quite distant points of landscape. This appears to me the more remarkable, because I have always understood, that, while the vision of Myopia is, or may be, a great magnifier of the near and the minute, it can not clearly view the distant.³

¹ Pages, 141, 142.

² That was in 1848.

³ "The ordinary forms of defective vision, which are known under the names of *Myopia* and *Presbyopia*, or 'short-sightedness' and 'long-sightedness,' are entirely attributable to defects in the optical adaptation of the eye. In the former, its refractive power is too great; the rays from objects at the usual distance are conse-

I have now at hand the earliest diary he furnished for my biographic use. It opens on the first of January, 1829. The handwriting in it is distinguished by minuteness in the characters, although these are less minute than the characters used in his later chirographical performances. Any one who ever saw him working off a letter, sitting with his back against the light, and writing in comparative obscurity, must have thought the spectacle a curious phenomenon. I have not learned how it was with him at school. Did he then bend down closely to the page, or bring the page up closely to his eyes? I know not. This I know, that he must have taken a "fine sight" of all the pages presented for perusal.

Doubtless, the small characters he used in writing were much magnified to him. And yet he seemed to wish his private secretary to write a large, bold hand—perhaps with special reference to its general legibility.

To return to his visual relation to the scenery with which his earliest years were most familiar. Doubtless, the whole aspect-force at Cornish, influenced his modes of thought and feeling. Every sight and every sound with which his infancy was well acquainted, must have tended to affect his tastes and traits. But let us not forget that aspect-force at Cornish was but gentle. There was nothing there of Mountain Gloom or Mountain Glory as described by Ruskin.¹ True, New Hampshire has been called the Switzerland of North America; but, even in its most characteristic mountainous expanse, it is not of the Swiss pronouncedness; and, though the mountainous was not entirely absent from the scenery, near which the Cornish Flats approached the spot where Chase first looked on landscape, there was nothing of the rugged, nothing of

quently brought too soon to a focus, so as to cross one another and diverge before they fall upon the retina, only those rays which were previously diverging at a large angle, from an object in its near proximity. Hence, a 'short-sighted' person, whose nearest limit of distinct vision is not above half that of a person of ordinary sight, can see minute objects more clearly; his eyes having, in fact, the same magnifying power which those of the other would possess, if aided by a convex glass that would enable him to see the object distinctly at the shortest distance. But, as the myopic structure of the eye incapacitates its possessor from seeing objects clearly at even a moderate distance, it is desirable to apply a correction; and this is done by simply interposing, between the object and the eye, a *concave* lens of which the curvature is properly adapted to compensate for the excess of that of the organ itself." Carpenter, *Human Physiology*, 670, 671.

¹ Modern Painters, IV, 811-838.

the gloomy, in the scenery whose features he beheld in infancy and childhood.

Even had the fact been otherwise, it is not for a mind like his that the influence of physical "surroundings" is a force of irresistible power. Such a mind creates for its own use a spiritual climate. In the presence of the mountains, capped with ice, it freezes not into an intellectual rigidity or into a spiritual gloom. The region of the Palm is not for it within the tropics, in so far as tropic influences are of the noxious order.

Let us not forget another matter of great practical concern in this connection.

Salmon Portland Chase's life was half nomadic. He did not remain long under the influence of any place whatever.

These remarks with reference to the purely physical parts of his shifting dwelling-places, naturally lead to like remarks about the spiritual life of Cornish, and the spiritual life of Washington, and about that of Cincinnati, and about the inner life of Columbus, and about the same life at the seat of government. In one sense, Chase was neither a Western man nor an Eastern man, neither a Northern man nor a Southern man, when he became, comparatively speaking, settled in Ohio.

Secretary Chase wrote to Mr. Trowbridge:

"Dudley thought he would like to get his own living, and his fancy led him to the ocean. One day he set out for that strange, distant Boston, and soon after we heard he had shipped as a seaman. How anxiously, after that, we all followed the course of that ship. We heard of her in the Mediterranean, at Barcelona; in other seas and at other ports. Two or three years later, I, at uncle Philander's (Bishop Chase's) learned that he had left the ship; and had died in Demarara, South America. His was the first departure and the first death in our family."

How many speculations were indulged in by widow Janette Chase and Salmon and the other brothers of the wandering seaman, it is natural to fancy but impossible to ascertain. But, surely, there was education in the thoughts which were occasioned to our young hero by the distant, perilous, unknown adventures of the absent brother. Of the

"Watery kingdom whose ambitious head
Spits in the face of heaven,"

Shakspeare often speaks in terms almost bombastic, as in the just

quoted language. Ruskin says, indeed, he had no reverence for mountains,¹ and that he was corrupted by the Renaissance;² but the *Tempest* and some passages in other plays, clearly evince his feeling for what Humboldt calls the lower ocean, over which the airy ocean of the heavens passes through its fearfully lovely changes.³

Only a short line of ocean coast belongs to Chase's native State. His native landscapes were but fluvial. But it is curious how constantly he had his home in fluvial regions. Born at Cornish, on the banks of the Connecticut, he early wandered to Ohio, where at Worthington, he had the Whetstone (or the Olentangy) for resort to fish or to swim—was he a swimmer?—and ere long he found himself in the Cincinnati Valley, through which *la belle rivière* winds on its gentle way toward the rushing Mississippi.

Aspect-force at Cornish, as at Keene and at Windsor, must have had its appreciable influence in educating such a mind as his. His prose is often almost poetry at times, and though his verse (whereof some examples are given elsewhere in this volume) was not so completely touched with the divinest fire of fancy and imagination as to prove that he was born to be a bard, it will be found sufficiently poetic, as to form and substance both, to prove, beyond all question, that he had deep feeling for the picturesque in all its presentations.

But we must not dwell too long on the aspects of the scenery that was familiar to the childhood or to the boyhood of our hero. Let us now attend to the uses of that tract of human habitation and to its inhabitants.

There were few negroes and no slaves at home there. Has the reader made himself acquainted with Frederick Douglass's *My Bondage and my Freedom*? If not, let me most respectfully advise the studious perusal of that remarkably suggestive work. In studying the traits and tendencies of our colored element of population, fourteen years ago, I found that volume full of interest. I think at present of its curious account of the Lloyd plantation, which, in some

¹ Modern Painters, IV, 355-362.

² *Ib.* 359.

³ Kosmos, I, 321. "Die Tiefe des Oceans und des Luftmeeres sind uns beide unbekannt. . . . Das Luftmeer ruht theils auf der festen Erde; deren Bergketten und Hochebenen. . . . als gruene, waldbewachsene *Untiefen* aufsteigen; theils auf dem Ocean; dessen Oberflaeche den beweglichen Boden bildet, auf dem die unteren, dichteren, wassergetraenkten Luftschichten gelagert sind."

respects, appeared to Mr. Douglass, who was there a human *thing*—no person—just a chattel—in some respects, I say, that lordly place appeared to Mr. Douglass, in remembering its chief distinctions, not unlike an English manor.

Nothing like that place appeared where Chase's infancy and boyhood passed, in honorable toil and creditable study. Not until he went to the Ohio Valley did his eyes behold aught like the Lloyd plantation. In that noble valley, on the Kentucky side, he must have seen, on Col. Taylor's place, the spectacle of many men and women owned by one rich proprietor. But in the spots first known to him, he saw no spectacle so wounding to the eyes of a discerning viewer.

Col. Lloyd owned so many slaves, that, passing over his plantation, and saluted by his human chattels, he was often unacquainted with their persons.

Chase relates as follows:

"One winter—perhaps the winter I attended Mr. Wilson's school—I went with my sister Abigail—school ma'am—to see our married sister, Hannah, Mrs. Whipple, at Hooksett, Hooksett Falls of the Merrimac. We set out in a sleigh with one horse, I driver. My idea of sleighing was bells and fast driving, and I put up the poor horse to all he knew. He soon tired out, and I was compelled to let him moderate his pace. We aimed to reach Peterboro and Col. Steele's, but the horse was very tired; a snow storm came on and obliterated the track; we missed the road and had a fair prospect of a night in the sleigh; but at length we reached a house, and obtained a small boy to guide us to Col. Steele's, where we found food, shelter, and welcome. The next day we were at Hooksett, where there was a warmer welcome, and I found myself an uncle.

"From Hooksett we went to visit uncle Baruch, my father's brother, a reputed lawyer, at Hopkinton, where we had another warm welcome from aunt Ellen and our cousins, as well as our uncle. Here I found the *Life of Steph*———, or *Memoirs of some other rascal*; which, when my good aunt found me reading with eager interest, she snatched it away in great horror, and gave some earnest advice against such reading, from which, I fear, I profited little. Boys will read of adventurers when they can, even if not adventurers themselves."

Thank heaven for the boyishness of Chase's boyhood! Would that he had been even a little more a boy! But, after all, no doubt the "good aunt" had the best intentions.

The narrative of that excursion closes in this fashion:

"Home from Hooksett and Hopkinton. There was nothing of the

journey worth remembering, unless a disappointment on finding the tavern fires at Francestown not so good as my mother's."

Cold New England, region of hard earth and hard, clear heads, but not of flinty hearts, the Scotland of America, was much misunderstood at Cincinnati when our hero first went to the Cincinnati Valley. I, myself, first knew that valley, and compared it with some places in Kentucky, about five-and-forty years ago. Away from it above two years, I once more found myself a dweller there in 1832; and, since that time, I have observed it with affectionately close attention. There I find the most characteristic tract of landscape, and the most characteristic population in this country. There, however, I observed the Sectional Aversion, which Miss Martineau so well describes as marking Cincinnati in 1835, if I remember rightly. There, at that time, and for some time afterward, there was almost a hatred of New England and New Englishmen, assiduously cultivated by some classes of the population, and especially by "river men," with whom I had much intercourse, and by the members of the church, that seemed to me a very mother. But the prejudices here alluded to, though not annihilated, have been greatly modified.

Had the composer of this work continued to participate those prejudices, he could not have felt at liberty to undertake a work of this description. Every American should hasten to acknowledge that those little less than stupid prejudices have done much to damage most important interests throughout the land.

The New England education of our hero, comprehending all the influence of aspect and of use, as recognized in some of the foregoing paragraphs, appears to me to have prepared him admirably for his residence at Cincinnati. What a Cincinnati he was to be—how much that once western but now rather central city owes to his enlightened and unselfish public spirit—many Cincinnatians have yet to learn. But if that city owes so much to Chase, let her acknowledge that, through him, her obligation to New England, and especially to Cornish, Keene, and Windsor, is a heavy debt of gratitude.

Here is another extract from a Trowbridge letter :

"I have said nothing yet of my father. What his precise order was I do not know—nor, indeed, that of the rest. I think he may have been some eight or ten years older than Dudley, who was born

in 1771. He never went to college, but had the common school education of other farmer's boys, and the educational influences of the yellow house."

What he had already said in the same letter, about the yellow house, was partly this :

"I told you about the little old yellow house where my father lived, and lived, I suppose, when I was born."

In Chapter I we found our hero writing that that yellow house was more famous than the White House for brains. But had the education of our hero's father been collegiate, he might have been much better fitted for the duties he had to discharge as educational director of his household. Self-made, or self-educated, truly he was not ; indeed, he was, if I may so express myself, too well made for that ; your self-made man being, for the most part, ill-made ; but, as we have already seen, he had, apart from the educational influences of the yellow house, only those of the pulpit and the common school.

What manner of man, after all, was Ithamar, the husband of Janette ? Was he a man well worthy of that woman ? We have seen that she was innocently proud of the Honorable before and the Esquire after his name. Was he a man of decorous demeanor ? His distinguished son thus wrote of him :

"As he grew in years, he married my mother, then a handsome young woman, daughter of Scottish parents, Ralston père, Balloch mère, herself just excepted from birth in Scotland because her parents came over the very year she saw the light—a sort of heiress, too, for was not her father proprietor of a great part of what is now the beautiful town of Keene ? And my father, too, was held in good esteem among his neighbors. For thirteen years, I have heard, he represented his district in the council of New Hampshire under the Federal regime, and was much talked of for Governor. He was, I believe, never a candidate. He was, however, a Justice of the Peace, and administered equity ! I have heard that he was less careful of form than substance, so much so that once when a couple called on him to be married at a rather late hour, when he had retired to bed, the worthy 'squire, unwilling to disappoint the young folks, and equally unwilling to dress himself and come down, married them from the window, and told the groom to come for his certificate next morning ! A kindly gentleman was my father, honest and faithful ; a just magistrate ; a diligent representative ; a true man. He had oxen, and cows, and sheep, and well-filled barns, and a gentle wife, and loving children. He ruled his family as well, I think, as most

families are ruled; but I remember no angry word or violent exclamation from his lips, nor from those of my blessed mother.

"He must have been about forty-five when I was born, in 1808, and my mother must have been eleven or twelve years his junior."

A paragraph relating to our hero's early memories reads thus:

"It is strange to me how dim every thing is in that distant time. I see just one little part of things—glimpses of transactions—the (reality—totality?) hid behind clouds with little fissures revealing a part of an affair or person, and that little with mist clinging round and obscuring it. I dare not vouch for the entire authenticity even of what I seem to remember best."

Yet one of the great gifts of this great man was memory, or, perhaps one ought to say the faculty of committing to memory, or "getting by heart." Let us be thankful that, amid his busy life, before the lapsing of the years belonging to his middle period, our hero could so well remember his good father's ways and works.

Here are some sentences relating to that father's last sickness and his death:

"They called it the numb palsy. No remedies availed. He lingered some days, and then we were called into his room. Father was dying. How still the room was, except the heavy breathing and the ominous rattle. He could not speak to us, and we stood mute and sobbing. Soon all was over. We had no father.

"Then came the funeral. The Rev. Mr. Strong, of Northampton, came up to preach the funeral sermon. His brother masons paid the last tributes of respect and honor. And all was over. The light was gone out from our home."

That was, indeed, the going out of a great light. Yet not the only light. The mother of the household still remained; a softer light, indeed, but a true flame of purest lustre.

Was there ever written, for the stage, aught more beautiful for the closet than the last act in the *Merchant of Venice*? It sums up the beauty of the whole enchanting piece like some grand peroration, only so much more completely and so very variously. Let us recall to mind the words:

"*Portia.* That light we see is burning in my hall.
How far that little candle throws its beams!
So shines a good deed in a naughty world!"

The good deeds of our hero's unpretending father toward his so splendidly destined Salmon are to shine much farther in this

"naughty world" of ours than any one imagined while our hero was a child.

But Nerissa says, with almost bitter wisdom, all unconscious that her words unfold a whole volume of philosophy :

"When the moon shone we did not see the candle."

Portia, more philosophic, grasps at once the lesson of that almost automatic utterance. She says :

"So doth the greater glory dim the less.
A substitute shines brightly as a king,
Until a king be by; and then his state
Empties itself as doth an inland brook
Into the main of waters."

By-and-by, alas! we shall forget the worthy father's candle in the brightness of the son's great glory. Cornish and Keene must give place to Cincinnati and to Washington. Instead of local prominence, we shall engage attention with a prominence, not only national, but cosmopolitan. But let us not despise the obligations of our hero's education to the gentle ministry of Ithamar, his father.

Ithamar was a true gentleman. He was, indeed, a truly gentle man, and, after all, what more is necessary to the make-up of a real gentleman?

The following sentence offers interesting matter :

"The war had closed just before my father removed his family to Keene, and with the close of the war came reduction of duties and the restoration of commerce, and importation of foreign glass, and reductions of price of the home-made; and the factory proved a serious loss, and my father's affairs had fallen into some disorder before his death."

That is a strange expression in the *Lady of Lyons* :

"There is no guilt
In the decrees of Providence."

No guilt, indeed, is to be found, nor any real shame, in

"The uses of adversity,"

except where poverty is punishment for prodigality or other sin against well-being.

Chase was never very rich. He came, indeed, to live in fashionable style, or almost fashionable style—a style most different from that of his young life; but he was never avaricious; never ardently in love with ostentation of the fashionable order.

But of that we shall see more as we proceed.

Here is another extract from the Trowbridge letters:

"After the affairs of the estate had been settled, my mother found herself with only a remnant of property. She removed from the tavern place as soon as she could, into a yellow story and a half house, at the north-east corner of the main street and the Swanzey road to Boston. A guide post stood opposite the house at the intersection, and ~~to~~ To Swanzey 7 miles, ~~to~~ To Boston 77 miles, often sent my young imagination to the neighboring town and to the great city. It seemed very far off and very huge."

That huge, far-off city was to know, quite well, the boy that then was so obscure. But did he then resolve, by means of

"those inspiring tools
By which man masters men,"

to make his name immortal? Did he sometimes find himself saying:

"Ye glorious stars, high heaven's resplendent host,
To whom I oft have of my lot complained,
Hear and record my soul's unaltered wish:
Living or dead, let me but be renowned?"

He has been called inordinately ambitious. I have found no evidence to justify the charge. He may, indeed, have prayed:

"Oh! grant an honest fame, or grant me none."

The love of fame is not ignoble. It is not a noxious passion, but a spiritual flame of purest source and loveliest lustre.

Salmon Chase, the boy, as father unto Salmon Chase the man, in the poetic sense already noticed, did not live a blameless life, perhaps. But I have laid at least the corner-stone of perfect demonstration, that, if he became corrupt, his manhood mocked his boyhood. Soon the broad and deep foundations of that proof shall be completed; and, above it, I dare prophesy, shall be seen to rise the statue-crowned shaft of evidence surmounting evidence, that, if this work could but be worthy of its object—of its hero—it would be among the noblest monuments of the literary order.

This, it is the easier to say, because as already intimated, and, indeed, already shown, the body of this volume offers to its readers but a compilation of Chase's own pen-work, with biographic and historic commentary and some annotations.

One of the Trowbridge letters has this paragraph :

"My eldest sister, Hannah, was married in that house in 1818. From that house my brother, Dudley, a youth of sixteen, perhaps, went away to sea. He was the only musician in our family except my youngest sister. We were ten in all. He used to amuse us all by setting me to march to time as he played; but I could never keep step. I tried to play; but could not tell the difference between the notes well enough to succeed."

Had our hero, then, no music in his soul? Much in his soul, but little in his fingers and his feet. He was not

"fit for treasons, stratagems, and spoils,"

but loved the concord of sweet sounds, especially, as we shall find,¹ when made by the guitar.

Was he a gallant in his boyhood? Did he have his little loves in due succession? Here is a suggestive statement :

"There was a sort of country tavern between the two houses, kept by a Mr. Marble, who had two pretty daughters, Gratia and Elizabeth, or, as we used to call them, Grace and Betty, who went to the same district school with me. Betty was my little sweet-heart and rival. She was my most formidable competitor for the head of the spelling-class, and my best liked playmate out of school. Poor Betty! she grew up to be a very handsome girl. I remember a visit she made us with her sister, several years after in Keene, and how wonderful I thought their singing of the 'Star of Bethlehem.' She was well married, and died. Alas! the common fate of lovely women!"

How much hidden meaning lurked in this last sentence must become apparent as this narrative unfolds its revelations, though the subject is almost too sacred to be treated of in any words save those of Chase himself.

But now we must give closer attention to the subject of our hero's early schooling. The importance of that theme to the whole work is evidently capital.

Writing of his school days at Windsor, our hero says :

"Here I began Latin, and was a diligent scholar. I attended

¹ Post, Chapter IX.

Sunday school and committed prodigious numbers of verses. I joined the boys—for there were half a dozen or more at the ladies' school—who occupied one room as dormitory—at their pranks; at which, when the Colonel¹ caught us, woe to the boy with the longest locks. One roguish fellow shaved off all his front hair so as to allow no hold, which the Colonel regarded as a contempt of authority and insubordination—and found another way to get at his corporeal sensibilities. One night we undertook to have a good time with nuts, jackstraws, etc., and had built a rousing fire, and were in full tide of successful experiment, when a well-known tread was heard on the stairs. Like rabbits to their burrows the boys hurried into bed, and were virtuously asleep. The Colonel appeared at the door, spectrally, in his night dress. But we soon realized it was no spectre. He was not deceived by our shallow artifice. Suddenly, one boy, seized by the hair, found himself in the middle of the room—then another—then another. At length, after making us cover up the fire, and having satisfied the offended majesty of the law by sufficient punishment, he left us, discomfited, to seek relief in sleep. I think this must have been in 1818 or 1819."

Not in this immediate connection we have the following paragraph:

"I went through the Latin grammar at Mr. Dunham's; through *Historia Sacra*; through a great part of *Viri Romæ*, and began to read the *Bucolics* of Virgil. I was counted quite a prodigy; but I see now that thorough instruction and acquisition of one quarter would have been much better than superficial coursing through the whole."

Perhaps it may be well once more to anticipate a little.

Writing, in 1864, to Mr. Trowbridge, Secretary Chase, relating his experiences as a teacher in Washington, expressed himself as follows:

"There was nothing special to mark eighteen months that followed. I kept my school and on the whole succeeded, though I was not, I fear, a very accurate teacher. Mr. Wirt, I remember, complained that I did not teach the boys correct prosody, and I am sure justly, for I had never been taught to consider prosody as of any consequence. I made some attempts to master it, but did not succeed, and never have succeeded. Mr. Wirt once wrote me that he should remove his boys, but I replied by an appeal which prevailed with him to continue them."

Secretary Chase farther wrote to Mr. Trowbridge:

"It was at Mr. Dunham's that I first undertook to 'speak a piece.'

¹ Colonel Dunham, principal of the school.

How awkward I was! How little notion of what I had to do, or of the way to do it. How scared I was as I walked out before the boys and girls, and, with hands dangling and head down, 'went through.' There were other boys who did better. There was one who stood at the head of us all for talent and general capacity. After a varied experience—preacher, author, lawyer, perhaps—this boy became an old man, and, older in wear and impairment than in years, came into my library at Washington, feeble, ill-clad, and almost hopeless, and asked for help. I gave him money and employment in the Treasury Department, and thought he was saved; but the liquor devil was too strong. After some months he gave way—was excused; gave way again—was excused again; and again gave way, and he was dismissed. There was no help for it."

Here is a pleasanter statement:

"There were young girls from Georgia there, and from other parts of the south; young girls from the north, some of them famous afterward for beauty and talent."

Does the reader wonder now that Chase was a great venerator and a lively lover of the sex? We have already seen that these lovely schoolmates of his were with him at a place marked by great beauty.¹

Here is an interesting statement relating to the life at Windsor:

"At Mr. Dunham's school I first got a notion of political parties. He had been an editor, and up in the attic of his house were still to be seen files of his newspapers, the *Washingtonian*, I believe, or the *Columbian*—fiercely federal. I had already learned from my mother that newspapers were not to be implicitly relied upon for truth and veracity, and did not receive the statements of the *Washingtonian* with absolute credence; but, certainly, my impressions of James Madison and his supporters were not of a flattering sort."

Perhaps Mr. Hildreth read that file before he wrote his voluminous and remarkably entitled diatribe, *The History of the United States*. Farther statement of facts, here of special interest, was thus made to Mr. Trowbridge:

"I think it was in 1818-19 that I was at Mr. Dunham's—perhaps soon after my sister Hannah's marriage, in the fall of 1818, which was an event in our family.

"If I am right in this date, I recited to Mr. Barstow after my return [to Keene], and I am pretty certain it was so; for with Mr. Barstow I began Greek, going through the grammar, and making some progress in the Greek testament. I took up Euclid, too. I

¹ Ante, Chapter II.

am not likely to forget the first proposition. Nobody explained any thing to me, and I had not the least idea of what was to be done. I knew I had a lesson to get, and I got it. I did not know that any thing was to be reasoned or proved, and I neither reasoned nor proved; but simply committed the proposition to memory. I was not long, however, in finding out what problems and theorems meant, and went to work the right way, not unsuccessfully."

Was Chase a very hard student, then or afterward? In a diary he kept in Washington, he entered, November 5, 1829, words, elsewhere¹ quoted, relating to an article that he had read reviewing Dwight's *Travels in Germany*. On coming to those words we may be readier to answer. Said Secretary Chase to Mr. Trowbridge:

"By the way, I must tell you how my faith in newspapers received its first and rude shock. I had been reading—it was while we lived at the old tavern place—an article on the brevity or uncertainty of life. The writer supposed the possibility of the whole human race perishing within a year. I took his supposition for an assertion, and hurried to my mother, asking: 'Is every thing printed in the newspapers true?' 'I suppose so, my son. What makes you ask?' 'Why, mother, the paper says everybody will die this year.' She relieved my apprehensions on this head by some pretty positive words, and my faith in the credibility of newspaper paragraphs has never since been restored. It may be at its lowest ebb just now."

These words were written on the 19th of January, 1864. The last sentence, clearly, was a product of grim humor. Chase, in point of fact, was always deeply interested in the newspaper press. In him, indeed, appeared what may be called the printing instinct—that which makes men authors, editors, and correspondents or essayists; contributors to that which, in spite of its defects, and even vices, makes, this day, the greatest glory of the arts and sciences, and constitutes, perhaps, the surest safeguard of our civil and religious freedom.

The New England papers, doubtless, had more than a little to do with Chase's early education.

January 21, 1864, our hero said to Mr. Trowbridge, in relation to the life at Keene:

"The lane I have spoken of ran back to the hills, and there, turning northward along their side, joined, at no great distance, a road which went east from near the meeting-house at the upper part of the town. This lane bordered my mother's little farm near half a mile. Going along it one cold morning in the late fall or early

¹ Chapter XIII.

winter, I received a lesson which I never forgot. Lying by the side of the road was a man stark dead. His face lay downward in the shallow center of the road-side ditch. He had been in the town before; had become intoxicated; sought his way to his home on the hill-side; had stumbled probably; had fallen, face forward, into the water, not deep enough to reach his ears; and then, unable to recover, had perished. Some neighbors came and removed the body; and Mr. Barstow preached a sermon on the evils of intemperance before there were any temperance societies; but what sermon could rival in eloquence that awful spectacle of the dead drunkard—helplessly perishing where the slightest remnant of sense or strength would have sufficed to save!”

That lesson never was forgotten. Other lessons of like tendency, however, were to be learned at Washington. Our hero early came to be what he remained through life, a hearty hater of intemperance.

CHAPTER IV.

FIRST SOJOURN IN "THE OHIO COUNTRY."

UNDER date May 24, 1813, the work of which the short title is *Annals of Congress*,¹ shows that "Dudley Chace, appointed a Senator by the Legislature of Vermont for the term of six years, commencing on the fourth day of March last," produced his credentials, which were read, and thereupon, having taken the oath prescribed by law, took his seat in the Senate. Under date, September 21, 1814, the same work records that Dudley Chace, from the State of Vermont, appeared and took his seat in the Senate.

When his uncle Dudley first appeared in the Senate of the Union, Salmon was but five years of age. No doubt, however, that event impressed him; and no doubt it beckoned him toward political agitation and aspiration. That, when he came on to Washington, the presence of his uncle in the Senate greatly aided him in gaining influential friends, need not be said; it goes without saying, as the French express themselves.

Our hero heard in boyhood wonderful accounts of "The Ohio," as the State of which he was to be Chief Magistrate was called; but the reality, though quite unlike the fable, was more wonderful than it would have been had it indeed had waters like New England rum, or cucumbers that grew on trees.

Ohio was no El Dorado. Nor was the fertility by which its soil invited agriculture such as that of the region whereof was reported that it responded to the tickling of a hoe with the laughter of a harvest. Yet the region was, as Mr. Chase himself, in a sketch of its history, was to show, more blessed than it would have been had its agriculture been but as the light gardening labor of the pair in Paradise before the fall. The blessing so appreciated was in part corporeal, in part spiritual. In the body, we shall find Ohio representative of all that is best in physical conditions in this wide extent

¹ 18th Congress, 1813-1814, vol. 1, 9.

of landscapes under one vast rule of laws and manners; in the soul, in population, institutions, legislation, she is wonderfully typical of the whole country. But the greatest wonder of her past was that which most distinguished the condition of her pioneers from the condition of the first white penetrators of the Dark and Bloody Ground—a legal system, guarding her domain from the invasion of the institution known as slavery, and giving, at the same time, to the white man and the red man of Ohio a relation to each other very different from that of the red race and the white race in Kentucky.

Chase wrote to Mr. Trowbridge:

“It was probably in February or March, 1820, that I visited my sister at Hooksett, as already mentioned.

“At any rate, it was about that time that my mother received a letter from my uncle, the Bishop, offering to take charge of me, and my mother accepted the offer, and early in April I started, with my brother, Alexander, who was going west with the expectation of joining Gen. Cass’ expedition, in company with Mr. Schoolcraft, who afterward became so famous.

“For several months—at least weeks—before going, I knew that my uncle had proposed to take me and that I was to go to him in Ohio. I tried to find out where I was going and got some queer information. ‘The Ohio,’ as the country was then called, was a great way off—it was very fertile—cucumbers grew on trees—there were wonderful springs whose waters were like New England rum—deer and wolves were plenty—people few. A copy of Morse’s *Gazetteer* gave me somewhat better but still scanty information.”

Our hero’s narrative of his first going to Ohio opens in this manner:

“At last the day arrived, and we were off. Almost the whole journey to Buffalo is now a blank in my memory. We must have started—my brother and I—in the spring—probably early in April. My impression is that we crossed the Green Mountains on a rainy or very misty day. I have a faint recollection of passing through clouds. The condition of the atmosphere was peculiar. Electricity seemed to saturate our clothes and buffalo robes. They sparkled under friction, something like a cat’s back in the dark. Our road went through Bennington to Albany; and we traveled by stage.”

Judge Caldwell, in the Supreme Court of Ohio, paid a characteristic tribute to the flat-boat. A haughty steamboat had been sued for damage to a flat-boat. Judge Caldwell considered that, at least for what the flat-boat of the past had done, she well deserved respectful treatment. So one might maintain about stage travel.

If we do not feel quite moved enough to drop a tear or two in memory of the old stage coach, which once seemed to us, and indeed was, so fine a type of rapid progress, let us at least remind the railroad of the vanished glory of the stage, and warn the locomotive not to bear itself too proudly.

Secretary Chase went on as follows :

"When the carriage rolled into Albany and rattled on the rough pavement, I said to my brother: 'What a rocky place this is.' Up to this time I had no notion of paved streets, but had always thought that stones should be taken out instead of being placed in a road. We made little or no stay in Albany, but pushed on again by stages to Buffalo, passing through Canandaigua, which I remember only by what I thought its stately hotel and the mansion of Gideon Granger.

"At Albany [Buffalo] we were obliged to stop. The lake was not yet open, and the 'Walk in the Water,' on which we were to pursue our journey, lay up Black Rock, waiting the disappearance of the ice.

"Meantime, at the tavern, I formed some acquaintances with persons who were kind to me. I remember particularly a Mrs. Devereux, who was, like us, going up the lake, and a young lad about my own age.

"One Sunday, a party, of whom I was one, went out to the missionary service at the Seneca Village, where the famous chief, Red Jacket, still exercised some authority. For some cause, there was no service. I was not able to distinguish the chief from other Indians. They all looked odd and fantastic to me. I had never seen Indians before."

This is a fact worth noting as we pass. We shall find our hero greatly interested with his legal teacher, Wirt, for justice to the red man of the South.

The narrative goes on as follows :

"I made one other little excursion while at Buffalo. My brother and Mr. Schoolcraft had gone down to Niagara Falls leaving me behind. I wanted to see them too, and with _____ started on foot. The forest was burning and the road lay through it, and it seemed dangerous to me; though it is probable there was no real danger. At any rate we went through, and, almost fagged out, stopped at a farmer's, two or three miles, perhaps, from the falls, and asked lodgings for the night, which were cheerfully given. Is it remembrance or fancy, that a pitchfork, with its steel points driven into the floor, so as to hold it securely erect, vibrated from the jar of the cataract?

"The next morning, on reaching the falls, we gazed wonderingly on the indescribable cataract. We descended the rough steps and a rough, precipitous path, which led down into the gorge and to the foot of the falls, and there was a new wonder. A hillock of ice formed by the spray, rose just below the reach of the falling waters, forty or fifty feet high and shone like a monstrous pearl in the sun. Near it I found my brother and Mr. Schoolcraft, who were a good

deal surprised to see me, and perhaps a little displeased. But they took charge of me, and I got back to Buffalo much easier than I got to the falls."

What an opportunity for "fine writing" was here almost thrown away! But let us at least thank Heaven that if Chase did not describe, he had the benefit of visiting, in boyhood, that true wonder of the world.

Let us read on. Said Secretary Chase to Mr. Trowbridge:

"The sun shone, the winds blew, the ice melted, and in the first day of May the lower end of the lake was clear. The 'Walk in the Water' was ready, and we went on board one evening at Black Rock. I had never seen a steamer before, and she looked prodigious to me. It was odd to be tucked away into a berth in the cabin—no state-room for me. Indeed, I do not know that there was any state-rooms for passengers.

"Toward morning I was roused by a terrible shaking, and rattling, and clang. I thought the boat was breaking in pieces, or, perhaps had got loose and was going down the falls. I was soon relieved, however, by the information that the engines were working and we were about to get under way. On getting out on the deck, sure enough, the boat was making her way slowly against the rapid current toward Buffalo. It was Saturday morning. The engines were not powerful enough to stem the current, and were assisted by a number of yokes of oxen on shore, towing. In an hour or two we had left Buffalo and were on the Lake, steaming toward Cleveland, the engines being assisted now, not by oxen but by sails. The wind was fair and the air clear and bright. The party was agreeable and every thing went pleasantly. Night came—my first night on the waters—but I am afraid I was not conscious of any thing peculiar about it. And the next day seemed so like other days that I quite forgot it was Sunday, and asked somebody to play chequers with me!"

To have played chequers on Sunday would have seemed to Chase a fearful thing, although, as we have seen, his training in religious matters had not been quite puritanically rigid and severe. Perhaps he never came to look at Sunday as the sunny day it seemed to some of our best Christians.

"We were" he says, "at dinner when the boat reached Cleveland, and her motion as she stopped and brought to anchor off the town—for there was no harbor then—gave me my first slight experience of home-sickness. I have never had so much since. We went ashore in a boat, and I was placed under the care of Judge Barber—not a lawyer, but one of the Associate Judges of the Common Pleas, of whom there were three in each county, usually selected from respectable but unprofessional citizens.

"Here my brother left me, going up the lake with Mr. Schoolcraft to join Gen. Cass."

If I was disappointed on discovering that Chase had not described the fall, at Niagara, of the wonderful water-way of which Lake Erie is one of the wide-spread expanses, I was disappointed also on discovering that he had not described the aspects of the lake. He would not have thought of playing chequers, had he duly felt the presence of that inland sea, the largest water surface he had ever seen. He had read Shakspeare, and had gained some knowledge of the classics, which especially the Greek, as Humboldt, in the second volume of the *Kosmos*, has so admirably shown,¹ takes so much notice of the sea. But he, at least does not *pretend* to have dissolved in rapture at the sight of Erie's waters. He confesses that he fears, that he did not find his first night on the waters marked by any great peculiarity, and that the next day seemed to him so much like other days, that he experienced a wish to play at chequers.

We shall find him fond of chess. And let it be recorded, for or against this volume, that I question whether fondness for the game of chess has yet appeared in any man in whom appeared very deep feeling for the picturesque, the grand, the beautiful in landscape. No one who loves landscape very deeply will be apt to give much time to chequers or to chess.

Had one the pen of Ruskin, or the pen of Sunset Cox, one might attempt to pen-paint a "great old sunset," or a "bully" sunrise, such as Chase may have short-sightedly beheld on that Sunday, when, forgetting that it was the first day of the week, he had a mind to play chequers. I forbear. I have, indeed, no recollection more entirely tempting than the recollections of some Erie sunsets and some Erie sunrise views; but to let off descriptions of them, at this instant, would be at once inconvenient to the writer and annoying to the reader.

Let the reader fancy for himself the wonders worked on the aspects of the waters and the heavens by sunrise, and by high noon, and by the sun's decline, while Chase was a passenger in the "Walk in the Water," or while he remained at Cleveland.

¹ "Vergessen wir nicht, dass die griechische Landschaft den eigenthuemlichen Reiz einer innigeren Verschmelzung des Starren und Fluessigen; des mit Pflanzen geschmueckten oder malerisch felsigen, luftgefaerbten Ufers; und des wellenschlagenden, lichtwechselnden, glanzvollen Meeres darbietet." *Kosmos*, zweiter Band, seite 10, Verlag der Cotta'schen Buchhandlung.

"Judge Barber received me very kindly, having probably been informed of my coming, and of his own wishes, by the Bishop.¹

"I spent several days—perhaps, a couple of weeks—at his house, on the west bank of the Cuyahoga, amusing myself by going down to the Ferry and playing ferryman, taking passengers to and from the Cleveland or Eastern side, and sometimes paddling down toward the lake till the waves rolling in, rocked my canoe."

The last quoted letter thus proceeds:

"But my destination was Worthington, in the center of the State, where my uncle resided; and I was anxious to get there. So, hearing one day, that a wagoner was going down that way, I went to him, and tried to make a bargain for his taking me. He was a Pennsylvania German who had settled in Ohio, and had been bringing wheat or something else to the Cleveland market."

Here we see two marked Ohio types—the emigrant of German lineage, and the product of the wheat plant—each remarkable as a symbol of the best civilization in this country.

Secretary Chase proceeds:

"He was willing to take me for 'ein tollar,' but was going no farther than Canton.² I did not like the strange jargon which he spoke—having never heard any such—and was a little afraid of him. Besides, to get to Canton was not reaching Worthington. So the wagon project was abandoned.

"Judge Barber sent me, then, to the Rev. Mr. ———, ³ an Episcopal Minister, at Medina. The Episcopal Convention was about to be held at Worthington, and I could probably go down with some of the delegates. I remained at Mr. ———'s probably a week. His house was one of the primitive log cabins of the country—one or two rooms below—a single room above, where all the children slept, with coarse curtains for partitions.

"There was a mineral spring of sweet water which was a great attraction to me; and those pleasant rambles in the woods and openings.

"Finally, two young men, delegates—one of them, at least—to the Convention, left Medina, ⁴ taking me with them. The settlement of the country was only begun. Great forests stretched across the State. Carriage ways were hardly practicable. Almost all travel-

¹ It will be noticed that, admirably as our hero could, and generally did construct a sentence, faults of construction, such as that just made apparent, not seldom show themselves in his less studied compositions. After all, in letter-writing, one must not be too particular about correctness.

² 115 N. W. of Worthington; 124 from Columbus.

³ I can't make out the name.

⁴ 108 miles from Worthington.

ing was performed on foot or on horseback. The two young men had two horses, and the arrangement was to ride and tie. That is to say, one was to ride on, dismount, and tie his horse, and walk on. The one on foot was to come up, take the horse, ride on beyond the walker in front, and tie, and so on.

"Once, when I was riding, I came to a place where the roads parted, and was at a loss. Taking that which seemed most traveled, I rode on, and before long, came to its end at a spring. It was a path beaten by animals going to drink. I made my way back to the *less* traveled road.¹

"We passed through Wooster,² passing a night there. The place seemed great to me, and the lighted houses, as we went in after dark, very splendid.

"In three or four days we reached Worthington. I entered the town walking, and met my uncle in the street, walking with one of his clergy or friends."

The next letter, dated January 25, 1864, contains the sentences :

"My uncle, at the time I went to him, was in the maturity of his intellectual and physical powers. He was a great worker, a thoroughly practical man, always thinking of something to be done, and then doing it with all his might. There was not a particle of flam or cant in his make up. Thoroughly religious, he always looked to God. His motto was, *Jehovah Jireh*—God will provide. But his faith in God only animated him to most strenuous personal labor. It was not passive but active. If any thing was to be done, he felt that he must do it; and that, if he put forth all his energy, he might safely and cheerfully leave the event to Divine Providence."

Can we say, with confidence, like uncle like nephew as to that? We "shall see what we shall see," in this respect. The nephew thus farther characterized his remarkable relative:

"Usually exceedingly kind and a delightful companion to young and old, he was often very harsh and severe, not because he liked to be, but because he was determined to have every thing just as he thought it ought to be."

Here, at least, we can with certainty pronounce, like uncle like nephew. Of the uncle, however, adds the nephew :

"He was thoroughly imbued with a sense of the importance of his episcopal office, and a thorough believer in the subordination of the orders to the Episcopate. Certainly, he lived to Govern;³ but he liked to govern for the good of others, not his own."

¹ What a figure of what so often happens in the spiritual ways of life! Here, too, the less traveled way is often the true course to the right destination.

² 84 miles from Worthington.

³ So, in the original, with a big G. To Govern (with a big G) was also a marked liking of the nephew. Every man his own Pope, was not, indeed, our hero's motto,

So, it seems to me, was it with this nephew of his uncle. Willing but not anxious to be President, his propensity to govern, strongly and almost despotically, was at all times animated by regard for what appeared to him the good of others, not his own. Of his uncle he farther says, in the same letter :

"He liked to overcome, too ; great obstacles stimulated but did not discourage him."

Gentle reader!

"Dost thou like the picture?"

It seems quite like a portrait of the very man by whom it was portrayed. Our hero thus proceeds :

"Among us boys he was almost, and sometimes, indeed, quite tyrannical."

That statement may be impeached. The author of it once confessed to me and others, that he had told a lie! Shall we say, false in one false in all, according to the maxim of the legists, *falsus in uno, falsus in omnibus*? (See *Davis v. Ohio*, 15 Ohio State Reports, overruled in a subsequent case, of which I do not now remember the title, but in which, as counsel, I labored for that overruling.) Our hero, relating an acknowledgment made to his uncle, to the effect that he had wrongly called that personage "a darned old tyrant," said to me and others, on the seventh of December, 1872, that when he asked the pardon of his uncle and made that acknowledgment, he lied; for that, in point of fact, he well knew at the time, that his uncle was—what he had called him, as we have just seen. But the angel that tearfully blotted out the oath of uncle Toby may have blotted out that lie.

Our hero adds about Philander Chase :

"But he was not disliked—much less hated—he was revered and feared. He was not loved by them then—but, afterward, when they had left him, and looked back on the days they had spent under his charge, and saw him more as he really was, love mingled with their reverence, and became its equal in their hearts."

though so many men, though simple laymen, act as though they had divine assurance of their own infallibility. Infallibility, in my poor judgment, is an attribute of God alone, not delegated or deputed; but I feel how much easier it is for a man to believe in his own infallibility, than in the infallibility of any other man beneath the heavens.

I can but think just here of what Laboulaye has said of Franklin as lived with in his writings.¹ For, the more that I have lived with Salmon Portland Chase in his diaries and letters, the more have I been astonished that so much of their contents should be now presented, for the first time, to the public. Here, indeed, we have not such letters as an American Madame de Sévigné might have written to her daughter. Had these letters been written to our hero's daughter, Nettie, whom he regarded as the genius of the family for letter-writing,² they would still have been the letters, not of a mother but of a father; and I do not mean to intimate that Chase was just a male paragon of letter-writers, at any time, or that he ever could have been a paragon of that description; yet it is impossible to read such sentences as those last quoted from the Trowbridge correspondence without feeling a watering of the eyes and a quicker beating of the heart.

And yet this man once pardoned me for having furnished, to a widely-circulated paper, an editorial, which, as I remember, said of him in substance:

"We do not say that Mr. Chase has a *bad* heart. We only say he has *no* heart."

True, that was many years ago, and in the midst of stormy agitation. But now the gentle reader must, at least, begin to understand the holy office of this book, in which mingled expiation, gratitude, and justice, modify and animate each paragraph, each sentence, and each word.

Chase wrote as follows in a Trowbridge letter:

"William Walker³ was a Wyandot—a half or quarter-breed. He used to tell us stories of Indian wars, and escapes and pursuits, while I listened wonderingly. I have read, I think, in one of Cooper's novels one of his stories, which I must not stop to relate—a fight—a defeat—the flight of the defeated—the pursuit—the adventures of one of the braves—plunging into the water—concealing himself among a drift of logs—the pursuit over that very raft—extreme danger—final escape.

"In the vicinity of the town were some of those strange fortifications and burial mounds, which form so remarkable a feature of the Ohio and Mississippi valleys—mysterious monuments of an un-

¹ "Plus j'ai vécu avec Franklin, plus je me suis étonné qu'on n'ait pas donné plus tôt au public français cette correspondance si pleine d'esprit et de sens." Préface, tome second de la *Correspondance de Benjamin Franklin, traduite de l'Anglais, et annotée*, page 3.

² Post.

³ A school-mate.

known race. I took great interest in these. I used to take Atwater's *Antiquities of Ohio*—I am not sure of the name of the book—when I went out into the forests after the cows, and could stop at an abandoned clearing, and sit down in the old log hut or in its shade, and read and wonder by the hour; and, sometimes, perhaps, forget the cows. One of my earliest pieces of composition, after I went to the College at Cincinnati, was on these mounds—perhaps it was written to be declaimed—I forget.

“One of the most noteworthy things I saw, during the time I was at Worthington, was the flight of vast flocks of pigeons and their roost. They might, if it were possible to count them, be numbered by hundreds of thousands. They came from the west and formed a roost south-east from our house, in the forest between Alum Creek and the Olentangy—or, as it was then called, the Whetstone. From this roost they departed westward each morning, and returned toward night-fall. Their flight was wonderful. They came toward their roost in vast bodies—sometimes so vast that they actually darkened the sky and dimmed the light below like thick, black clouds. Sometimes a flock, flying toward the forest, would sail too low, and, coming to its edge, would suddenly stop, turn and rise over the trees—the clapping of their wings making a rattle like the noise of musketry—or more like that of sharp, but distant thunder.

“They continued to come and go for perhaps two weeks—perhaps not more than one. One night, pretty soon after they had established their roost, a night attack on it was planned. A hired man of my uncle's, a neighbor or two, and perhaps half a dozen or more boys, of whom I was one, formed the party. There was one gun and a few charges of powder and shot—perhaps a dozen. This was our only artillery. An hour or so after dark, we started in high spirits, not knowing where the roost was, but guided toward it by the roar, like that of falling waters, which the pigeons made. We had proceeded, perhaps half or three-quarters of a mile, when we were confused by similar sounds from different directions.

“After considering a moment, it became plain that one sound came from a mill-dam in the Olentangy, and we took the direction of the other. It was not long before we came to the outskirts of the pigeons' camp. Now and then we found pigeons roosting on saplings and boughs so low that we could, by bending the young tree or branch, catch one or two. Our gun served us in better stead. Stopping under a tree, crowded with pigeons—the branches bending under their weight, our gunner would advance boldly, and, nothing daunted by superior numbers, fire into the mass. Then such dropping of birds—such commotion among the unhurt—such flights—such inability to get away and settling down again into place. I think, however, that no more than one shot was ever fired into the same tree. Our ammunition was soon exhausted, and we addressed ourselves to the work of picking up what birds we could find by the help of a torch-light. Many had been killed outright, but vastly more were hopping round wounded. It was pitiful to see them. We caught all we could and put them out of pain by speedy death. In some instances, their own weight had proved

more destructive than our assaults. Branches were broken down by the mere mass upon them, or the shock of their motion. In one instance a very large branch was thus broken from a tree—large enough to be a tree itself—four or five inches in diameter. Many pigeons were entangled in these branches carried to the ground, and wounded. About the large branch we picked up near a hundred. We remained in the woods all night, and satisfied our hunger, made keen by the exercise, on pigeons, which we dressed and cooked by extemporized processes and fires. Morning came at length. We gathered our spoils, and tying the pigeons together, and placing long strings of them on poles, carried, each, by two boys, one before and one behind, we set out on our return. Before getting off, however, the pigeons had started for their mast field. And what a sight was that of the breaking up of the vast camp, for the march and work of the day. Great flocks would rise from their roost-trees and sail away, turning, sometimes, their breasts to the rising sun, and making a display of exceeding beauty. Other great flocks would follow, till the whole host was gone. We did not hunt again, but others did, and barrels of pigeons were salted for winter stores."

It is impossible to read this narrative and descriptive matter without feeling what a relief it must have been to the composer; yet how many of its phrases were inspired by the warlike under-current of his feelings and his thoughts.

It must have been a great relief to go back in memory to that almost sylvan village and to its vicinity of woods and waters.

There was nothing bold or grand in the purely telluric features of the landscapes thus revisited in memory. No rapid elevation, no great height of earth-form was there visible. The Whetstone (or the Olentangy) was not a western Connecticut or an interior Ohio. Yet it was an interesting flow of water, which, had Chase set out to make a formal topographic sketch, would have made considerable figure in the picture.

Did our hero care much for the fluid elements of landscape?—for the changing heavens and the ever-moving waters? He did not appear to have marked feeling for those parts of scenery. Indeed, he would, it seems to me, have been quite ready to accept the doctrine, eloquently taught by Ruskin, that all true landscape is dependent for its interest on its relation to the works and ways of human life.¹ That doctrine is, indeed, like so much of the most

¹ "We find that all true landscape, whether simple or exalted, depends, primarily, for its interest on connection with humanity, or with spiritual powers. Banish your heros and nymphs from the classical landscape, its laurel shades will move you no more. Show that the dark clefts of the most romantic mountains are unin-

suggestive matter yielded by the pen of Ruskin, quite too highly colored; but, for minds like the mind we study—master minds, and, therefore, missionary minds—minds forced by something like an instinct to move men to better action and to more exalted thought—the doctrine here alluded to, would have superior claims upon attention.

Doubtless, in that life at Worthington, the mind of Chase was busier with animated nature than with any lifeless object there observable.

Before proceeding to the purposed account of his distinctively scholastic occupations at the place now under view, let us attend a little farther to his life as an assistant and *protégé* of his uncle, the great man of Worthington and its vicinity.

habited and untraversed; it will cease to be romantic. Fields without shepherds and without fairies will have no gaiety in their green; nor will the noblest masses of ground or colors of cloud arrest or raise your thoughts, if the earth has no life to sustain, and the heaven none to refresh." *Modern Painters*, V, 207.

CHAPTER V.

AT WORTHINGTON WITH BISHOP CHASE.

A GAIN I ask the reader to refer to that note in the Appendix which is given to the history of the Cornish Chases. Having once more glanced through that, one will be better able to appreciate what follows.

Bishop Chase, like Adam Clarke, had the not altogether foolish fancy, that one may avoid offensive egotism by speaking of himself in the third person. Of the latter's funny manner of discoursing of himself I knew not till informed of it by Dr. Elder,¹ the genial biographer of Dr. Kane.

But he was no vainer than had been before him Cicero, and Erskine, and so many other worthies, prominent among them the aforesaid Adam Clarke. Charles Hammond and Timothy Walker of Ohio set a good example when they said I when they meant I.

But though our hero's bishop-uncle was a vain man and a proud one, he, too, was a real worthy. Franklin was less proud, but quite as vain. John Adams was as proud, and vainer. Alexander Hamilton was alike vainer and prouder. Gouverneur Morris—but why lengthen such a list?

No one is ready for the study of biography who does not know that vanity and pride may be quite prominent in a true worthy, even in a bishop.

Bishop Chase, for all his pride and vanity, was very clearly one of the best men that ever lived.

He relates of himself that he had, as a boy, a decided preference for an agricultural and pastoral life. His father, like the patriarchs of old, had, with his children round him, fed his flocks in

¹ "Dr. Elder," wrote Chief Justice Chase, in 1865, "needs no commendation of mine. He is reckoned among the best speakers of our country by all who have heard him, and among its best writers by all who have read him."—To H. W. Shepard, Esq.

green pastures by the side of living waters for many years, till he was now old and gray headed. The most of these children had left him to settle in life; and should the . . . youngest ever think of leaving him also? The very idea of such a separation seemed maddening to his youthful and filial mind, and for a time he was indulged in the pleasing dream of being the favored one who should occupy the home farm, and minister to the wants and wishes of his parents in their declining years.¹

But his parents felt otherwise, and it was otherwise ordered.

"At Bethel, when visiting his sister, he cut with an axe his foot transversely nearly through in the middle. When, in the course of a year and more this was healed, he had the misfortune, as it was called, while in the pursuit of his duty in preparing a field for wheat, in Cornish, to break his leg, and otherwise bruise his limb."²

Philander went to Dartmouth College after not quite a year of hard preparatory study.

"In the year of our Lord 1793-94, while he was a member of the sophomore and junior classes, he became acquainted with the Common Prayer-Book of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States of America. This circumstance formed an important era in his life and that of his venerable parents and beloved relatives in Cornish, New Hampshire, and in Bethel, Vermont, where they resided. Hitherto they had all been Congregationalists."³

"As such," says the bishop, "these parents and relatives had much ignorance and many prejudices to overcome in conforming to the worship of God as set forth in that primitive liturgy."

He adds:

"The more, however, it was examined and compared with the Word of God, the more forcibly did its beauties strike their minds."

He then proceeds to set forth what appeared to him "the principal reasons which induced so many of his relations to conform to the Protestant Episcopal Church, and instead of repairing the meeting-house, where both his grandfather and father had officiated as Congregational deacons, inclined them to pull it down and erect on its spot an Episcopal Church. This, he relates, was effected in great harmony; not a voice was raised against the measure throughout the neighborhood."⁴

¹ *Reminiscences*, vol. 1, p. 16.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Reminiscences*, vol. 1, p. 18.

⁴ *Ibid.*

He says that he was ardently desirous of entering, when he could suppose himself qualified, into the ministry. Wherefore, the question, who had the divine power and authority to ordain him, and thereby give him an apostolic commission to preach and administer the sacraments, became to him, he says, a matter of the utmost consequence, affecting his conscience. How that question seemed to him well settled, is related in the *Reminiscences* at length.

He was graduated in the degree of A. B., 1795. He taught school in Albany, New York, soon afterward. On the 10th of May, 1798, in St. George's Chapel, New York, he was ordained deacon. Thereupon he was appointed an itinerant missionary in the northern and western parts of New York. From that time forward his life was almost nomadic, his wanderings extending even to Europe.

He was ordained priest in St. Paul's Church, New York, November 10, 1799. For a short time he was rector of Christ Church, Poughkeepsie, where he preached a rather partial discourse on the death of Alexander Hamilton, on the 2d of July, 1804.

In the year 1803 or 4, he taught the academy in the same place, about half of his pupils being well advanced youths, and the other half boys of seven or nine years of age. He went to New Orleans in 1805, and there organized Christ Church, the pioneer Episcopalian Church of the Crescent City. At New Orleans, also, he was a school-teacher as well as a pastor.

Some time in 1811, he returned to Vermont, chiefly to educate his sons at the North, as he explains. These sons, George and Philander, were then at school in Randolph, Vermont, under the care and roof of their uncle Dudley.

In the fall of 1811, he became rector of Christ Church, Hartford, and continued to reside in that city about six years.

March 2, 1817, he left Hartford on his way to Ohio, and on the 16th of the same month preached at Coneaut Creek, then a few log houses, now a considerable village, called Salem. When he reached his destination at Worthington, near Columbus, I am not able to state, but it was before the 8th of May, 1817.

At Worthington he was made principal of the academy.

On the 3rd of June, 1818, Philander Chase was elected bishop of Ohio. Setting off for Philadelphia to receive consecration, he learned at Baltimore of opposition, and at Philadelphia he found it even so. The opposition, we learn, imperfectly however, raised objections "affecting his moral character." Standing committees

investigated the whole matter ; inquiries were made wherever he had lived ; all was found satisfactory to the committee ; and Bishop White, at the close of the investigation, having attended every meeting of the board, was heard to say that he was fully satisfied, and that the gentlemen who had opposed the consecrating of the bishop elect of Ohio, would do well to consider, if, on a similar trial, their own lives would bear like investigation.

Bishop Chase was consecrated February 11, 1819, in Philadelphia. On the 3rd of the next month, he arrived at his home, near Worthington.

In the fall of 1821, he went to Cincinnati to take charge of the college in that city.

On the 26th of February, 1828, the bishop's religious temper found this expression in a letter to his wife :

" 'The solemnities of the ordination of the Rev. Mr. Johns to priest's orders were performed, I hope, duly—certainly very sincerely and humbly—by one whom you sincerely love, and whom, it is hoped, God pities through Jesus Christ. I wish Aunt Cranch could have been there, but it rained too hard.

" 'The sermon was preached by the Rev. Mr. Hawley, and prayers were read by the Rev. Mr. E. Allen. The sermon was on episcopacy, on the subject of the three orders in the ministry, and was more high-church than I had thought would have come from Mr. H. It was full up to the highest pretensions on that subject usually entertained. President Adams was present.

" 'After church, I went and dined with Judge B., who is now in the enjoyment of a good, fat living of \$1000 per year, as clerk in the Navy Department. Mrs. B. looks younger than ever. Poor Junius, her son, died about a year ago ; the Romanists got hold of him, and, after molding him in their machinery, have given him a good place in purgatory.' "

The last sentence is not creditable. I never was a Romanist, and I know, now, that I was not a Roman Catholic when I thought I was ; but I find such language far from creditable to our hero's uncle. Bishop Chase was rather bigoted, but, after all, he was a noble character. Here is an extract which appears to me a truer indication of his faith in God :

"Man's life is man's trial, and the evil is as essential as the good. The days of his life, whether few or many, are directed by a wise Providence, so that all things may, by his grace, work together for the benefit of his soul."

¹ *Reminiscences*, vol. 2, pages 592-3.

² *Reminiscences*, vol. 2, page 586.

We shall discover that like faith in Providence marked the whole life of Salmon Portland Chase. We shall see it in his answer to my birthday letter.¹ We shall see it in many other letters, in his diaries, and in other emanations from his pen. He was a worthy nephew of a worthy uncle—nay, of worthy uncles, as he was the worthy son of worthy parents.

Our good bishop rather loved the English aristocracy. Writing at Worthington, February 9, 1828, he said to Mrs. Chase :

"MY DEAR WIFE :—I dined yesterday at the table of President Adams. I was permitted to sit alongside of the queen, and had much conversation with her. She has been much in Europe, and speaks very justly of the English nobility. She observed that their character was much misunderstood in this country, and that some of her most-esteemed friends were to be found among them."²

Yet this man was not ashamed to face his honorable poverty. In a letter written at Washington, February 6, 1828, he said to his wife :

"Tell my son, Dudley, that his uncle loves him, and commands him to be a good and industrious boy. Indeed, dear wife, don't fail to impress constantly on the minds of our children the truth of our poverty, and that they have nothing to look for, and none to look to, when we die, but God and their own endeavors for a subsistence. Do read this letter to Dudley, and talk seriously with him."³

The next paragraph of the same letter is equally significant. It is as follows :

"If Mr. ———, on account of his depressed circumstances, be obliged to put his boys, as he says he must, to a trade, what shall our poor children do? Tell Dudley and Henry they must strive and learn, and store their heads with knowledge, as a source of a future means of subsistence, or they will be vagabonds."

February 15th, of the same year, the writer of that letter says :

"The committee on lands, to whom my petition was referred,

¹ Post.

² Vol. 2, page 589.

³ *Reminiscences*, page 588.

continues to speak favorably. The Milner professorship is filled; though we and *our children* are beggars, it must go."

There was fine stuff in the writer of that letter, was there not?

On the 18th day of February, 1828, the Bishop wrote:

"The family of the Rev. Mr. J. treated me with great kindness, and in the course of the evening a respectable member of his congregation called and took me to visit the widow of the late Dr. Wilmer, left with a large family of nine children, six of his by a former wife, and three of her own. I could not but regard her with great interest. Is not this, thought I, a representation of my dear wife's condition, should God take me from this world? No, for Mrs. Wilmer is comparatively rich in worldly substance, while you and your little ones will have few, or no possessions at my death. This reflection would distract me, if I did not know that God is your portion. This soothes many an aching, distressful moment: '*Jehovah Jireh*,' '*God will provide*.'"¹

"Worthington, the place of our present residence," writes Mrs. Mary Chase to Mrs. Mary Tudor, in 1817, "is pleasantly situated on the left banks of the Whetstone, one of the branches of the Scioto River, and about nine miles from Columbus, the present seat of government. It is but thirteen years the coming Christmas since the first family moved into the place, then an entire wilderness. The inhabitants, or 'settlers' as they are called here, are most of them from New England, and of a sober, industrious disposition. There are also erected a large brick academy and a number of handsome brick dwelling-houses, together with a manufacturing establishment, and the coming summer they contemplate building a church and a cotton establishment. Mr. Chase is appointed the principal of the academy, an office at present merely nominal, as the foundation of its future fame and usefulness is yet to be laid."

The same letter says:

"Mr. Chase has purchased a small farm about three-fourths of a mile from this village, on which he is now building a house, intended hereafter for a farm house, but which must shelter his family the coming winter from the winds and storms. This, together with the care of five parishes and occasional parochial duty during the week, so completely fills up his time, that his face is seldom seen at home except at the table. But his health is good, and I trust he may be doing some good to the church of the ever blessed Redeemer."

Worthington, in outer and in inner things, is doubly interesting to this narrative. As the place of Bishop Chase's residence, for some time, and as a place whose aspects and uses must have much

¹ *Reminiscences*, p. 591.

affected the development of our hero's most characteristic modes of thought and feeling, it deserves to be more than glanced at. Having frequently visited the place and its vicinity while I resided at Columbus, I might sketch it tolerably well from memory. But a sufficient indication of its type may be found in that which I am about to add to the description given in those words of Mrs. Chase.

CHAPTER VI.

AT WORTHINGTON WITH BISHOP CHASE, AND THENCE TO
CINCINNATI.

ATROWBRIDGE letter yields this paragraph :

"So went the days in school. Out of school I did chores; took grain to the mill and brought back meal or flour; milked the cows; drove them to and from pasture; took wool to the carding factory over on the Scioto, an important journey to me; built fires and brought in wood in the winter time; helped gather sugar water and make sugar when winter first turned to spring; helped plant and sow in the later spring. In most of whatever a boy could do on a farm I did a little."

Such a discipline may seem severe. But it was evidently useful. It did not prejudicially acquaint our hero with the "rough vulgarities" ascribed by Pryor to the antecedents of the "Little Giant."

Here is an important paragraph of the same document :

"Temperance societies had not yet been established, and all farmers gave their laborers whisky, especially in the harvest season, and even the boys took a little. There was a distillery down the road, and it was my occasional business to fetch whisky from it, and take it to the field for the men. *Of course I tasted it, but never contracted any love for it.*"

Had he contracted any love for whisky, what a drunkard Salmon Portland Chase would have been ! He never would have been Chief Justice. He would not have been in Lincoln's cabinet. He would have filled a drunkard's grave before the time when he first held a public office. He would have been energetic, thorough, and devoted in attention to the bottle, and the bottle would have got the best of him before he reached the age of thirty years.

Here is another statement yielded by the same interesting piece of writing :

"Sometimes I was sent to Columbus, nine miles south, on horse-

back, to make small purchases. I remember yet the firm of Goodale & Butties—which the boys travestied as good ale in bottles—where, one morning, I bought some sickles or scythes and other matters, having risen long before day, mounted old sorrel, and ridden to Columbus, determined to be back before breakfast, which I accomplished."

Energy like that, had it been less of the spasmodic order, would have worked one can not fancy what a world of wonders for the boy in whom it showed itself. But Chase's energy was always rather unsteady.

"One ludicrous incident," writes he to Mr. Trowbridge, "of the chore kind impressed itself strongly on my memory. The bishop and most of the older members of the family went away one morning—he having ordered me to kill and dress a pig while they were gone, to serve for dinner that day or next. I had no great trouble in catching and slaughtering a fat young porker. And I had the tub of hot water all ready for plunging him in, preparatory to taking off his bristles. Unfortunately, however, the water was too hot, or, otherwise, in wrong condition; or, perhaps, when I soured the pig into it, I kept him in too long. At any rate, when I undertook to take off the bristles, expecting they would almost come off of themselves, to my dismay, I could not start one of them. The bristles were *set*, in pig-killing phrase. I picked and pulled in vain. What should I do? The pig must be dressed. In that there must be no failure. I bethought me of my cousin's razors, a nice new pair, just suited to a spruce young clergyman as he was. No sooner imagined than done. I got the razors and shaved the pig from toe to snout."

This anecdote reminds me, somehow, of its hero and narrator's action in a part of his financial ministry. The financial pig had to be dressed. In that there must be no failure, even if the sharp experiment of the legal-tender legislation should be necessary to secure success.

But I beg pardon. Secretary Chase, in his next letter, said:

"I think the shaving of the pig was a success. The razors were somewhat damaged in the operation; but they were carefully wiped and restored to their place. My impression is, that, on the whole, however, the pig killing was not satisfactory to my good uncle, and that my good cousin found his razors not exactly fit for use the next morning. It was, on the whole, a funny rather than a useful operation. I succeeded however, for it showed that where there is a will there is a way, and that there are more ways than one of doing a thing."

Here seems to me an anecdote yet more suggestive :

"I was not a contumacious youth, certainly, but I did sometimes feel a little rebellious when I thought harshness went to the point of oppression. At one period, for a while, nothing that I did seemed to please my uncle. I tried my best to satisfy, but without avail. At length I said to myself, 'There is no use in trying. I won't try. I'll do just what I think right, and let him like or dislike it.' I went on this way two or three weeks, when, one day, the bishop surprised me with :

"'Salmon, you have been a very good boy, lately.'"

To attempt to please despotic men is to appear to them low-hearted and base-minded.

"My memories of Worthington, on the whole," wrote Secretary Chase, "are not pleasant. There were some pleasant rambles, some pleasant incidents, some pleasant associates, but the disagreeable largely predominated. I used to count the days, and wish I could get home, or go somewhere else and get a living by work. I remember reading in some paper that carpenters were wanted, and commanded good wages, in Pensacola, and I longed to go to Pensacola, and be a carpenter."

Was he ambitious to a fault? If so, when did he become so? What so changed him? Nay, he never was ambitious to a fault. Sometimes he was not half enough ambitious. Certainly, ambition was not very great in him, when he desired to be a carpenter at Pensacola.

But it may be said that the tyranny of Bishop Chase had then almost destroyed his spirit. This is not a simple eulogy of any one. Obedience, allow me, then, to suggest, could never have been quite the forte of Salmon Portland Chase. And as he came to manhood, he showed himself a hard task-master. That, indeed, he never ceased to be. But now let us attend to the consideration that his life at Worthington, so far, does not appear to have been marked by great ambition of any kind, whether in the school or elsewhere.

It is time to look at him as he himself, at six-and-fifty years of age, remembered himself as a school-boy at Worthington. He wrote to Mr. Trowbridge :

"I can not recall the order of events at Worthington. I was there a little more than two years—from June, 1820 to November, or, possibly, December, 1822. My impression is, that I began going to school soon after I arrived, and continued pretty regularly about a year—working at chores, etc., out of school hours and in vacation, and doing pretty much every thing which a boy of my age can do.

It seems to me that the school was broken up during most, if not the whole, of the second year."

The next foregoing letter of the series, to which we are at present so much indebted, said :

"Another time, my cousin Philander, who had been at sea on the 'Guerriere' with Commodore McDonough, in the capacity of teacher or chaplain, and had returned recently, came to Ohio, and, under the bishop as president, took charge of the school he had established at Worthington. I was a scholar in this school. Some of the boys were from the town and county around it, but many from distant places and from other States. Charles D. Drake, from Cincinnati, son of the celebrated Dr. Drake, and now a distinguished citizen of St. Louis;¹ Allan McArthur, from Chillicothe, son of Gen. McArthur of the war of 1812; Tom and Nat James, also of Chillicothe, sons of a prominent citizen of that place; Alexander and Beza Wells, sons of a wealthy manufacturer in Steubenville; Mortimer Talbot, son of Isham Talbot, of Kentucky, were among these last. I was the only boy from New England, and the other boys, whose ideas of a Yankee, derived from their parents and their friends, were, I fear, not altogether just,² were much inclined, for a time, to twit me on being one. Every now and then they called me Yankee, in tones not altogether respectful.

"At length, I could n't bear it any longer, and said to Tom James, when, one day, he called me a Yankee:

"Tom, if you call me a Yankee again I'll kick you."

"Well," said he, "you're a Yankee."

"As good as my word, I kicked him,"³ and made the kick just as severe and just as disagreeable as I could. He was older than I, and I expected a fight. But, instead of attacking, he went after the bishop, and complained. I was at once summoned into his presence.

"Salmon," said the bishop, very gravely and severely, "Tom James says you have been kicking him. Is it true?"

"Yes, sir."

"What did you kick him for?"

"Because he called me a Yankee."

"Well," said the bishop, "are you not a Yankee? Your father was, and I am, and we were never ashamed of the name."

"Yes, sir," said I, "I do n't just mind being called a Yankee, but I won't be called a Yankee so," with a pretty decided emphasis on the last word.

"The bishop could not help smiling, and dismissed (me) with a reprimand, which I did not mind much. I was not called a Yankee, so, after that—and had no occasion to kick Tom James again.

¹ Now Chief Justice of the Court of Claims at Washington.

² Ante.

³ Was not this a "personal fight?" Or was it purely patial and patriotic? Ante.

"It was a boy's quarrel. Tom James grew up to incipient manhood, and then went to the undiscovered country. Peace and love to his memory."

Amen! but let us dwell a little on the anecdote. Already I have called attention to the sectional aversion which made Yankees very odious to "river men," especially in Cincinnati, for a long time.¹ But though I heard Storer, Walker, "Billy" Greene, and other New English-Cincinnatians called Yankees, never did I hear that name applied to Chase or to rare Ben Fessenden—two men remarkably unlike each other. Never did Chase seem to me a Yankee. He appeared to me more like a haughty and yet gentle Englishman, with the "modern improvements."

Here is more about school-fellows:

"Among the boys, I best remember Charles Drake, Allan McArthur, and William Walker. Charles Drake was an intractable, insurrecting little fellow, smart and resolute, who more than once ran away, and more than once was brought back and punished severely. The little stoic, to escape flagellation, would rub his eyes, and pretend to cry, but never shed a tear. The boys said he could n't. *He is just as resolute and determined now as he was then, and commands, by his integrity, the confidence, and, by his abilities, the respect, of his fellow-citizens.*"

I could repeat an anecdote, related to me by Mr. Rairden, of Cincinnati, which would show the independent pluckiness of Judge Drake quite strikingly.²

Chase says that Allan McArthur "was a manly, generous boy, but not always in favor. He was once sentenced to coventry, and I violated the order of silence by speaking to him. I counted him my friend, and thought the order unjust."

Here is another extract from a Trowbridge letter:

"I went to school, as I have said. The school house was a square, brick building of two stories, on the west side of the town square. I remember little of what happened there. I must have been required to compose; for I remember, on one occasion, that my cousin commended a composition in terms which I thought quite unmerited, and which took me entirely by surprise, but which, after all, made me feel quite proud.

"I must have been taught some Greek, also; for my exercise in

¹ Ante, Chapter III.

² His Introduction to his father's autobiography is finely written.

an exhibition occasion—probably at the convention of 1821—was an *original* Greek oration. How I puzzled over it; what trouble I had to turn my English thought into Greek forms! The grammar and the lexicon and the Greek Testament were in great requisition. The subject was Paul and John compared—at any rate, Paul was a principal figure, though my memory may be at fault as to John. The subject helped, for it allowed me to take sentences from the Testament, and so abridge my labor. At length the piece was finished—the platform in the north end of the school-room erected—the boys summoned, one by one, from a little room on the east side of it, which served the purpose of vestry-room, when, on Sundays, the school-room was used for the church services. My turn came to front the terrors of an audience. I walked out on the stage; my knees shook; my eyes were dim; but memory served me faithfully, and I went through. The bishop was proud of his Greek orator, and, I dare say, though I have small remembrance of my own feelings, I thought myself quite a lion.”

Our hero adds, confirming, unintentionally, what I have elsewhere ventured to say about him as a worker:¹

“I was not always industrious. I liked to read stories, and would sometimes have some interesting book of narrative, real or fictitious, before me when I should have had my lesson-book. And once I remember being mean enough to hide my story-book and substitute my lesson-book, as my cousin-preceptor came by and looked inquisitively into my desk. Whether he detected me or not, I can not tell. He made no remark.”

He is a statement as to matters of religion :

“My uncle was a thoroughly practical and, at the same time, a thoroughly religious man. He desired that I should be a clergyman of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and so took some pains to make me read books which would convince me that this was the only true church, reformed from Romanism, but preserving the order of succession in the government. I read some such books, and was convinced, and became quite a zealous champion of the Episcopacy. There was a boy in the neighborhood, whose name I have forgotten, whose parents were Methodists, and I was very solicitous to turn this boy from the error of his ways, and bring him into the true church. Our debates were frequent and, on my part at least, earnest; but my success by no means corresponded with my zeal.

“Under the directions and instructions of the bishop, I was confirmed while at Worthington. It seemed to me, and was, an awful and affecting ceremony, or, rather, act. The youth takes upon himself the promises made for him in baptism. Whatever the validity of promises made in behalf of an unconscious babe, whether or not such promises add any thing to the force of moral obligation which

¹ Ante, page 84.

rests upon every human soul from the first dawn of consciousness, there can be no doubt as to [the] import of the pledges which the youth makes when receiving confirmation. *I felt these deeply, and earnest were my resolutions to keep them.* After-experience satisfied me how impossible it is for the man to be what the youth promises; how impossible for man is any thing beyond sincere aim and constant endeavor, true sorrow for sin, and true faith in Christ as the only Savior, and so, with the help of the Divine Spirit, progress."

There, I think, is a true picture of the spiritual man that was, if I may so express my thought, the other and the better self of Salmon Portland Chase, from early manhood to his last of life at five-and-sixty years of age. That such a man may be a sinner, and a very heavy sinner, is too well attested by the current of biography and history alike; but such a man is apt to sorrow and atone for all the sins of which his conscience gives him notice.

I quote again from a Trowbridge letter:

"My cousin, Philander, being ordained deacon, took charge of the church at Steubenville, or Jonesville, perhaps both; and no successor took his place as preceptor. I am sure that my scholarship, such as it was, grew rusty. The bishop made me read some Latin, and I, of my own accord, read some history. My Latin book was *Grotius de Veritate Religionis Christianae*, the title as near as I recollect it. My principal English book, a history of the *Conquest of Mexico*, by one of the companions of Cortez; I do not remember the name. Except this reading, and that of some books on church government, I was simply a farmer's boy, doing all kinds of farmer's boy's work.

"Should I omit to tell you that the bishop was not so absolutely resolved on making me a minister as never to refer to the possibility of my being something else? One instance of this made quite an impression on me. I wanted to go to the Olentangy for a swim. The bishop, when I asked permission, refused it, saying, 'Why, the country might lose its future president, if you should be drowned.' Since then my name has been mentioned in connection with this high office and is now. I do not flatter myself that I shall ever fill it, and I think I can honestly say that I do not permit the desire of it to trouble me or distract the even course of my conduct. Perhaps this was in 1822, for I was then fourteen, and a stout well-grown, active, awkward boy."

That the bishop was a true Chase in the instinct rather than disposition to dominate all that does not bear itself a little proudly, seems to be quite certain. Secretary Chase related also this anecdote:

"At another time, by way of punishment for something, the bishop ordered me to bring into the house, the next morning, before day, a

great pile of wood. I went to work, and accomplished the task, with a heart full of rebellion against what I thought unjust tyranny. There was a boy in the house named Eleazar Hubble—if I remember rightly. He was—well, if I put my impression of him in one word, I should say he was a sneak. To this boy, smarting under the real or fancied wrong, I said of my uncle:

“‘He’s a darned old tyrant.’”

“And he went and told the bishop what I had said. I was in no humor to deny or to retract, and so I was put in coventry—that is to say, the boys and everybody else were forbidden to speak to me, and I was forbidden to speak to anybody. If I had [been] ordered wrong, I knew that I had also done wrong; but several days went by before I could confess it. At last, with rather a bad purpose, I fear, I did, and the sentence was revoked. Even now I almost wish I had not.”

I have already related that, on the 7th of December, 1872, Chief Justice Chase accused himself of having lied, in asking pardon of the bishop. How he happened not, of course, quite gravely, to accuse himself in that fashion, is related in another place.¹

In the Trowbridge letter, dated January 29, 1864, appears this paragraph:

“This brings to a close my reminiscences of Worthington. I might add something about our neighbors, blacksmith Glass, at the end of the lane from our house to the road; Widow Topping and her daughters, close by; Dr. Wetmore, the family physician—though for us boys the prescription was usually a draught of boneset; Mr. Maynard, a free thinking farmer, who lived half way to town; but enough of all this.”

We must now prepare to go to Cincinnati with our hero. A most interesting progress, we shall see.

“The Episcopal revenue,” wrote Mr. Chase, “was scanty. The church in Ohio was weak. Most of its members were farmers. Of those who were not, few had considerable incomes. Prices of all provisions were low. Corn ten cents or even six cents a bushel, the purchaser gathering it himself in the field. Twenty-five cents a bushel for wheat, good and in good order. Plenty of pork from pigs which were ear-marked and left to find pretty much all their own food. No good roads; no accessible markets; no revenue, and poor chance, therefore, for salaries. I have heard my uncle say that his whole money income, as bishop, did not pay his postage bills. At that time it took a bushel of wheat to pay for a letter from over — miles distance. The school must have proved a failure, I think, for, as I have said, I do not remember it the second year.

¹ Post.

"Under these circumstances, in 1822, he was offered the presidency of Cincinnati College, and accepted it. He delivered the Baccalaureate there at the commencement in that year, and, in November, I think, removed to Cincinnati with his family.

"At the time of removal he had just recovered from a dangerous sickness—bilious fever—and was not entirely well. The roads, never good, had now become very bad. It was a pleasant morning when we set out in the old coach, with two stout horses—one, if I remember rightly, old sorrel—and six precious souls within; the bishop and his wife; one or two little ones; Mrs. Russel and her daughter, and myself. I have a dim impression that a young student named Sparrow—afterward distinguished in the church as Dr. Sparrow—was of the number. But I am doubtful of this. It was a pleasant ride to Columbus, where we stopped a while and received the hospitality of some friends at dinner. In the afternoon we set out, expecting to pass the night at a log tavern some ten miles distant. We reached the tavern just at dark. A party of drovers filled its scanty room; and we could [not] obtain if we desired admission. 'There is a house two or three miles farther on,' a man said. 'You can get in there, I reckon.' There was no choice, and we went on. It was very dark, and the mud was deep, and the road almost impassable. In the course of an hour, the carriage was brought to a sudden halt by a stump too high for the wheels to go over, between the forewheels. Here was a catastrophe. Fortunately, we had an ax, and soon had cut levers from the saplings in the woods, and with their help lifted first one axle and then the other over the stump. It was necessary to be more cautious, so I was sent forward with a light to pick the way, while the carriage followed slowly. It seemed as if we should never get through those three miles. Once the idea of passing the night on the road was proposed; but we trudged on. At last, after three hours' trial, the bark of a dog announced the neighborhood of a human habitation, and, soon after, the glimmer of a light flickered through the trees. We reached the cabin, and asked shelter, and were received.

"It was a rude log hut, inhabited by a man and his wife and three or four children. The long beard and sallow face of the man showed that he had been very sick with fever and ague, and was slowly recovering. The woman was rough and imperious—evidently the mistress. There were but two beds in the room, but there was a shed on the outside, built up against the house-wall, of logs. One of the beds was surrendered to my uncle and aunt, the children were packed off into the shed. The woman and her husband had the other bed, the rest of us camped on the floor. In the night, my uncle became very ill, and we were all greatly alarmed lest he might relapse and be very sick again. To have been sick there, in such a place—so far from medical help—was a distressing thought."

That last suggestion may be doubtful. At the best the help of the physician is of doubtful efficacy in most cases, and such "doctors" as were then in Franklin County, or in any other county of Ohio, or in any other portion of the country, were devoutly *not* to be desired,

in most cases. This, we shall discover, is a theme of deep importance to this work ; but I must not attempt, at present, to show how our narrative so much concerns us with physicians and their art and science.

To resume ; Our hero's narrative goes on as follows :

"There was no more sleep for us that night. I went out into the woods, which came close to the house on one side, and brought in fuel ; and we kept good fires. My aunt was an excellent and most affectionate nurse."

An excellent and most affectionate nurse can, not seldom, work wonders, mocking all the science and the skill of the physician.

"The morning dawned," continued Secretary Chase, addressing Mr. Trowbridge ; "uncle was well enough to proceed ; the horses and we were on our way again, through the 'Darby Barrens,' as they were called—a breadth of land west of the Scioto, covered with grass, with a spare growth of stunted trees scattered through it—across the Little Miami and through to Cincinnati."

CHAPTER VII.

AT CINCINNATI FOR THE FIRST TIME.

"**A**T last," continued Chase, "I'm in Cincinnati. The first house I entered was that of Ethan Stone, a gentleman who had been very prosperous, and accumulated a large property, but was now sharing the general embarrassment which attended the winding up of the Bank of the United States in Cincinnati. There had been a contest between the Bank and the State in regard to the tax law, finally decided against the State. The affairs of the branch had not been prosperous. Both causes induced the Board at Philadelphia to wind up its affairs. The debtors were called on for payment, and it was impossible to pay. Mr. Stone was one of them, and was obliged to surrender nearly all his property for a release of the claims against him. But he was still living in his handsome mansion, with tall wooden pillars, forming¹ its portico, and exciting the wonder of a boy who had never seen any thing of that magnificence.

"The bishop remained a short time under this hospitable roof, and then took a house on the north-west corner of Fifth Street and Lodge alley—a small house with only six or seven rooms, including attics—a little yard in the rear, at the end of which was a cowshed.

"I entered college as a freshman, but soon conceived the idea, that, by extra study, I could be advanced to the next higher class, and, having obtained the consent of Mr. Sparrow, then in college as Junior or Senior, to hear my lessons, began to read up with that view. It was not very difficult to accomplish the object; for the requirements of scholarship was by no means exacting. In a short time, I offered myself to be examined for advanced standing, and was advanced to be sophomore.

"It was not a study-loving set of boys who resorted to the Cincinnati College at that time. Among the number, I best remember Henry Wilson, son of Dr. Wilson, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church; John Scott Harrison and Benjamin Harrison, sons of Gen. W. H. Harrison; Ben. and Ned.(?) Noble, sons of Gov. Noble, of Indiana; Louis Noble, a very promising youth of Cincinnati; Alfred Reeder and John Rice, also of Cincinnati; and Charles Sillman, son of Dr. Sillman, of the same place. Of them [all], I think I admired Louis Noble most, and most esteemed Scott Harrison. The only young man from the South, I remember, was Louis Lamy, of whom I remember nothing else. And I must not forget Stephen Johnson,

¹ Sic.

son of Col. John Johnson, of Piqua, who subsequently went to the Navy.

"We made very little progress, worth calling such, in our studies. Our tutor, Mr. Lewis Howells, was not very exacting; and the only other professor I remember, Dr. Slack, who filled the chair of chemistry, and I know not what other chairs, was still less inclined to severity."

On copying these words,

"the old time comes o'er me,"

when I used to see the doctor almost daily, and to hear often anecdotes of pranks played upon him by "the college boys," of whom some were afterward my intimate acquaintances. My Alma Mater, was indeed, the "Athenæum," now succeeded by St. Xavier; but the Cincinnati College almost seemed to me another Alma Mater.

Chase continues:

"We began Homer, in the sophomore year, and were two weeks getting through the Prolegomena of the first book. If we ever read any of the book itself, I have forgotten it.

"To make amends for defects of study there was a good deal of mischief and fun. One morning, as Dr. Slack came into the chapel for morning prayers, he found himself anticipated in the pulpit by a stuffed owl, with a pair of spectacles like his own, ingeniously fastened in front of its glazed eyes. The doctor, not in the least disconcerted, removed the creature, and proceeded with the service, to the discomfiture of the boys, who expected an explosion.¹

"At another time, a cow was brought up into the second story, and entered, and graduated."²

"I," continues Mr. Chase, "had little or nothing to do with these sports. I had the chores to do at home, and when I had time, I

¹ There is a reference to this, in verse, as follows:

"My mind runs back
To Doctor Slack,
Who was too slack, i' faith;
Yet was it foul
To make an owl
Do service as his wraith."

² This incident, also, has been sung. The verse alluding to it has this tenor:

"While toys are toys,
Boys will be boys;
As then it was 't is now;
But it was not
A civil thought,
To graduate a cow."

Yet many a calf is graduated, even at the European universities.

gave it to reading—either under the bishop's direction or at my own will. I milked the cows, along where is now Fifth Street, to a field bordering on the stream which enters the Ohio between the city and the hills which form the western border of its valley, and is named Millcreek, or more classically, Mah-ke-te-wah."¹

Would that he had studied less and had more fun! His life might have been happier. He would have attended better to the duty of self-popularization. He would have been fitter to be President, and President he would, perhaps, have been, had he attended better to the duty just, not for the first time, acknowledged in these pages.

"One day," proceeds our hero, "Henry Wilson, who was reckoned the most sanguinary and dangerous young fellow of our number—he was noted for his fighting qualities—said something—I don't remember what, but which I thought untrue. I said, 'That's not true.' He turned on me and demanded, 'Do you say that I lie?' I saw that I was in a predicament. I must either retract and violate my conscience, or stand to what I had said, and take the risk of the fight. I did not hesitate, but replied, 'You know that it is untrue.' Fortunately for me, he cooled down, and let the matter end there."

Here was more than moral courage. Here was that high action of the heart—that *robur et erectio cordis*—in which mind and body both, discerning and intelligently fearing, in a certain sense, a menaced evil, prefer resistance, at all hazards, to submission or to acquiescence.

"On another occasion," we are told, "a frolicsome and mischievous boy of our sophomore class, just before the tutor came in, set fire to one of the desks. I tried to prevent it, but he was too strong for me. It was burning when the tutor entered. He put out the fire at once, and directed us to take our seats. Mine was at the upper end of the class. He began with the one at the bottom.

"'Sophomore ———, did you set fire to the desk?'

"'No, sir!'

"'Do you know who did?'

"'No, sir.'

"'He reached the culprit.

"'Did you set fire to the desk?'

¹ What Cincinnati does not remember the parody:

"On muddy Millcreek's marshy marge,
A tender tadpole dwelt,"

Or words to that effect? The poem parodied, was called, I think, the *Spotted Fawn* the parody the *Spotted Frog*.

"Nothing abashed, he answered,

"'No, sir.'

"'Do you know who did?'

"'No, sir.'

"I saw I had to pass the ordeal, and *determined to tell the truth, but not to inform on my classmate*, which I thought about as mean as telling a lie was wrong."

A new *ex pede Herculem*! The narrative goes on as follows:

"So, at last he came to me:

"'Sophomore Chase, did you set fire to the desk?'

"'No, sir.'

"'Do you know who did?'

"'Yes, sir.'

"'Who was it?'

"'I shall not tell, sir.'

"He said no more. The case went to the Faculty, and, I heard, was the subject of some discipline; but it was not thought worth while to prosecute the inquiry."

The narrative now turns to other topics. It proceeds as follows:

"The only reading which was out of the ordinary course, which I remember, was an old Latin quarto, bound in parchment, which the bishop set me to translating. It was one of the theological works of —I forget which. I translated from forty to fifty pages, perhaps.

"The bishop kept me under severe restraint. I was never allowed to go out without permission. So far did he carry this that he punished me severely for having gone to the house of the Rector of the Parish, one evening, without having asked his consent.

"Cincinnati was then a comparatively small town. From Fifth Street north, there were few buildings. The Court-house had been removed from its original location in the square on which the college stood to the centre of a lot of ground on Main Street—the same lot on which the existing Court-house stands. Mr. Este, a prominent lawyer, had built a residence not far from the Court-house. I remember no other building of consequence north of Fifth Street. A trade had sprung up on the river; but there was little, comparatively, in the interior. The river was a wonder to me; especially when swollen by the spring flood; and a still greater wonder were the steamboats—inconsiderable crafts, doubtless, but to me monsters. The name of only one remains in my memory, the —. I know it came from New Orleans, and that seemed to me so far off; and the mysterious foreign name impressed me strangely."

Notably important seems to me the relation of the Cincinnati terraces and the adjacent slopes, with the waters and the skies belonging to their landscapes, to the sum of influences which, at this time, must have affected the development of taste and tendency in the

mind whose history we are tracing. Therefore, is that I am about to offer extracts from some of Chase's early writings, as containing interesting contributions to the physical topography and the political and social topography, if I may say so, of the Cincinnati valley with its beautifully molded heights.

One of the ablest, most characteristic, and interesting of the writings in which Salmon Portland Chase's pen reveals its love of country and performs important public service, is the historical sketch of Ohio, prefixed to Mr. Chase's edition of the Statutes of that State. The work to which it is preliminary is itself enough to prove the depth and strength of public spirit in its author. But the sketch has hardly yet received due credit. It is very finely written; and some passages of it are positively beautiful.

The extract offered here affords a topographic and historic contribution. It is in these terms:

"In October, 1788, John Cleves Symmes, in behalf of himself and his associates, contracted with Congress for the purchase of a million of acres, adjoining the Ohio, and between the Great and Little Miami; but in consequence of his failure to make due payments, the greater part of this contract afterward reverted to Congress. The patent, which finally issued to him and his associates, included 311,682 acres; of which, only 248,540 acres became the property of the grantees; the residue, consisted of grants and reservations, for various purposes.¹ One township was granted for an academy; and two sections in each township were reserved; section sixteen, for the use of schools, agreeably to the ordinance of 1785; section twenty-nine for religious uses; and sections eight, eleven, and twenty-six, for future disposition by Congress. Not long after the completion of this contract, Symmes sold the site of Cincinnati to Matthias Denman, of New Jersey, who entered into a contract with Colonel Patterson and Mr. Filson, of Kentucky, for laying out a town. Filson, however, was killed by the Indians before he entitled himself to any proprietary right under the agreement, and his interest in the contract was transferred to Israel Ludlow.² On the twenty-sixth of December, Patterson and Ludlow, with a small party, arrived at the site of the projected settlement. In the course of the winter a town was surveyed and laid out, by Colonel Ludlow; and the courses of the streets of the future city, were marked on the trees of the primeval forest. The name first given to the place was Losantiville, a barbarous compound, intended to signify '*a town opposite the mouth of the Licking*;' but this name was, not long after, changed for CINCINNATI. The site selected was extremely beautiful. Seen in the summer, it presented a vast amphitheatre, inclosed on all sides by hills, wooded

¹ The punctuation is that of the original paper.

² *Drake's Cincinnati*, p. 129.

to their summits. The Ohio—*La Belle Rivière* of the French—came into the valley from the north-east; and, sweeping gracefully around near its southern border, departed to the south-west. From the south, the Licking brought its moderate tribute, just opposite to the selected site; and a little to the west, Millcreek flowed silently, from the inland country, to its confluence with the Ohio. The unaccustomed luxuriance of the vegetation, and the majestic size of the forest trees, covered with thickest foliage, with which the wild grapevines were frequently intermingled, astonished and delighted the eye of the eastern emigrant. Even in winter, when the settlement was made, the scene, though divested of its summer glories, was far from being unattractive or uninteresting. The climate, it is true, was inclement; but that very inclemency was a protection against savage incursions. Game, of every description, abounded in the woods, and the waters teemed with fish. The emigrants, therefore, had light experience of the hardships usually encountered in the first settlement of a wilderness."¹

Says Dr. Drake:

"By the ordinance of Congress, passed July 13, 1787, providing for the government and defining the principles on which the people of the North-western Territory, when divided into States, should form their constitutions, it is expressly declared that there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except for the punishment of crimes, unless with the consent of both the general government and the people of the territory. When the Constitution of Ohio was formed, the prohibitory language of the ordinance was adopted, and slavery is forever excluded from this State. That the other Territories, North-west of the Ohio, will pursue the same course, there can be no doubt; and hence this fine river will acquire additional distinction in future, from being made the northern barrier to this execrable practice."²

Chase was the most distinguished glorifier of that ordinance; but he was by no means the first. Nor was Daniel Drake the first.

How did the presence of the blacks in the Cincinnati valley influence the mind of Chase in boyhood? We have seen already³ how early, as a lecturer and as a writer for the public press, he agitated against slavery. We shall farther see how, at three-and-twenty years of age, he could publicly speak and write against the ownership of human beings. How was it with him during his first sojourn at Cincinnati, when he had but about a dozen years of age?

The splendid piece of architecture that now spans the river, con-

¹ *Chase Statutes*, 20, 21.

² *Picture of Cincinnati*, p. 172.

³ Introduction.

necting Covington with Cincinnati, and the railway bridge that now reaches from Newport to Cincinnati, with the Licking bridge, were then but possibilities. The ferry-boat alone enabled him to cross the river, if he did not take a skiff. Did he visit Covington and Newport? He has not recorded. But, without passing the river, he could see the painful, baleful marks of slavery in Covington and Newport. In the Cincinnati market he could buy provisions of human things, not legally considered persons, owned across the river. Slavery invaded Cincinnati freely, if that expression may be used; and some Cincinnatians openly regretted that they, too, could not have negro bondsmen. How was he affected by the presence of these colored men and women?

Speculation, all. He has not told us, and we can not say.

They had society at Cincinnati. Society, I mean, *par excellence*, the thing that calls itself "the best society," the *bon ton*. How far did slavery, and sympathy with slavery, affect society in the city which was to become our hero's place of residence? Dr. Drake may guide us toward the right answer. He said, in the already cited work:

"In no town of the State is there so great a proportion of black population as in Cincinnati, where in 1810 it amounted only to seventy-nine, making about one-thirtieth of the whole. At present the number of blacks and mulattoes does not exceed 200, counting all shades and ages."¹

¹ Page 172. The same work says: "Both the ordinance of Congress and the Constitution of Ohio, guarantee the recovery of fugitive slaves; but by the decision of our courts, those brought hither are free from the moment of their arrival. By our constitution, *while* male inhabitants *only*, enjoy the right of political suffrage; negroes are of course excluded from that privilege. By a statute enacted in 1804, and amended in 1807, free negroes are prohibited from selling in this State without giving bond and security that neither they nor their children shall become public charges; but as this provision is considered unconstitutional, it has, I believe, in no instance, been enforced, and we have all the black population which an unopposed immigration could give. By the same laws, negroes and mulattoes are prohibited from giving testimony against white persons. Whether this be not unconstitutional as well as the other, may be doubted; but it is generally carried into effect throughout the State.

"At the time of adopting our State constitution, it was predicted that we should be degraded by the free negroes of other States, and infested with their runaway slaves—neither of which has yet been realized."

The same writer says of the free blacks at Cincinnati in 1815: "They are a thoughtless and good-humored community, garrulous and profligate; generally disinclined to laborious occupations, and prone to the performance of light and menial

We ought not to forget that this was written in 1815, about five years before our hero went to live at Cincinnati. What the colored population showed itself to him we have no means of making certain. Let us rest on inference. I am able to say that, from 1832 down to the present day, the colored element of the Cincinnati population, badly treated as it has been by the greatest number of the whites, has been steadily improving. As a judge at one time, and as a lawyer prosecuting or defending at another time, I had occasion to observe how the representative colored Cincinnati compared with other types, and how he bore himself toward his fellow-citizens. I do not say he showed himself an angel, but I do say that, considering how he was dealt with, he dealt well with others.

The society of Cincinnati, therefore, and the *bon ton* of other portions of the Cincinnati valley, at the time of our hero's first sojourn in that valley, may be well supposed to have been more than tinged with pro-slavery feeling.

The free negroes of that place had a hard lot when I first paid particular attention to their state and prospects. That was when I began to talk with old "Aunt Rachel," who inhabited a cabin on Broadway Street, the west side, between New and Seventh. She was a great actress, though she never trod the stage. Mrs. Wilkinson, in *Ambla Bodish*, was not more effective than Aunt Rachel sometimes showed herself in denouncing, about equally, the abolitionists and their opponents.

Yet, to speak more accurately, there was more of nature's eloquence than that of conscious acting in those utterances of Aunt

drudgery. A few exercise the humbler trades, and some appear to have formed a correct conception of the objects and value of property, and are both industrious and economical. A large proportion are reputed, and perhaps correctly, to practice petty thefts; but no more than one individual has been published corporally, by the courts of justice, since the settlement of the town." *Picture of Cincinnati*, p. 172.

Dr. Drake, however, did not fairly represent the general sentiment of Cincinnati as to slavery in 1815, or for a long time afterward. And it must be carefully considered that the agitation of the abolitionists was for a time so marked by recklessness, or half-maniacal excitement, that the advocates of slavery were enabled to persuade some anti-slavery men that opposition to slavery was necessarily attended with injustice to, or toward, the white population of the South; in short, that the agitation of the abolitionists against slavery apparently occasioned a reaction in the interest of that fell institution.

Rachel, who, though far from white, could never have pronounced with strict regard to truth,

"I am black, but I am beautiful."

The *Picture of Cincinnati* thus notices the "state of society" in 1815 :

"This can not, of course, be portrayed with the same facility and exactness as in older communities. The people of the Miami country may, in part, be characterized as industrious, frugal, temperate, patriotic, and religious, with as much intelligence, and more enterprise, than the families from which they were detached.

"In Cincinnati, the population is more compounded, and the constant addition of emigrants from numerous countries, in varying populations, must for many years render nugatory all attempts at a faithful portraiture. There is no State in the Union which has not enriched our town with some of its more enterprising or restless citizens; nor a kingdom of the west of Europe whose adventurers or desperate exiles are not commingled with us. To Kentucky, and the States north of Virginia—to England, Ireland, Germany, Scotland, France, and Holland, we are most indebted.

"Among such a variety, but few points of coincidence are to be expected. Those which at present can be perceived are industry, temperance, and love of gain."¹

Three pretty good distinctions of the growing citiet. Our author also says :

"With a population governed by such habits and principles, the town must necessarily advance in improvements at a rapid rate. This, in turn, excites emulation and precludes the idleness which generates prodigality and vice. Wealth is, moreover, pretty equally distributed, and the prohibition of slavery diffuses labor—while the disproportionate immigration of young men, with the facility of obtaining sustenance, leads to frequent and hasty marriages, and places many females in the situation of matrons who would of necessity be servants in older countries. The rich being thus compelled to labor, find but little time for indulgence in luxury and extravagance; their ostentation is restricted, and industry is made to become a characteristic virtue.

"It need scarcely be added, that we have as yet no epidemic amusements among us."²

Yet our author had to own that dancing, which would seem to be a pleasure of the epidemic order, was "not infrequent among the

¹ Pp. 166, 167.

² P. 167.

wealthier classes." True, he felt that he could safely add: "But it is never carried to excess."

The same judicial witness also says:

"Theatrical exhibitions, both by *amateurs* and *itinerants*, have occurred at intervals for a dozen years; and a society of young townsmen have lately erected a temporary wooden play-house, in which they have themselves performed. But as the tendency of their institution to encourage *strollers* and engross time has been deprecated by the more religious portion of our citizens; and as the members have failed to realize their anticipations, with regard to the accumulation of a fund for the relief of indigence, they will be likely soon to relinquish the pursuit, and leave their stage and its trappings to some future votaries of Thespis."¹

Chase was never much addicted to the theatre, he told me. Not long before his death, he went to "assist" at the *Meg Merrilies* of Charlotte Cushman, here in Washington; but at Cincinnati, where I often met some of his legal brethren in the theatre, I never saw him there at all.²

Dr. Drake has put on record the following statement:

"During the winter, select parties are frequently assembled, at which the current amusements are social converse, singing and recitation, the latter of which has been lately predominant."³

Here is another interesting statement of our author:

"Cards were fashionable in town for several years after the Indian war that succeeded the settlement; but it seems they have been banished from the genteeler circles, and are harbored only in the vulgar *grog-shop* or the nocturnal *gaming room*."⁴

Rather too severe on the "keards," dear doctor! Not in grog-shops or in gaming rooms alone were cards a favorite pastime at

¹ Pp. 167-8.

² Cincinnati was called by Ned Marshall, about 1849, a very "chunky" place. Perhaps it never was the gayest or the brightest city in America; but it was never quite so chunky, I conceive, as it appeared to Marshall.

³ P. 168. Recitation long continued to be a favorite amusement in some of the pioneer homes of Cincinnati. How many youthful Cincinnatians have aspired to domestic glory while reciting

"My name is Norval, on the Grampian hills,"

or,

"On Linden when the sun was low,"

would need some pages to set forth.

⁴ P. 167.

Cincinnati. Some of the most saintly women that have ever lived at that place, taught their own children to play *seven up*, and *whist*, and *euchre*.

Now I call attention to a statement of some interest to climatology. Dr. Drake said, in 1815:

"Sleigh-riding and skating are rarely enjoyed, on account of the lightness and instability of the snow and ice."¹

And here is a statement, looking, somewhat, in the same direction:

"Sailing for pleasure on the Ohio is but seldom practiced; and riding out of town for recreation, on horseback or in carriages, is rather uncommon, for want of better roads. Evening walks are more habitual, in which the river bank and adjacent hills—the *Columbian Garden*, and the *Mound*, at the *west end*, are the principal resorts."²

There came a time when trips to Louisville and back by steamer were quite fashionable; and never did a fashionable pleasure show itself more rational. The City at the Falls may never rival Cincinnati, but the former was a gayer city than the latter; and the situation of the former, with the characteristics of the charming scenery between Louisville and Cincinnati, made the trips referred to truly full of pleasantness.

Chase was destined to be a devoted Cincinnati; but very soon the country, North and South and East and West, was to know and claim him for her own—to influence his life, and to be influenced, in turn, by him. It may seem, therefore, that too much attention is devoted to his life at Cincinnati.

As already intimated, I refer to history for much of his career in public. Here the reader is at least invited to make thorough study of the various preparations of his private and his only slightly public life for the course in which the eyes of the whole country followed his direction and his tendency.

Ohio was the scene of his first public triumphs. I am not a native of Ohio, and I do not fondly glorify her land, her people, or her laws and manners. As for Cincinnati, Harriet Martineau and others found it all that it appeared to me.

And how about that portion of the Cincinnati valley which be-

¹ P. 168.

² P. 168.

longs to my beloved native State, the State which even an English abolitionist could call "glorious Kentucky"?¹ Have I not a word to say in praise of that portion of a valley which, on the Ohio side, appears to me so interesting?

It is far from easy to do perfect justice to the difficulties of that section of the Cincinnati valley as a place within the jurisdiction of Kentucky, now, and once within the jurisdiction of Virginia. Naturally, Covington and Newport, and the other Cincinnati suburbs, lying in Kentucky, are most happily conditioned. But they were of that which I have elsewhere called the South defined by Art, the South defined by Nature being circumscribed, in part, by the wavy line, forming the northern boundary of successful cotton culture, while the South defined by Art had the northern boundary of the late "peculiar institution," known as slavery.

¹"On passing Cattslettsburg, we bade adieu to glorious Kentucky. Harriet Martineau, *Society in America*, I, 178.

CHAPTER VIII.

RETURN TO NEW ENGLAND—AT DARTMOUTH COLLEGE.

THE narrative afforded by the Trowbridge letters thus proceeds:

"The sojourn at Cincinnati was not long—not quite a year.

"The bishop grieved over the destitution of the Diocese. He wanted, above all things, a Theological Seminary for the education of the ministry. He wanted, too, a college, if he could establish one. He determined to go to England and ask for aid. He resigned the presidency of the college. The family was broken up. I accompanied the bishop and his wife, and their little children, on the journey eastward.

"We left Cincinnati, I think, in the same old coach which had brought the family into it. I remember little of the journey. We stopped at Chillicothe, where, at the house of the Rev. Mr. Kellogg, I began my acquaintance with Cooper's novels by reading the *Pioneers*—greatly fascinated. Journeying eastward, we reached Steubenville, and stopped at the hospitable mansion of Mr. Wells, the father-in-law of my cousin, Philander, whose wife I now first met.

"Mr. Wells was a manufacturer, but had lost by it. He still retained, however, his beautiful place on the banks of the Ohio, and there, with his sons, my schoolmates, and in his pleasant family, I passed some very agreeable days. The Ohio being wadable, I crossed it in that way, in order to be able to say that I had been in Virginia.¹ The bishop held a service one day at Cross Creek, a church well attended, but without a house in sight of it.

"From Steubenville we went northward to Warren, already a very pretty town. There we stopped at the house of a gentleman, whose mother lived near him in a small house with but one room, or, at most, two. The old lady preferred this way of life to being a member of her son's family, where, possibly, something might occur to mar the affection between them. I visited her. Every thing was in perfect order, and very pleasantly arranged. Content, cheerful piety, and good taste, gave beauty to every thing.

"From Warren our way lay northward to Ashtabula, over the only turnpike road then existing in Ohio. It was a dirt turnpike,

¹ There used to be a sign at Little Rock:

"A. M. Scott, Attorney at Law,
The man that waded the Arkansas."

but the weather was good and the road, therefore, excellent. From some place on this road, I was allowed to go to Harpersfield, a town not far from it, to visit my brother, who had returned from Gen. Cass's Expedition, and was reading, or had read, law there, with Mr. Harper. I think I failed to find him, but saw Mr. Harper, who gave me a good account of his prospects.

"Rejoining the bishop, we continued our journey from Ashtabula east along the shore of Lake Erie. How beautiful were the shining waters by day, and with what awe and delight I listened to their roar as the wind rose and the waves rolled and broke upon the shore at night. At one place, at night, I went out by myself, and hearkened to the grand music, till I could remain no longer.

"Much of the way was on the beach where the waters would roll up under the carriage and bathe the horses' feet.

"We were three or four days in coming to Buffalo, of which I remember nothing, except going to church, and then Cherry Valley, of which I remember just as much, with the variation that the church was in a court room, and I went to sleep."

Did Justice, then, dull Piety?

"At last," continues Secretary Chase, "we came to Kingston, on the Hudson, the home of my aunt before marriage. It was a pleasant place, that home. My aunt's relatives were, or had been, connected with the East India Trade, and in the house were various shells, brought from over the sea, which were very wonderful to me. I had never seen the Ocean, but these shells seemed to tell me some thing about its vastness and beauty. There was a boy in the house, too—a lad—who had lived in the East Indies. We consulted together a good deal during my brief stay at Kingston, and he told me stories of that far-off land. One impressed me with a strange sense of the ridiculous, the foolish, and the criminal.

"He described a little boy's going out as he had seen them on the banks of the Ganges, and making mud images, and then saying prayers to them. With the pity I felt for these little worshippers, there mingled, I fear, some contempt. But why? Do we not see people every day making themselves mud gods? What are half the objects of public veneration but mud gods, which they themselves have made? How often do the people invest some man with attributes wholly imaginary, and then almost deify him?¹ What is history, for the most part, but a record of mud gods and their worship?

"I did not stay long at Kingston. My uncle gave me three or four dollars and his benediction, and I was taken down to the river and put on board the boat for Albany. Nothing of much interest occurred on the boat that I remember, nor any thing at Albany. From Albany I went to Troy, and there inquired the road to Bennington and Brattleboro, and started off to make across the mountains home. My scanty purse did not contain enough to pay stage

¹ I fear that Chase will appear to have been thinking of Lincoln-worship when he wrote these words. Yet we shall see that he generally did justice to the real worth of the man he once called the noblest of our martyrs.

fare. I thought little of that, however. I started off with a brave heart.

"I walked, [with] occasionally a ride from some farmer going the same way, and finally hiring a man to take me in his wagon for the last fifteen or twenty miles, the whole distance in three days. One night I passed at a house on the road-side, where I was greatly shocked by the coarseness of the language and manners of the people who lived in it. It was a delight when I came within view of Monadnock, some thirty or forty miles off, to see the grand old mountain lifting his peaceful head toward heaven, and seeming to look toward me with a sort of welcome. It was a foretaste of home. It was dark before I entered the village. The man drove the wagon to the door of the old yellow house. I jumped out, and, giving him my last dollar, ran in, where mother and sisters, surprised and glad, gave me a most affectionate welcome. How long the three years of absence seemed! I hardly expected to be recognized."

To add a word to Chase's own account of that welcome home would be impossible. The holy joy of such reunions is beyond all intimation through the agency of words.

But that New England household, touched as it was with the ideal, breathed, for the most part, the true spirit of the real and the practical.

"What should I do now?" continues the delightful narrative of Secretary Chase, addressed to Mr. Trowbridge. "It was soon settled that I should go on with my studies, and do what I could to support myself. My precious mother, out of her scanty means, thought she could spare enough to pay what I could not earn, and so let me go through college. How little I appreciated, then, the sacrifice she was making! How much she was to stint herself—almost to suffering—that her boy might have a good education. It is sad to think—tears fill my eyes as I think—how late true appreciation of such sacrifices comes. Alas! how often, as in my case, not adequately—if ever adequately—until the beloved mother, who made them, has gone beyond the reach of their manifestation.

"Not many months after my return a committee came into town to engage a master for a school in a district of the adjoining town, east of Keene. How application came to be made to me, I don't know; but I presume the minister, Mr. Barstow, was consulted, and he probably recommended me.

"I had, I think, commenced my recitations to him, and he knew the straightened circumstances of our family.

"At any rate, I was engaged, at the munificent salary of eight dollars—it may be, six or seven—a month, and board. In a few days I was conveyed to my district, and established as boarder in the house of a worthy farmer. I was very kindly treated by him and his family. They gave me a comfortable room, and plenty of apples, nuts, and cider. I took charge of the school with some apprehension, but without much self-distrust. There was the usual number of boys

and girls, and they were of the usual ages. They were disposed to fun more than to study, and, I am afraid, did not stand in sufficient awe of their boy-master. I assumed dignity, and tried to enforce order and attention to studies. Occasionally, I punished some infraction of rules with the instrument all New England schoolmasters use—the ferule. There was one boy older than myself, and stouter, who took more liberties than the rest. I admonished and reproved him without much effect, and, I fear, in no very suitable way. At last he did something which provoked me greatly, and I gave him a pretty severe blow with the ferule on his head. He subsided, for the time, into dogged submission; but, doubtless, complained of me to his parents. The next day, or very soon after, I received a note from the selectmen, or the school committee, expressing their conviction that the school was not likely to be useful under my government, and informing me that my services would not be required thereafter. So ended my first attempt at school-keeping.

“I went home a little crest-fallen, and resumed my recitations to Mr. Barstow.”

Certainly, even had our hero been of sweeter, smoother disposition, he was quite too young to teach, when to teach and to flog appeared inseparable. But, we shall see, notwithstanding the religiousness and careful conscientiousness of Chase, he never could command so happily as might have been desired. His temper always was a somewhat moody one, and he was always prone to Govern with a big G, as intimated in a former chapter.¹

“Among my shadowy reminiscences of the winter,” continues our hero, “are *Quentin Durward*—which interested me immensely—a visit to my sisters from my Cornish schoolmates, Gratia and Betsey Marble, now grown to be beautiful girls and fine singers, who delighted me with the ‘Star of Bethlehem,’ and various songs, grave or funny; Milton, parts of which I memorized, and recited to my sister, Abigail, the memory of some of the lines, especially of the description of ———, faithful among the faithless, remained with me ever after.

“Toward spring it was determined that I should go to Royalton, in Vermont, where my former instructor, Mr. Sprague, was preceptor of the academy.

“It must have been early in 1824, perhaps in February or March, that I went to Royalton, and was received in the family of Dr. Denison, whose wife was the bishop’s sister and our favorite aunt. The doctor occupied a very respectable and comfortable mansion in the north-eastern part of the village, with a garden on the northern side, just beyond which stood the Congregational Church. In front of the house was the road—the main village street—across which, situate in an open space in a sort of public square, stood the

¹ Chapter II.

Academy. Behind the Academy, and skirting the village, from north to south, or north-west to south-east, ran the little, clear, sparkling stream, called Whitewater River. Behind the house rose the hills, among which a peak, called the pinnacle, was very conspicuous, and a favorite resort of the boys and girls who attended the Academy. Among the girls there was one—born somewhere South—gentle, pretty, and intelligent, who quite won my heart. Walks with her, sometimes to the top of the pinnacle, whence I guarded her descent with solicitous care; visits to the house of some neighboring friend, varied by a row in a skiff in the Whitewater, were my chief out-door pleasure. In-doors, I learned to play chess with my cousin, Jo Denison, who, for awhile, was at home from college—the University of Vermont—for vacation. It has since been in my power to make one of his sons Collector of New Orleans. Of chess I was very fond, and it came near disturbing my progress in study. But, after all, study was my chief occupation. I wished to enter the junior class at Dartmouth at the approaching commencement, and was obliged to read a great deal to make up the difference between the scanty proficiency at Cincinnati as sophomore, and the catalogue requirements for a junior at Dartmouth. But I did read a great deal; reciting to Mr. Sprague, and reading, for the most part, during reading and study hours, at my desk in the common study and recitation room. I did not read thoroughly—nor was my preceptor very well qualified to criticize my recitations. He generally took what I gave him as I gave it, and let it pass. How much I have since regretted the extremely loose way in which all my education went on! There was no discipline, and, in the end, of course, little thoroughness and little accuracy.”

Here, I think, self-accusation is a little too severe. While I have nothing to retract of what has been said in other chapters, as to Chase's never having been distinguished by profundity, it seems to me the language just quoted needs restraint. To say that Salmon Portland Chase had little thoroughness and little accuracy as a student, is, I think, to say too much, even in self-censure.

I suppose it was at Royalton that Chase received this precious letter from his eminently worthy mother:

“KEENE, August, 14, 1824.

“DEAR SALMON: I received your kind letter in due season. At that time your aunt Dunbar was very sick; we were doubtful of her recovery. So I was nurse and house-keeper, and I have hardly been out doors since, till yesterday, when I called on Mr. Parker and made known your request. I did not show him your letter, but told him *your intention of spending another year in studying before you entered college*, which I should be glad to oblige you in if he thought consistent with your property and what I could do for you in clothes etc. He said he would leave it to Mr. Sprague, where I suppose you will be willing to have it end, and I acquiesce. I sent the book by Miss Blake that you sent for, which you have received be-

fore now, I expect. Salmon, I wish you to be more particular when you write to me to let me know when (?) and how your dear sisters do and all our relations are in Vermont. I often think of them, and wish I could add one to the number in their family circles and in their beautiful church; that I think of with regret that I am placed so far from the comforts I should enjoy in that house. Edward has just returned from Plainfield. He left there last night, after five o'clock, and arrived here before seven. He is anxious to continue his studies there, and I have got leave for him one quarter more; and if he continues to make as good a scholar as Mr. Newell thought him to be when I was there, I shall try hard to have him educated, *that being all that your dear father ever expressed a desire for his children.* Mr. Newell told me that he was what they called a driver, as good a scholar as there was in school; he said, was he his own son, he would not miss having him educated for nothing, and *I would be willing to wash or scour to get him through.* I feel a great desire to have you all honor the name of your ever-lamented and deceased father. I wish you to send down to Edward all the Latin books that you do n't need. He wants his Latin grammar. He might have done with it by this time, if you had been willing to do by others as you would be done by. Do n't think because a book is mislaid, you can't take the trouble to look for it. Remember that it cost money, and *that I am short of;* and if I were not, I should wish to be careful of my books. *Dear Salmon, I had like to forgot to tell you that Mr. Parker thought you had better engage a school next winter in season. That would help you some.* Give my best love to aunt and uncle Denison, and to sister Smith and family, and to Alice, and to all near and dear relations too numerous to mention. I saw a gentleman right from Ohio; a Mr. Davis, who is in Mr. Jones' store, in Salem. He told me that H—— was well, and married to J. King, a fine young lady as could be produced in New Hampshire—so you see a short time has made me mother of a fine daughter. I told Mr. Davis that I had heard so before, but did not believe it, because he had not written to me to let me know it himself; but he assured me it was true, for he attended the wedding himself. He informs me that A—— is doing well. *He has bought him a farm, and works on it like a hero.* He is justice of peace and has a good share of business in his office as a lawyer; he speaks very highly of him. *May God grant that he may be a good man, and that will be great to me.*

"Salmon, I wish you to write to me good long letters and tell me all about the family, for every branch of it is interesting to me. *Send your letters by private conveyance to save postage.* My bill is nearly ten dollars, and that would help pay for schooling. Do n't think your mother is growing stingy in her old age. Send the books to uncle Chase, he will be there next week.

"Your affectionate mother,

"JANNETTE CHASE."

Surely, surely, if the so often quoted and so seldom deeply studied words, *ex pede Herculem*, really suggests a truth that has wide connection with cognate truth, the writer of that letter was a woman

of good family, in the best sense of that expression. I would say, that, probably the Ralston pedigree, whereof, alas! we know too little, was essentially as noble as the pedigree of Ithamar, the husband of the woman who composed the just-quoted letter.

Salmon Portland Chase was careful to preserve memorials of that devoted mother, that devoted wife. He saw no "rough vulgarities" in her experiences, in her observations, in her modes of life. He loved and prized his mother while she lived; he loved and prized her memory when she was dead. He was a man of the true stamp, a gentleman by birth and education; such a man as always loves his mother, and acknowledges, with a proud gratitude, his obligations to the woman whose relation to his life began before his birth was consummate.

"The great event of my stay at Royalton," wrote Mr. Chase to Mr. Trowbridge, "was the marriage of my sister Jane to Dr. Skinner. At the same time, Gratia Parkhurst, one of her friends, was married to Dr. Bloss. Two fine girls they were, and their lovers were promising young men, just commencing the practice of their profession. The double wedding took place in the little Episcopal church at Bethel, whither we went in such vehicles as the country afforded; and then there was the wedding party at aunt Denison's, and the fun and the jollity, and the rich happiness that usually attend such occasions. My cousin Jo and I officiated as waiters; for servants were unknown, and help was scarce."

Is it important to this narrative that servants were unknown and "help" was scarce where our hero took his earliest impressions and received so much of his methodic education?

That this volume is no silly eulogy has been quite clearly shown. There is no impropriety in saying that the reader must prepare to find our hero's head a little turned with wealth and fashion—in a word, with that which calls itself society; and it is well to keep in mind that where he passed the greater portion of his life, down to the years of manhood, help was scarce and servants were unknown.

'T is true, it were but wild and almost savage to propose that there should be no servants where

"wealth accumulates and men decay."

The state of culture and the state of ignorance, the state of the poor and the state of the rich, defy all study of the economic sciences and arts to find a remedy, complete in all its parts. Aesthetic culture can not be invoked to close the drawing-rooms

in which so many articles of *virtu* typify the educated love of the fine arts; nor can the love of dress, the passion for the rules and the observances of *etiquette*, and like distinctions of that which calls itself society, be expected to give up, at present, or perhaps at any day, however distant, the dear objects of their adoration.

While we have those objects to be worshiped, there must be a servant class, a master class. How far this is of interest to the elective franchise—how it is of interest to other matters of distinctively political concern—I do not here attempt to indicate.

We must now prepare to go with Chase to Dartmouth College.

Secretary Chase wrote thus to Mr. Trowbridge:

"Then came the day I was to go to Hanover to present myself for examination for admission as Junior. I went and found the professors much engaged. I was sent from one to another, questioned a little—luckily for me with no great severity—and was admitted. One of the questions by the learned professor of mathematics amused me. He undertook to fathom my geographical attainments, and asked: 'Where do the Hottentots live?' I was tempted to answer, 'In Hanover,' but prudence restrained me.

"After the commencement I went, with my cousin Jo, to Burlington, Vermont, and made a short visit to my aunt Durbin. I was greatly delighted by the place and its beautiful situation on the shores of Lake Champlain.

"Four weeks passed in rambles and visits, and I returned to Hanover, and became junior in fact. I took a room in the college building—having for my chum, my classmate Jeremiah Russell, afterward a respectable lawyer in Massachusetts. While rooming in the college I boarded, for the greater part of the time, in club—that is to say, a number of the students organized themselves into an association; rented a room; provided food and attendance through a committee, and assessed the expense on the association. If any one desired board without being a member of the association, he could have it on paying an established weekly rate; and there were a number who did so. I was one.

"During the winter which followed my first term I again attempted to teach a New England District School, this time at Reading, where my brother-in-law, Dr. Skinner, was established in practice as a physician. The district in which I was to teach was a mile or more from the village, and I boarded round among the families. The board, I believe, was not set up to the lowest bidder, as was, and perhaps is, sometimes done in New England, but assigned at a fixed rate to two or three families who were willing to take the 'master.' My first home was with a farmer named Townsend, who had some very smart children who attended the school. There was no direct road to the school-house from his place, and we usually took a path across lots and across a deep ravine. Sometimes, in a snow storm or after one, the traveling was not agreeable. I was very kindly treated.

"My chief literary resource was the *Mysteries*, and which fairly made my hair stand on end.¹

"From this house I went to Deacon Somebody's, where I had all the comforts they could give me, and the society of two very nice old maidens, daughters of the deacon, who, with his wife, was well stricken in years. I was too young to appreciate the character of those with whom I was thus brought in contact; but I am sure they were honest, good people. My success as a teacher was not marked; but there was no serious complaint; and when I closed my term, and, with the earnings of the seven or eight weeks' teaching, went back to college, I felt that I had really accomplished something for myself.

"The next summer an event occurred which turned out to have more connection with my affairs than I had any idea of. The treasurer of the college was a reserved, honest man, who had, somehow, incurred the general dislike of the students. So, on the evening of the 4th of July, they gave him a serenade with all sorts of unmusical instruments, when he rushed down among them in his night dress, with a gun, or some other weapon, in his hand; but the boys stood their ground, and he was obliged to retreat. The affair made a good deal of noise, and was discussed at the faculty meetings, but nothing serious came of it. A few days afterward I got up some doggerel on the event, which I undertook to read as a class composition. I began thus:

"Dreadful perils do environ
The man that meddles with cold iron;
Thus saith old Butler, and saith well.
So, if you'll list, a tale I'll tell
How this old saw was verified,
And how poor Tom was terrified.
'Twas on the day ———.

"*'Stop, Junior Chase!'* said the professor of rhetoric. *'Sit down, sir.'*

"I sat down, and the next was called for composition. While the other students were reading, my piece was circulating round the class and gave great satisfaction. When the compositions were collected, I did not hand mine to the collector, but the professor demanded and received it. I expected serious consequences; but the faculty, before whom the piece was produced, doubtless regarded it as a good joke, or, at most, a very venial offense. I heard no more of it."

At this point, it seems well to introduce another most characteristic and, accordingly, most precious letter, to our hero from his mother. Here is a transcript of that invaluable piece of indication:

"KEENE, *July 10, 1825.*

"DEAR SALMON: I received your letters in due season, but have not been able to raise the money you sent for yet. I have received

¹I have not been able to make out this passage.

forty-five dollars, which I shall send by Mr. Stone. I have paid none; pay him yourself, and be careful to take receipts for any money you pay, and for what. Keep a memorandum of all your expenses. Mr. Parker thinks your bill high for this year, and so do I; but I expect you will explain it when we meet again, if it should please God that we should. I hear you have left your boarding place, which you did not inform me of in your letter. Mr. S. told me it cost seven shillings for board and washing, last quarter. When I last saw you, I understood you boarded as well as you wished. I am sorry you did not give me information of your change. Salmon, if there is any odds in the expenses, even sixpence in a week will make twenty-six shillings in a year. Salmon, I hear you say what a close calculator mother has become; but it is my dear children that makes me parsimonious, if I am so. I hope never to be reckoned among the stingy. I have sent fifty dollars to Dr. Skinner to pay Edward's bill there. I send twenty to him to-day to pay for his last quarter. I sent to Mr. Parker to borrow the other twenty for you, and shan't seal this till I know if I get it. I have seen none of Mrs. H's. family since I received your last letter. Lauretta called on me after I arrived in Keene, and gave her mother's love to me, and to urge me to spend several days with them. She appeared happy and cheerful as usual. I have not forgotten your shirts. I hope, if my eyes should gain as they now do, I shall be able to sew a little in three or four weeks. I send you sixty dollars.

"Your affectionate mother,

"JANNETTE CHASE."

Another letter of this series is not dated; but I found it backed, "My Mother, August, 1825." It reads as follows:

"MY DEAR SALMON: I received your kind letter, expressing your disappointment at not receiving your money at commencement, which I am very sorry for. I made particular inquiry if there was any one going from Keene, and could find none till I heard Mr. Parker had gone, and then it was too late. But you must learn to put up with such little disappointments, as at that time I should have sent but forty, that being the sum you wished when here. I shall send you sixty dollars by Mr. Stone, as you wish me to. Dear Salmon, you must cut off some of the ten thousand things and bring them down to hundreds. I know you make a good use of what I send you; that is, I have full confidence in you; but I know the feelings of my dear children and wish not to cramp them; but *the way to be generous is to be prudent, so as to put it in our power to help our fellow-creatures*. You will say, mother gives me line upon line, precept upon precept; she will learn me economy if she can. I felt some disappointed not to see you in Keene, and not to know where you spent your vacation, nor to know what your standing in college is. *You should be more particular; such things are pleasing to a mother*. You refer me to Mr. Stone; but it is you I shall look to for that information, unless I get it accidentally. The bed that you have sent for I have not sent, as I think it would be cheaper to hire one than

to send it for the time you would need it; but if you can't hire one, you must agree with the stageman to fetch it for some certain price from here there, for I have no one to do it; and they take the advantage if there is no agreement. Mr. Stone told me he hired his, so if you should send, I wish you to send an open line by the stageman to hand me, so that I may send it this week. I expect to leave Keene next week. Mr. Stone had engaged a school in Westmoreland for four months, at fifteen dollars per month. He has disengaged [*sic*] to take this at sixteen dollars on condition he procures another to take that I mentioned you. He said you might take it. You had better speak to him about it. It is the best school in Westmoreland. I should like to have you take this school; and it would be more convenient for me to see to your clothes; and you could study there as well as at Hanover; and sixty dollars would do a good deal toward clothing. Perhaps you have engaged one; if so, I am glad. I have not got your shirts made yet, but hope to have them by the time. I hope to put my trust in God, for he has taken care of us yet; and what shall we render to that good God for all the blessings that he has been pleased to bestow upon us. We ought to go to our knees to render praise and thanksgiving to that good being for his goodness to me and my dear children. Dear Salmon, let not your studies, friends, and acquaintances keep you from the love of God. Remember that every good and perfect gift comes from God, our only Savior and Redeemer. Salmon, go to him, and praise his name for his goodness to you and mine. I have a great many things to say, but I have not time now.

"From your affectionate mother,

"JANNETTE CHASE."

At every advance, one falls more and more in love with the antecedents of our hero's public life. Says Trench:

"We have learned lately to speak of men's antecedents; the phrase is newly come up; and it is common to say, 'If we would know what a man really now is, we must know his antecedents,' that is, what he has been in times past."

In a certain sense, indeed, we may find the antecedents of a man in his domestic antecessors, or in other words, his ancestors. In a certain sense, the antecedents of our hero partly lived and breathed in the devoted woman, from whose pure womb he issued, and from whose dear breasts he drew the precious aliment of youngest infancy. The more I learn of Jannette Chase, our hero's mother, all the more do I feel certain that the life we study was, indeed, in spite of its defects and imperfections, that of a true worthy.

Chase continues to narrate as follows:

"The summer of 1825 was marked for me by another incident, not unimportant in a boy's life. Some difficulty occurred in which

a friend of mine, George Punchard, a warm-hearted, generous fellow—the best speaker, though by no means the best scholar in our class—became involved. I had nothing to do with the affair, and so do not, now, even remember what it was. But I took Punchard's part, warmly; both because he was my friend, and because I thought him unjustly censured. The faculty took the matter up, and soon we heard that Punchard was suspended. I at once waited on the president to remonstrate. He received me kindly. I told him how firmly I was convinced that Punchard was innocent of the charge against him. He intimated that the faculty was the proper judges of that question, and had decided it. I said:

"Then I desire to leave the college; for I do n't wish to remain where a student is liable to such injustice."

"Had I consulted my mother?"

"No; but I wanted leave of absence that I might do so."

"You can't have it," said the president.

"Then, sir," said I, very respectfully, "I must go without it."

"He saw my determination, and, I think, really respected the motives which prompted it. At any rate, he consented to the leave, at last. And Punchard and I left the Plain, as the site of the institution was called, together. It was with great satisfaction and a sort of self-approval, that I took my seat beside him, in the one-horse chaise, and bid good-bye to those of our classmates who witnessed our departure.

"We went to Keene, where Punchard left me, and went on to Salem, where his parents resided. My mother welcomed me. She did not approve but did not censure harshly. I could not help feeling that I had done right in standing by my friend; but I was sorry that I had been obliged to leave college. Fortunately, Punchard's suspension was soon ended—perhaps shortened by the faculty—and we both returned, considering ourselves as a sort of small heroes.

"Nothing else of much interest occurred. Commencement came, and five Juniors became Seniors. These were considered as inevitable to parties and competent to visit. I formed some agreeable acquaintances on both sides of the river. Capt. Partridge's military school was then established in Norwich, and I occasionally went over to see cadets of my acquaintance—holding in highest esteem, among them, Valentine B. Horton, who now enjoys merited honor as one of the foremost citizens of Ohio."

The course of study at Dartmouth, down to 1823, is shown in Farmer & Moore's *Historical Collections*.¹ I suppose it was the same during the time of Chase. Did enlightened views of method shape that course of study? In a certain sense, one might almost say that vicious method has more virtue than a total want of method. Self-taught men waste years and years in finding out the method best adapted to their own peculiar needs and tastes.

¹ Vol. I, 38.

That Bishop Chase was a good teacher, I can not believe. No man of his imperious temper ever went to the depths of any subject, ever had the patience necessary to conduct the studies of the young. Unconsciously and, in some measure, unintentionally, Bishop Chase, in taking Salmon West with him, and in so soon giving him back to the peculiar physical conditions and the manners of New England, finely prepared his nephew for collegiate life. But I have found no traces of great indebtedness on the part of Salmon Portland Chase to his tyrannical though pious uncle, as to the direction in which any but religious preparation for the great battle of relations in society should advance. Indeed, the type of piety itself in Bishop Chase was far from amiable. Possibly, the observation of it, the example of it, did more real harm than benefit to his oppressed, at one time almost broken-spirited, young nephew.

But that sojourn in Ohio, and that going back to New Hampshire, I conceive, were full of benefit to Chase's future. But for that return, our hero, there is reason to believe, would not have been at Dartmouth as a student. But for that, there is reason to believe, his life at Washington, as teacher and as student, would not have constituted part of his fine preparation for a permanent abode in and near the Cincinnati valley.

Was our hero a good student while at Dartmouth? I have intimated my opinion that he never was a student of the most devoted, steady, and methodic order. Here is Professor Cleveland's valuable testimony:

"I became acquainted with Mr. Chase soon after he entered college; and though he was one year in advance of me, I soon formed an intimacy with him, closer, probably, than any other, not excepting even the members of his class."

Is it not strange that in writing to Mr. Trowbridge, even so hurriedly, Mr. Cleveland should have been forgotten? I am able to state that Chief Justice Chase had a very high regard for that distinguished, able gentleman.

The professor thus proceeds in his account of Chase at Dartmouth College:

"His independence, his manly bearing, and his high moral principles no one could help admiring; and *though he was not ambitious of college rank, and did not study to attain it, yet his early admission into the Phi Beta Kappa Society, and the distinguished part he took in the commencement exercises, gave ample evidence of his high scholastic attainments.*"

CHAPTER IX.

CHASE AT WASHINGTON—THE WIRT FAMILY—EXCURSIONS—MAKING VERSES.

"AFTER commencement," continued Secretary Chase, "I visited my sister, Mrs. Colby, at Hopkinton, where I united with the Episcopal Church, under the charge of the Rev. M. B. Chase. It was my purpose to go South and teach, for a time, and then pursue whatever profession might appear to me best. I had not relinquished the idea of being a minister; but greatly doubted whether I had any right to assume the duties of so sacred an office.

"Mr. Chase gave me a number of letters to gentlemen in Maryland and Virginia, with one to the Rev. Mr. Wilmer, of Swedesboro, New Jersey, and one to a clergyman of Philadelphia, the Rev. Mr. Allen, I think.

"My visit to Hopkinton over, I went to Reading, where my mother was staying with my sister, Mrs. Skinner. They both welcomed me, and the little time I remained in New England was passed with them.

"At last the time for departure came. My dear mother gave me the little money she could provide rather than spare. It was yet dark when I rose and took the early breakfast provided for me, and with a mother's blessing, and a sad yet hopeful heart, left home for the world."

That sad yet hopeful heart was justly hopeful, naturally sad. That mother's blessing was bestowed upon a worthy son. But life, we can not too often remind ourselves, is but a battle. Whether it shall ever be less warlike it is not desirable to ask ourselves at present.

Of the tenets the religious faith of Salmon Portland Chase preferred, in becoming a member of the Church of England in America, this volume does not undertake to say a word. In another place, some sentences are given¹ to the object of enabling readers to discern the type of our hero's faith, especially with reference to the life beyond the grave. But I do not obtrude my own religious

¹ Post, Conclusion.

views. The question is not what the author of this volume is, but what its hero was.

At present, it seems quite sufficient to declare, that my own judgment of the life we study is that, up to this time, it deserves to be credited with principles of true religion in a sense of deep devotion to the Godward.

Deep devotion to the Godward comprehends, at least in an enlightened Christian spirit, deep devotion to the Manward, pure and ardent love of country, and, indeed, the best relationship to all good interests.

Our hero's narrative goes on as follows:

"A short ride of ten or twelve miles brought me to Windsor, still before day; then the stage came along, and one young passenger got in, and on went the horses again. Again I was climbing the Green Mountains; again passed through Albany, turning now, however, my face southward instead of westward. Down the Hudson in a steamer to New York, and then by stage and steamer to Philadelphia. I wish I could recall the incidents on the journey, but they are faded from memory. Perhaps, the lines will reappear as hereafter I look back, more and more, as is the wont of those growing old, through the misty past upon events long gone by.

"At Philadelphia, and at the house of the Rev. Dr. Allen, I found my uncle, the bishop, who had returned from a successful visit to New¹ England, and was now busily engaged in building up Kenyon College.² I was advised to go to Swedesboro and see Mr. Wilmer; and to Swedesboro I went. Mr. Wilmer was very kind, and would have been very glad to have such a school as I contemplated opened in his parish, and made some inquiry to ascertain if scholars could be had. The result was unfavorable and I returned to Philadelphia and almost immediately set off for Baltimore. I had no letters to Baltimore, but had one to Dr. Tyler, ...³ at Frederick City.

"I found Dr. Tyler very kind and very willing to promote my wishes, but, alas! there was found no opening for my school in Frederick. So I went on to Washington by the direct stage road.

"How well I remember the earnest prayer which went up from my heart that God would give me work to do and success in doing it."

If the answer to that prayer did not at once reveal itself, assuredly the glory that the life which breathed that prayer was to win and wear at Washington was very great.

The narrative of Chase goes on as follows:

"There was my best hope, and there I had letters to the Rev. Dr.

¹ So in the original. ² In Ohio at Gambier.

³ I can not "make out" the writing at this point.

Hawley and the Rev. Mr. Allen. Both were interested in me, but neither could help me much. I resolved, however, to open a select school for boys, and so, one morning in January, 1827, a new advertisement appeared in the *National Intelligencer*, announcing that a Select Classical School would be opened in the city, on the — day of —, by Salmon P. Chase. At this time, I boarded with Mrs. Markland on the Avenue, whose husband, I think, was a clerk under the government. My room-mate was a young doctor—if I remember right, a Dane. It troubled me to determine whether I should continue my 'private prayer' openly or in secret. Duty seemed to require the open manifestation of my religious faith, and, after some hesitation, I kneeled by a chair, the first night we passed together, and offered my private worship to our Father who art in Heaven. My room-mate did not exactly sympathize with my sentiments; but I think he respected me the more for making them thus quietly but decidedly known."

No doubt of that. No man that saw such a man as Chase in prayer could fail to respect the worshiper, whatever he might feel toward the worship.

"At this time," continues Mr. Chase, "Mr. Adams' administration had just entered on its second year; and my uncle Dudley was Senator from Vermont, and a supporter of Mr. Adams. He had been an ardent democrat in the days of Madison, and liked Mr. Adams better than many of the federalists did. These last never quite forgave his support of some prominent measures of Jefferson."

Many pages in which I tried to show the true relation of the Adamsses, respectively, to Hamilton, on the one hand, and to Jefferson, on the other, I have felt obliged to cancel, in order to make room for other matter. In another place, however,¹ I have tried to show how Salmon Portland Chase himself must have regarded Hamilton, and Jefferson, and the two Adamsses. Such a showing seems a proper part of the endeavor of this book to bring out all the most important sentiments and views of its hero.

"I was not," continues Chase, "of a very inquisitive disposition, and, though glad to know and to be noticed by distinguished men, never went out of my way to know or to be known. Would it have been better had I been of a more inquisitive, more pushing temperament? Certainly, I should have more to tell; but should I, myself, have done more work? I am not sure. Certainly, now, looking back to those days; seeing what opportunities I had to know so much of the foremost men of the land, and what little use I made of them, I experience a very lively regret. But I am before my story.

¹ For want of space omitted.

"I remained at Mrs. Markland's, hoping for the advent of pupils for the Select Classical School; but, for many days, none came. My slender means were well-nigh exhausted; and I began to be very much concerned about my prospects. At length, a Frenchman, Mr. Sauveur F. Bonfils—I think, his middle initial was F—called on me, and made inquiries in reference to placing his young son, Columbus Bonfils, under my charge. He was so far satisfied that he engaged to send him to me. Here was one pupil—a gleam of hope. How gratified I was! Now, other pupils would pour in! My school would be full, and—; but, alas! day after day went by, and Columbus Bonfils remained the only name on my list. This would never do. I heard of clerkships, and thought how nice it would be to have one, and, while performing its duties, to pursue the study of a profession. And why should I not have one? My uncle was a Senator, and a supporter of the administration. Could he not obtain one for me? Certainly he could. I resolved to seek him. I went to his lodgings, told him my story; how desperate the expectation of scholars seemed; my project of a clerkship, and—would he help me? His reply is not likely to be forgotten.

"*'Salmon,'* said he, *'I once obtained an office for a nephew of mine, and he was ruined by it. I then determined never to ask one for another. I will give you fifty cents to buy a spade with, but I will not help to get you a clerkship.'*

"Such was the substance, if not the language, of his reply. I left him, greatly dissatisfied. Did it follow because an office did no good to my cousin, I could derive no good from one? But now I am satisfied with his answer. Had I become a clerk, it is almost certain I would have remained a clerk, or should have been, at least, disqualified by clerk habits for the work I have actually done."

Is that a just self-judgment? I think not. There be men who, being clerks, must never hope to be more than clerical. Of some men, one may say once a clerk always a clerk. But not of such a man as he for whom the Honorable Dudley Chase was unwilling to ask a clerkship.

On the whole, it seems to me our hero was not very rich in uncles, or perhaps I ought to say, in uncleing. In other words, the article of uncle distributed to him by Providence does not appear to me to have been very precious, if we go beyond the fact that all his uncles gave him, at least in some respects, the benefit of good example and the reflected lustre of conspicuousness.

The Honorable Dudley Chase appears to have been a rather modest man—a real worthy. The Vermont Reports do not, however, indicate, that he cared much for legal science, or for the state and prospects of the law, where he so long resided, and where he resided down to his death-day. Those reports do not enable us to judge the Honorable Dudley Chase's judgments on the bench. Had he

cared sufficiently for jurisprudence and for the improvement of the legal system in Vermont, would he not have made reports himself of the decisions made by him and his associates? Perhaps to answer yes, would be to judge but rashly. I repeat, this uncle of our hero seems to have been a real worthy, modest, and retiring. Many years before his death he passed in complete retirement at Randolph, giving most of his attention to his trees, and fruits, and flowers.

After all, he only meant, perhaps, to make full trial of his nephews' mettle and endurance.

Thus the nephew goes on with his narrative to Mr. Trowbridge, introducing a quite interesting character with whom I wish to make the reader well acquainted.

"Not long after this, I received a call from a stranger, who announced himself as Mr. Plumley. He told me that he had a boys' school and also a girls' school, which he had established later, and which demanded most of his time. He could not give the attention to the boys they required, and consequently the attendance was falling off. He had heard of me, and thought I could take the scholars he had left and make a good school; and if I desired to do so I could. I accepted his proposition with delighted gratitude, and, a few days after, entered on my duties as teacher."

I have had much talk with Mr. Plumley. He is now in Washington, a friendly, chatty, good old gentleman. His memory is just in the condition to be serviceable as to the time referred to in the narrative just quoted. He does not remember the occurrence related as we have just seen as it was remembered by Secretary Chase, while writing to Mr. Trowbridge.

Mr. Plumley, on the second of May, 1873, took me to the very spot where, according to *his* recollection (which I have no doubt, is accurate), he first met Salmon Portland Chase. At that spot, where Mr. Plumley was at work "gravelling," Mr. Chase, it seems, approached him, and gave Mr. Plumley a letter of introduction from Rev. Mr. Hawley, acquainting Mr. Plumley with his wish, or rather purpose, as it proved, to get up a school. He was received with kindness; but, in the course of the brief conversation that ensued, was told in a friendly manner, that, in Mr. Plumley's opinion, it would be impossible to get up a school such as he contemplated.

"Sir," said our hero, courteously, yet almost curtly, "I thank you for your interest in my welfare, but I am determined to have a school. Good morning!"

With these words, young Chase began to move off; but Mr. Plumley called him back, and introduced him to Mrs. Plumley.

"She," said Mr. Plumley (who is very faithful, indeed, to her memory), "she, sir, discerned the man at once."

And the talk that followed led to the arrangement already shown.

I told the Chief Justice how the anecdote was related by Mr. Plumley (who was then 79 years of age). The Chief Justice still did not remember the facts as Mr. Plumley remembered them; but he agreed with me, that the recollection of the older gentleman was probably correct.

In the last-quoted letter Secretary Chase said to Mr. Trowbridge:

"It was a great pleasure to me when, thirty-four years afterward, I had become Secretary of the Treasury, it was in my power to offer, unsolicited, to this worthy man, who, with his excellent wife, was then living in New York, in straightened circumstances, a respectable position, in that city, which he now fills creditably."

In the same interesting document, we have the statement:

"There were ten or twelve boys left in Mr. Plumley's school, who, with my one engaged pupil, Columbus Bonfils, formed my first charge.

"I continued in charge of this school nearly three years, commencing in February, 1827, and closing in the fall or winter of 1829. Among my boys were a number of the sons of leading men—of Mr. Clay, Mr. Wirt, Mr. Southard, Gen. Bernard. There was one lad whom I regarded as the most promising of the school, but, unfortunately, he became, after he left school, a clerk, and I found him a clerk, in the Treasury Department, when I took charge of it."¹

Chase goes forward in this fashion:

"I became slightly acquainted with quite a number of prominent characters. Too diffident to push myself into notice—possibly, perhaps, too proud to ask for recognition, and preferring to wait for it—too indifferent also—a more serious fault—to what transpired

¹ There it is again! Not just

"Still harping on my daughter,"

but still harping on that notion about clerkships. One can almost fancy that old clerk making a slight change in the sad-fated Barnwell's warning, so that it shall have the tenor:

Be warned, ye youths! who see my sad despair;

Avoid all clerkships, false as they are fair!

And, after all, the harping and the warning may not be far "out of it."

around me to take much pains to acquaint myself with the histories and men of the hour—too much inclined to spend what little time I could command in the society of one or another small circle of young lady friends—I made much too little of the advantages which a residence in Washington at that period afforded. I was poor but sensitive—a young teacher, needing to be taught and guided myself.”

And was he not very soon to be well taught, to be well guided? Was he not to have William Wirt for his preceptor in the law, and for his elder friend in every respect, his model in all grand and beautiful particulars?

The life of Wirt by Kennedy is quite unworthy, equally of hero and of author. How it may have happened to be so, I have hinted in other connections.¹ But the fact that is entirely certain is, that though, like all the works of Mr. Kennedy, that writer's life of Wirt is admirable as to style and diction, it almost fails to tell the interesting story and portray the yet more interesting character of Wirt as might have been expected.

William Wirt was one of the most interesting men that ever lived. His real story was romantic, full of incident, rich in the choicest matter of biography.

I talked the other evening with Mrs. Admiral Goldsborough, the sole surviving daughter of that genial, tasteful family. She had been, to the last, one of the dearest friends of him whose life is here related. She will pardon me for telling my dear reader (in the strictest confidence of course,) that she thus accounted for the comparative infrequency of her meetings with the Chief Justice:

“We women, you know,” explained the genial old lady, “can not seek you men, no matter how much we may wish to see you. The Chief Justice was, indeed, the best friend I ever had, in the strict sense of that term, in which we distinguish a friend from a relative; but he was busy, and when not busy, occupied with visits; I could not seek him, and he could seldom visit me; and so we met less often than would have been pleasant to us both. But we never met without renewing the old friendship, which sprang up between us when he taught my brothers in school, and was taught by my dear father out of school.”

This is, I am quite sure, though not the very language used by Mrs. Goldsborough, language very like that used by her, on the occasion just referred to.

Chase relates as follows:

¹ Post.

"I became a member of St. John's Church under the care of Dr. Hawley, and for a long while was a teacher in the Sunday School. The superintendency was offered me, but I shrank from accepting it. Another church was formed under the care of the Rev. H. V. D. Johns, with whom I formed an acquaintance that became a friendship ending only with his death.

"To this church I frequently went with the daughters of Mr. Wirt, of whom two, Elizabeth and Catherine, were then just coming into womanhood, rich in the accomplishments of thorough education, completed by the influence and example of an admirable father and admirable mother. I wish that my memory was perfect enough to enable me to describe this most delightful family; but were I to attempt it I should fail. Mr. Wirt was one of the handsomest men and one of the completest gentlemen of his time; and among women Mrs. Wirt had few equals. How gracefully and with what sweet manners she presided in that happy household I can never forget. I recall her presence now, but how indistinctly, as she stood with me one evening under the clusters of the multiflora which clambered all over the garden portico of the house, and pointed out to me the stars. There is a faint memory of a sweet voice, a sweet but noble countenance, a little pale; dark hair; clear, gentle, thoughtful, earnest eyes, not without some sparkle of playfulness. That is all.

"How many happy hours have I spent in that house. It is now devoted to some of the uses of this war, and the family is all scattered. Two of the three boys are yet living—the other dead—and all the girls except one noble and patriotic woman, gone with their father and mother to make, I hope, a family in Heaven."

Let me supplement this letter with one written to me by Mrs. Admiral Goldsborough, in 1873, in aid of a piece entitled, "*Agnes Wirt; a Story*," which, issuing out of preparation for the present work, appeared in the *Capital*, at Washington, edited by Donn Piatt.

Mrs. Goldsborough had learned from me that, when I began that piece, I was unaware that any survivor of the Wirt family resided here; but that I had learned from my friend, Mrs. Thurman, that she, Mrs. Goldsborough, had her home in Washington. The letter answered as we are about to see, also contained the words:

"On Saturday, I heard that, at the time of her death, Agnes was engaged to Mr. Chase."

The answer of Mrs. Goldsborough itself indicates sufficiently the other contents of my letter. That answer, which, as already intimated, I have been permitted to devote to the present service, is in these words:

"Mrs. Admiral Goldsborough has received Mr. Warden's note. She feels that she ought to enlighten Mr. Warden with regard to the impression he has received that Mr. Chase was ever engaged to her sister, Agnes Wirt. There was never even an *affaire du cœur* between them. Mr. Chase was a student of law with my father, William Wirt, and was highly appreciated by him and every member of his family. We all thought him full of talent and destined to become a distinguished man. He was to us a family friend, to whom we were all warmly attached—on account of his personal merits—and he reciprocated this friendship. Mr. Warden asks me to give him a description of my 'amiable, admirable mother's person, which is not described in Mr. Kennedy's book, and a like description of my sister Agnes—with an indication of her course of school education, etc.' There is no more delicate task to be performed than for one member of a family to attempt a description of the personal appearance and traits of character of any other member of the family circle. You see that Mr. Kennedy has not attempted it—although he was personally well acquainted with them both—and esteemed them highly. Nor did my father in his beautiful memoir of Agnes Wirt enter into a minute account of her features and form. She died at the early age of sixteen years—while still engaged in her studies—as a school girl. Her features and form were symmetrical—but the glory of her face was her eyes—of large full hazel—beaming with soul and intelligence.

" " ————— Her look upon your sight
 Broke with the lambent purity of planetary light,
 And an intellectual glory, like a light within a vase,
 Lit every line with beauty of her intellectual face."

"There was an effulgence—a spiritual loveliness—a beaming forth of the soul which was like a sort of heavenly radiance shed around her. There was an enthusiasm in her nature and a soul full of love to all around her—which found expression in the most caressing and endearing ways and manners—and won all hearts. An almost supernatural brightness, seemed like a halo to surround her and to shadow forth the celestial world to which she was soon to be called and destined to be an inhabitant. God seemed to have set his seal upon her as his own! She had great beauty of countenance and expression, and an intellectual play of features which was delightful to behold. Some persons are best described by painting—others by poetry—because a painting rarely ever gives the living expression of the countenance. It is better suited to the inanimate but regularly faultless style of beauty—which makes *the picture*. Poetry seizes upon the expression and character of the face and form, and conveys *the spirituelle*. I have not in my possession any thing showing the course of study recommended to her by my father. I have some letters to myself upon this subject, which, perhaps, may some day see the light—for the benefit of others—who may wish direction in the pathway of learning. Of my mother, I will say that she commanded the esteem, and admiration, and loving devotion of my dear father's heart all her life—and was

worthy of it! She was a woman of dignified, elegant manners, and great refinement; handsome and very *impressive* in her presence. As to her person, she had fine dark eyes and regular features, and a great deal of intellectual beauty in the shape of her head and in the play of countenance—and was a noble looking woman. While she graced society by her presence, she never neglected a domestic duty, or any other duty. *A sense of duty*, and a performance of it was one of her most striking characteristics. My father had the greatest respect for her judgment, and always referred to it. He trained us all to love and reverence her, and constantly referred us to her, whenever we went to consult with or attempt to sway him in any matter. She was one of those blessed women whom Solomon, in his Proverbs, commends—‘The heart of her husband doth safely trust in her.’”

We shall see much more of the Wirt family. At present, I desire to turn attention on a matter of much interest to the whole work—a matter with which, indeed, as with all the Washingtonian life of our hero, William Wirt and his delightful family will appear to have been much connected, but which, at first, may seem to lose sight of them, completely.

“During the first few months or weeks of my school-keeping,” wrote Secretary Chase to Mr. Trowbridge, “I continued to board with Mrs. Markland; but soon took up my quarters in the house of Mrs. ———¹ on Pennsylvania Avenue, north side, and east of ———.² Mrs. ——— was a good, kind, Christian woman—a dress-maker by trade, and poor in this world’s goods. I had a good room,³ and was quite comfortably provided for. What I paid her helped her to provide.

“I was obliged to read a good deal to keep ahead of my scholars, for my college opportunities had not been well improved as they should have been. I had relied too much on my faculty of easy acquirement, and had given far less time to study than was necessary to thoroughness. Besides reading to teach, I read also for general information and amusement; and wrote a good deal. Being near-sighted, I was obliged to bend to my writing-paper or my book. I contracted, in this way, a stooping habit, and, always slender, grew quite thin. One morning, coming down to breakfast, and standing by the fire, I felt a sudden faintness, and a sort of inward break, as if something detached itself from my side, and sank down within me. For a moment, I was quite faint. I did not understand the meaning of what I felt, but was afterward informed by a doctor that an adhesion had taken place, and, fortunately for me, been

¹ Mrs. Cook, according to Mr. Plumley, who took me to the spot on the 2d of May, 1878.

² 1809 H Street, according to Mr. Plumley, is the next house east of that referred to.

³ The house was quite small, if Mr. Plumley showed me the true one.

broken. I only felt that thenceforth I must avoid stooping, and did. I had my table and writing-desk arranged so as to compel me to sit or stand erect. I continued this practice many years, and the habit of stooping was thoroughly eradicated. I had no return of the sensations which alarmed me."

Perhaps, it was in consequence of this occurrence that Mr. Chase, in his days of finest person, port and presence, carried himself with an erectness, with a certain air of stateliness, which, to some, seemed pompousness of bearing, if those terms may convey the meaning I desire to signify.

Mr. Chase continues:

"I remained with —— about three or four months, perhaps, and then changed my lodgings to Mrs. King's, on the corner of —— Street and ——.¹ Her house still stands on the corner, but it seems to me very small and poor now, compared with the impressions I retain of it.

"About this time, I became acquainted with a Russian gentleman, attached to the Legation, who was of a literary turn. He translated several books into English, and published them. Among them I remember only the *Journey Round my Room*, and the *Leper of Aost*. He engaged me to copy his manuscripts—I wrote quite a legible hand then,² and to correct grammatical and idiomatic inaccuracies. I willingly undertook the work, partly for the improvement I expected from it and partly for the pay. When I had written several chapters, that neither warranted the use of so much time as I devoted to the work, and asked larger reward. The Count—he was called so, whether with or without right I know not—would not give it and I quit copying and correcting for him. He found no one who suited him, and came back to me and acceded to my terms, which, I am sure, must have been very moderate. The Count wrote and I copied and corrected for him for a good while. How long I can't tell. The Count and the work appear in memory and then disappear, but I can not fix the time during which they remain."

The author of a *Journey Round my Room* was Xavier de Maiestré.

Says Chase:

"My residence at Mrs. King's was, on the whole, quite pleasant. She was a thrifty, careful, excellent old lady, and her daughters, Mrs. Lovell, and Misses Jane and Mary Ann King, were very estimable persons. They were quite unlike however. Mrs. L—— was handsome, bright, joyous, while the two Misses King were sedate

¹ As Mr. Plumley showed me, on the north-east corner of 18th and G.

² Quite fair and legible indeed—a handsome style of writing, as his diaries manifest.

and reserved—almost severe. The whole family were of the Presbyterian Church, and attended worship where Dr. Gurley's church now stands, at the corner of ———. The building was very inferior to that which now occupies its place. The minister was Mr. Baker.

"In the summer I was the only boarder. In the winter, the rooms on the second floor—mine was in the rear—were occupied by members of Congress. John Leeks Ken, of Maryland, showed me several little kindnesses, chief among which, in my esteem, was that of franking a miniature volume of poems to the young girl-friend who had been my schoolmate at Royalton."

Was not the heart of Secretary Chase in the right location when he could indulge in reminiscences of this description? More and more this man's characteristics grow upon me as the composition of the narrative progresses. How it is with others I, of course, can not know; but it seems to me that every reader ought to recognize the real beauty of our hero's inner life, at the time when the words just quoted left his pen.

The narratives goes on as follows:

"As the winter of 1827-8 approached, I was very desirous that my uncle, the Senator, should come and board at this house; but, for him, it was too far from the Capitol.

"My board—a yearly boarder with a small room and indifferent accommodations—was five dollars a week. Members of Congress had to pay ten.

"My first few months of school-keeping gave me some money; and with the impatience which the bird feels, I suppose, to return to the nest from the first flight, I availed myself of it to re-visit New England during my first vacation. Most of my time was spent with my mother, at Hopkinton; but I also made a flying visit to my aunt, who, next to my dear mother, had most claim on my love, at Royalton. Returning, I took charge, at the request of Dr. Sewall, of Washington, whose son was one of my scholars, of his niece, Miss Emeline C. Webster, then a young lady of much beauty and intelligence, and escorted her to Washington. I found her at Taunton, with her uncle, Judge or Doctor Colby. The night I stayed there was remarkable for a brilliant meteoric display, which I was vexed to be told of the next morning, because no one had called me to witness. We had a very pleasant party in carriages from Taunton to Providence, where we took the boat from New York.

"A journey to Washington, then, took about three days—one to Providence and New York—another to Philadelphia and Baltimore, and a third to Washington.

"At Baltimore, we ascended to the top of the Washington monument—then recently erected, and still not quite finished, as to its surroundings—and saw Baltimore below us.

"There was nothing special to mark eighteen months that fol

lowed. I kept my school, and, on the whole, succeeded, though I was not, I fear, a very accurate teacher."

Then follows that statement about Latin prosody,¹ followed by the statement that Mr. Wirt once wrote that he should remove his boys; and the narrative proceeds to relate as follows:

"In the summer of 1828, Mr. Wirt and some of his daughters, and the Rev. Mr. Campbell, now Dr. Campbell, of Albany, made a northern excursion, visiting, in the course of it, Quebec and Montreal. I longed to accompany them, but my poverty consented to stay behind. I passed the summer in Washington, and in the fall had a slight attack of bilious fever."

Now, let me invite attention to the contents of a diary, the earliest at my command—perhaps, the earliest in existence. Search at Edgewood—which, when the hero of this work ceased to live, was his country seat—failed to find an earlier one that was undoubtedly once carefully preserved. The day before he left Washington forever, as it proved, he was with me at Edgewood. He directed Cassy, his housekeeper, to assign me there a lodging room, to be used by me at will, while engaged in my biographic work, and gave me command of the library. I expected to be at Edgewood nearly every night, during the summer; and he thought that I might find other material there, especially in a place he indicated.

How it has occurred, since his death, that I could not resort to Edgewood, is among the things of which, in spite of the consideration that they might prove very interesting to the public, I prefer not to speak at large in any chapter of this work. But somewhat more I must say, on that painful subject, ere this volume closes.

April 8, 1829, was marked by the following account:

"To-day, the loveliest part of Mr. Wirt's family left Washington for Richmond. They had constituted almost the whole of my society, and their absence was sensibly felt. For the cheerful and agreeable evenings I had been accustomed to spend in their society, I could hope for no equivalent substitute. To regularly recurring delight I can only look that general gloom shall succeed. For in solitude who can be cheerful, and in society, the recollection of past enjoyment, weakens the pleasure of the present."

The entry of April 14 begins as follows:

¹ Ante.

"The remainder of Mr. Wirt's family left Washington to-day. I rode to the steamboat, and stayed with them until ten o'clock, when I took a sorrowful leave, and returned to the city."

April 15¹ has this memorandum :

"Called at Mr. Wirt's, who had read to me a letter from the young ladies, in which I was pleased to find that I was affectionately remembered."

Next we have this entry :

"April 16. I found a melancholy pleasure in reading passages which I used to admire with my absent friends. Thus sorrow can beguile itself by recalling the image of the past to an association with the present."

Surely, here is a poetic prose, with the unaffected language of a truly genial, loving disposition.

April 20 witnessed this record of reflection and emotion :

"To-day, a large quantity of furniture which Mr. Wirt left behind, was exposed to public sale. I attended less to purchase some articles that had belonged to him than to pass once more through the house. I went into the rooms where Elizabeth had performed the duties of the toilet—where she had spent many a moment elaborating her French puffs while I was impatiently awaiting her appearance below. I passed into Mr. Wirt's study, which had often witnessed his midnight vigil; where he had invoked Fame and she had come at his call; where he had disciplined himself for the strife, and made sure the triumph of the forum. Could those walls have spoken, what an instructive lesson they might have told! I passed into the garden, and stole a few flowers. This was the favorite spot of Mrs. W——. She delighted to tend the flowers—to watch their blooming—and guard them against all nocent influences. But her step was no more among them. She was far away. . . . I went home."

When I read such indications of our hero's inner life, and, if I may so express myself, his inner character, I own myself in danger of forgetting how imperious he often showed himself, how proud, at times, even how vain at other times. Just now, he seems all spiritual loveliness—a very sweet, yet very noble spirit, quite incapable of domineering; thoroughly in love with all the sacred objects of domestic veneration and affection.

Certainly, he loved the Wirts with deep affection.

¹ The date of the original, evidently by mistake, is April 18.

In the entry of April 14, 1829, part of which is elsewhere given, are these eminently thoughtful words:

"Mr. Clay's family had gone before, and General Porter's. Few were left in whom I felt any interest. Strangers will succeed. A new Cabinet will fill, or rather occupy, the places of the old; but the society which has existed here can not be renewed. A more savage spirit breathes in the administration, and, as a natural consequence, distrust has come in place of confidence, and reserve instead of frankness. Men do not now speak their sentiments freely. The spirit of cautious jealousy finds its way¹ into the family circle, and restraint is visible even in the intercourse of the fireside. How long will these things be?"

We here begin to see the growing public spirit of our hero. We begin to see his bias as a politician.

What he once thought of painting we may begin to see in this transcript from his diary, under date December 4, 1829:

"I went to Baltimore with Mr. King. I had expected my friend Swann to accompany me on this visit, but, on the evening before I started, I received letter from him, stating that inevitable duties detained him in the country and would detain him there until after Christmas. In Mr. King, however, I had a very agreeable companion. He is a painter of great merit. His representations of still life, are said, by competent judges, to equal the productions of the European masters. Unfortunately, however, he is not allowed to indulge his own taste, or to apply his industry to that department in which his genius eminently qualifies [him] to excel. Artists must live, and there is not taste enough in our country, or, to speak more truly, not wealth enough, to enable any one to be a munificent patron of arts. Multitudes, however, have enough to gratify vanity, and an artist speedily finds that upon gratified vanity his principal dependence must be placed. In order to live, he must paint the living, and, therefore, [it] is that almost all our distinguished painters have been portrait painters."

Here is another suggestive extract:

"September 19. Called on Farley at G. T. [Georgetown] who showed me some very fine engravings—among others one of Cæsar, sitting in a chair of State. This is the finest engraving I have ever seen. The attitude is one of perfect dignity. The arm is extended as in the act of command. The very fingers seem to indicate authority and to be worthy of Cæsar. The face is full of haughty determination, daring genius, and lofty ambition. The *tout ensemble* is a worthy representation of him whose nod did awe the world. I spent a very pleasant hour with Mr. Farley, conversing with him upon foreign scenes and men. He had been in Italy,

¹ So in the original.

and showed me a representation of the Forum as it was and as it is.

"The orator, in former times, spoke in the midst of the most glorious mementoes. The trophies of conquest were every-where around him. The temples of religion were on the right hand and the left. The Senate House was near. One would think that in such a place, and before such an audience, stones might be eloquent. The scene is much changed now. The trophies have mouldered into dust—temples and triumphal arches have been broken down, and but a few solitary columns, or, here and there, naked and dilapidated walls are alone standing. It is melancholy to think of the change. Still more melancholy to reflect that the change which has passed over the Eternal City may be but a prophecy of what is coming upon us when virtue has decayed, and licentiousness and anarchy have struck upon the harp of time the discordant prelude to despotism and ruin."

Nothing can be clearer than the æsthetic indications of those extracts. That the mind of Chase was one that might have taken much deeper interest than it, in point of fact, did take in the art-aspects of the Capitol, we saw in earlier chapters. Here we see clear indications that in 1829, our hero had, in fact, attended with marked interest to the possible effect of a true adorning of the city laid out under the supervision of our first Chief Magistrate.¹

Chase could hardly have been indifferent to the architecture of the Capitol as it then was, or to its sculpture. He could hardly have been insensible that it is worthy of a great people to have

¹ I have the edition for 1842 of the little book, entitled *Morrison's Stranger's Guide to the City of Washington*. Here is an extract:

"It would not do to omit, in a work of this kind, the very elegant Exhibition Rooms of Mr. Charles King, artist. These rooms, comprised within a very tasteful building, are situated on Twelfth Street. Mr. King has shown great taste in the construction of his Exhibition House, and in the manner with which he has decorated his grounds.

"His galleries are filled with many fine pictures by himself, and deserve the repeated visits of strangers.

"On F Street, near to Mr. King's, is Chapman's Studio. This distinguished artist has no public exhibition room, but the walls of his Studio are ornamented by some noble pictures, copied by him while in Europe from some of the old painters. His easel, generally, is rich in smaller gems, the fruits of his finely cultivated taste and exquisite handling.

"Thomas Doughty, the landscape painter, has a Studio, and resides also in Washington. This distinguished painter, like Chapman, has no room of public and paying exhibition, but a series of great and poetical landscapes is passing under his brush. During the winter season numbers of artists, both European and native, flock to Washington, and, generally, through the politeness of heads of com-

some reflection of its taste in architecture, in sculpture, and in painting, perceptible at the seat of government. But did he find the public buildings obeying the laws of expression indicated, if you please, by Ruskin in his *Stones of Venice*? Did he find the statues chiseled by the hands of masters? Did he deem the paintings fit for their positions in our public structures?

Even if he did not, I am sure that he was not a carping critic. He was *never* such a critic as to any thing, I think. We talked about that, more than once. We may well suppose that, to him, the suggestions of the works of art he viewed at Washington were, on the whole, agreeable and elevating.

Is the nation right in so enriching and embellishing the Capital? According to Montesquieu, it was in the public structures of the ancient Capital of the Romans—a city badly built at first, without order and

mittees, obtain a committee room in the Capitol for the prosecution of their studies or professions.

"There are several other artists of Washington, portrait and landscape painters, whose names as yet are unknown to fame."

Such was the state of things in 1842. We can infer from the statement somewhat as to the state of things in the years 1827, 1828, 1829, and 1830.

How was it in those years as to sculpture? Greenough's group was not as yet even designed. His *Washington* was yet farther off—perhaps not quite far enough off, but quite far in the future. Powers' *Franklin*—a great work—a work that may be studied in all moods—a real master-piece—was not so much as thought of. But why extend the list? The *Washington* of those years was by no means the *Washington* of this day.

The work just cited has the following description:

"The Capitol of the United States is situated on an area of twenty-two and half acres—is on an eminence, whence the eye runs along the distant shores of the Potomac, the green-clad hills of Georgetown heights, and the umbrageous shores of the Eastern Branch. Looking from its terrace, the vision is refreshed with beauty, and the whole view, North, South, East, and West, combines a panorama of grandeur, unsurpassed by any location in the country. From the grounds can be seen the cities of Alexandria and Georgetown, the former lying some six or seven miles down the river, and the latter three miles distant to the west.

"The exterior of this edifice presents a rusticated basement of the height of the first story; the two other stories are comprised in a Corinthian elevation of pilasters and columns. The columns are thirty feet in height, and compose a portico on the eastern front of one hundred and sixty feet in extent, the center of which is crowned by a tympanum, embellished with a group of statuary, the composition of the venerable J. Q. Adams, and the execution of Persico the Italian.

"The building is surrounded by a balustrade of stone, and covered with a lofty dome in the center, and a flat dome on each wing."

No doubt, the frequent seeing of this basilica-like building had a favorable relation to the forming character of our hero.

without symmetry, having, properly speaking, not even streets¹—that the greatness of the Roman people early made itself apparent² Washington, however, sometimes seems to me a new Pantheon, worshipping, as demigods, distinguished men; not always even heroes. Do we show our greatness in this hero-worship? Do we show our greatness in our public buildings?

Architecture, sculpture, painting are a trio—may not one say trinity?—of most valuable teachers. They repeat for us the mystery of trinity in unity and unity in trinity at Washington. But is the school in which they are instructors worthy of its objects?

Under date January 30, 1829, he wrote:

"Jan. 30, [1829]. This evening, I went again with the same ladies³ to see the Papyrotomia, a gallery of cuttings from paper. The young proprietor, a youth of sixteen years, received us, and exhibited the results of his ingenuity. There were scenes of mountain and glen and secluded lake so ingeniously executed as to have the effect of the finest engraving. There were proud temples and palaces, and scenes of the domestic fireside. There was a fair form, bending gracefully to the harp, and an admiring circle gathered round. The scissors of the boy had done the whole.

"He asked if he should take our profiles. Miss C—— assented, and it was done with surprising rapidity. He took mine, also, barely glancing at my face, and, presto! the work was done. Of course, in his haste, he was not always accurate, but his speed was applauded, and he was satisfied."

Next we have:

"Jan. 31. This day, I rode to the Papyrotomia with the younger girls, and returned rich in half a dozen black profiles."

How was it with him as to studies of nature? Did he thoroughly appreciate his opportunities in that behalf? The District of Columbia and its environs were full of beauty; did he act as though he felt the local wealth of grounds, and streams, and skies? Did he

¹ "La ville n'avait pas même de rues, si l'on n'appelle de ce nom la continuation des chemins qui y aboutissaient. Les maisons étaient placées sans ordre et très-petites; car les hommes, toujours au travail ou dans la place publique, ne se tenaient que dans les maisons." *Considerations sur les causes de la Grandeur des Romains et de leur Décadence*, chapitre premier. "Mais la grandeur de Rome parut bientôt dans ces édifices publics. Les ouvrages qui ont donné, et qui donnent encore aujourd'hui la plus haute idée de sa puissance, ont été faits sous les voûtes. On commençait déjà à bâtir la ville éternelle."

² Ibid.

³ Miss. E. Wirt and Miss E. Cabell.

go boating, swimming, fishing? Were the banks of Rock Creek often visited by him?

In special memory of him, accompanied by the two boys who went with me, as has been told, in that pious pilgrimage to Rock Creek Church—which, let me say, took that name from the parish, and was not near the stream—I visited the splendid scenery of Rock Creek, on a day most favorable to that exploration. Picturesque beyond all intimation are some portions of that scenery, and Theodore and Charlie were decidedly enthused with all the sights and sounds by which the adventure was rewarded. When we got to a good place, deep, deep in the woods that border on the creek in places, we were moved to join in singing first the *Star Spangled Banner*, and then *Dixie*. If our musical performance was not grand in the one case, or fine in the other, we could at least console ourselves that had Chase been with us, in the body, as we fancied that he might be in the spirit, he would have accepted our intentions in excuse of our performance—he, who was, himself, no great musician, but was equal to the best in patriotic fervor.

Here is an account of one of his excursions. It is taken from his diary, page 53, and runs as follows :

“ In the latter part of February, my friend Swann proposed an excursion to Morven, his residence, near Leesburg. I agreed, and having made the necessary preparations, on Monday morning we started in the stage. Our companions were a young officer in the army and his beautiful bride. She was formerly an admired belle, but she loved and she married contrary to the wish of her father. It was a stolen match, and the old gentleman had not yet forgiven from the heart. I could not help pitying her as I saw a shade of sadness stealing over her cheek, and a starting tear dimming her bright eye. There was besides in the stage a man with singular vision. He could see wit when others could discern nothing but folly, and sense when others only perceived stupidity. He filled evidently a high place in his own esteem, and doubtless should he hereafter publish a spelling-book he will, like his immortal prototype, dedicate it to the universe.

“ After riding some miles, we stopped at a little house by the road side, much like those which a New England farmer would construct for the accommodation of his horses and pigs. Here we came to breakfast. The house did not wear a very inviting aspect, but as I make it a rule not to judge by the outward appearance, I went in. The breakfast was spread in the first room I entered. The table was covered with poultry, and bacon, and beef, and vegetables. The bar was in close proximity, and the kitchen at no great remove. But I must hurry to the end of the journey. At night we arrived at Leesburg, and had a comfortable supper at Col.

Osborn's Hotel. Here we passed the night. Early next morning we rose, and, mounting the horses which our friends had provided for us, rode out to Morven, a distance of about 3 miles. Our arrival was quite unexpected, and we were obliged to go to the kitchen until a fire could be kindled in the parlor of the mansion. Very soon, however, every thing was in readiness. A cheerful fire was blazing on the hearth and an excellent breakfast spread upon the table. We were not disposed to keep Lent, and the good things disappeared before us like the chance snow-fall in April. After breakfast I took a more leisurely survey of the mansion and its appurtenances. It is situated upon the side of one of the Catochin mountains; by which it is protected from the north-west winds. A beautiful valley extends below far to the south-east, where cultivated fields and extensive woodlands form a variety delightful to the eye. At a small distance in front of the house is a garden, a lovely spot in the season of flowers, as Swann told me, though there was little there now to attract the eye. The mansion itself is composed of a center building and two wings, which are united by a narrow structure with a colonnade in front. There is also a colonnade or rather portico in front of the central edifice. In the rear of the whole are two stout buildings for the overseer and house servants. Such is the house and such are the grounds, according to the impressions I now retain of a visit made last month.

"After breakfast, we rode to Col. Tutt's to see the country ladies. Here I saw a very pretty and agreeable girl and a plain, but kind-hearted old lady. We chatted about an hour and went home for dinner. After dinner, we rode to Raspberry Plain, the residence of Mr. Hoffman. Here I saw two originals in the shape of young ladies. Two agreeable, intelligent girls, who had read much, thought much, and, perhaps, talked more. They made subtle distinctions with a skill worthy of old Aristotle, and syllogized as if they had been educated in the school of Duns Scotus or Thomas Aquinas. But I don't like argumentative ladies. They have no right to encroach on our privileges. And is it not settled by gray-headed prescription that the masculine is the more worthy gender, and that we are entitled to an exclusive monopoly of all the wit, sense, and learning in the world? I thought I had two more pages, but must break off abruptly."

Here is another specimen of his descriptive powers :

"December 26, [1829]. The next evening, as¹ I was going home late, I observed a bright, red-colored light upon the southern sky, which soon showed me that there must be a prodigious conflagration in that quarter of the city. Every thing was perfectly still. No alarm was heard in the streets, and scarcely a soul was stirring. The alarm, as I found afterwards, had been already given, and the people had assembled in great numbers at the scene of action. Curious to witness the spectacle, I bent my steps in the direction of the

¹ At Baltimore.

light. I soon found that the fire was more distant than I anticipated, but, unwilling to return until I had accomplished my object, I still held on, and my perseverance was fully rewarded. A large sugar-refining establishment was in flames. Large quantities of combustible liquids were stowed away in the edifice, which, as fast as the devouring element reached them, flashed out into fearful effulgence. Thousands were gazing on the sight. Young children, old men, even women, were out. The engines sent upon the burning pile rivers of water, but it was turned to vapor, and supplied aliment to the flame. One side of the building now fell in, with a tremendous crash, and the fiery element leaped madly as if triumphing in its fall. Hundreds were seen in the lurid [light] moving upon the roofs of the adjacent buildings, pouring water, spreading blankets, and [using] every precaution to save them. Only one building was consumed beside that in which the fire originally commenced."

It is by no means certain that *belles-lettres* would not have proved the true vocation of the man by whom that bit of pen-painting was composed. One sees, I think, that fire, with the raging flames and the active and cautious, yet daring, men and women who contended with it as if in sheer battle. One can hear the tremendous crash of the falling side of the fated building.

Here is a transcript from the same diary :

"July 31, [1829]. I left Washington to-day with a view of taking a long journey northward. I traveled in the stage, which afforded me many opportunities for observation, while it subjected me to some inconveniences. He who travels in the stage for a considerable distance with the same companions, may see a miniature of this world. Selfishness is constantly ready to appropriate the most comfortable seats; and politeness is ready to sacrifice its own ease to the enjoyment of another. Physical strength gives its possessor a superiority envied by the vulgar, and wisdom, an unusual inmate, sometimes vindicates her claim to a deeper homage. I confess that I saw little of what I describe, and shall here describe little of what I saw. It would [serve] no purpose to delineate scenes daily presented. It is enough to say that, after nine hours' riding thro' a boiling sun, we were set down at the door of one of the principal hotels in Baltimore. I desired to be shown to my room, and to be furnished with a dinner. The room I found to be far from neat, and resolved upon a change, in which resolution I was confirmed by Mr. Barrel, who had stopped at the same hotel and had changed it for Barnum's. After dinner, I followed his example, and soon found myself very comfortably situated.

"After conversing with Mr. B., I called upon my old friends, the Wirts. I found them preparing to go into the country, and, at the request of the ladies, I joined the party. We rode to Mrs. Patterson's, who has a lovely country-seat about two miles from the town. [A] fine garden lies in the rear of the building, furnished with numberless varieties of plants and flowers. A declivity, to north, descending

by a winding path, brings you to a perennial spring of water, which gushes out of [the] ground, and wanders away to mingle its pure waters with those of the Chesapeake. The Bay is seen from the eastern windows, and the dim outline of the eastern shore of Maryland is traced in a deeper blue. We took tea with Mrs. P., and returned to the city.

"Mrs. W. asked how long I was to remain in town. I told her a day or two. She said she expected to have been consulted in my arrangements, and that she intended to demand of me a week of my time, at least. We found Mr. Wirt standing at the door, who had just returned from the court at Annapolis. The girls threw themselves upon his neck, and seemed transported with joy; they seemed to forget that they were in the most public street of the city until their mother reminded them of it, and drew them into the house. I left them to their enjoyment, and returned to the hotel.

"The next day it rained, and the next I went early to the house, but Mr. W. had gone. The clouds still threatened rain, but, like many other menacers, performed nothing. In the evening, I walked with Elizabeth and the younger girls into Howard Park, where the monument stands. I thought little of the monument, however, or of any thing but the noble creature at my side. We had much interesting conversation, which was continued till we returned to the house. Then the younger members of the family surrounded me. Rosa and Ellen had chairs before me; Catherine sat by my side; and little Agnes, a lovely girl of fourteen, threw herself caressingly on the floor. To be in the midst of such a circle, and to be conscious that I shared in the affections of that circle, was an exquisite delight. The time, however, soon came that I must return to the hotel, and I parted from them with regret. The next day I was again with them, and again I passed some happy moments.

"E. showed me some rings she had received from her friends at West River. The motto on one was, 'Pensez á moi;' on another, 'Συν μου σὺς ἀγαπῶ.' I dined with them to-day, and after dinner departed, having prolonged my stay to the last moment possible. 'Give my love to your mother and sisters,' said Catherine, as I left the room. 'And mine,' added Elizabeth, but I did not —"¹

"July 31, [1829]. I left Washington to-day with a view of taking a long journey northward. I traveled in the stage, which afforded me many opportunities for observation, while it subjected me to some inconveniences. . . .

"I reached the boat just before she started. I found my friend Elliott from Washington with his mother, and a pretty young lady from Washington, on board. We had not got out of the Patapsco upon the Chesapeake before the shades of evening gathered around us. And a glorious evening it was. The dark blue waters beneath and the magnificent arch above, and, between, the vessel moving like a living thing, breathing smoke and fire. I sat upon the deck a long time, admiring the beauty of the scene, and conversing with my friend. I was still there, gazing with unsated admiration upon

¹ The characters are here evidently wrong. They seem to be, "hecar." The word intended may have been *hear*.

the heavens and the water, when a cry thro' the vessel roused the sleepers to exchange their berths in the cabin for seats in the stage. We had arrived at French Town.

"Scarcely were we in the stages when it began to rain, and continued without intermission, when we had reached the other boat, until we arrived at Philadelphia. Here I immediately took a hack and rode to my cousin, Geo. Ralston's, to transact some business for my mother. He was not at home, but Mrs. R. supplied his place as far as she could, and I returned to the boat. I found my baggage, transferred by the kind attention of Elliott, to the New York boat, which was just ready to depart. In a few moments we were rapidly ascending the Delaware, and in a few miles (?) we were set ashore at a place a few miles below Trenton, to cross the land to New Brunswick. Our stage was small and ill-made; our horses were mere skeletons, and the road was horribly conditioned. *The Jersey roads are certainly the worst in the United States.*

"We arrived at New Brunswick, as might be expected, after the rest (who had taken the other route), and found that all the best rooms in the tavern had been engaged. We procured beds, however, and early on the next morning we left New Brunswick for New York, where we arrived before noon. I called upon Mrs. Barrell, who was to proceed to Boston under my charge, and informed her of my intention to leave in the afternoon in the Fulton. She promised to be at the wharf in season, and I left her to perambulate Broadway and make some trifling purchases. Having completed them to my satisfaction, I went on board. Mrs. B. came soon, and we left the City of Gotham.

"As we passed along, I observed a wreck, and inquired the cause. I was informed that it was a vessel loaded with lime, which had sprung a leak. The water came in contact with the lime, and spontaneous combustion was the result. The vessel was burned to the water's edge.

"There was a pair of runaway lovers on board, who had been to New York to be married, and were returning to Providence. He seemed to be a rake and she seemed to be an idiot, and so I took little notice of them."

Another case of spontaneous combustion, one might think. What a combination for a nuptial partnership! An idiot at home, a rake abroad! But what may interest for a moment is the statement that, throughout life, as far as I have been able to ascertain, the love of chastity marked Chase's life and beautified his character, though every body well acquainted with him supposed the sexual feeling to be very strong in him.

"It was three o'clock, P. M., when we left New York. Night overtook [us] when we had gone about forty miles, and I sought my cabin. The next morning we were at anchor. A thick fog enveloped every thing, and the captain was afraid to proceed lest he might run upon rocks, which are frequent in this part of the sound.

In this pleasant situation we remained some hours, when the fog lifted itself a little and the captain gave orders to move.

"We held a political meeting in the fog, and nominated Henry Clay for president, with great unanimity."

Here is an indication not to be forgotten. It must be recurred to; and I trust it will be borne in mind by every attentive reader.

Chase proceeds as follows :

"Toward evening we met the Ben Franklin, from Providence. She passed us as if on wings.

"The next morning we arrived at Providence, and took carriages for Boston. I had been indisposed all the preceding day, and was now so ill that I could hardly sit. However, I patiently endured until we reached the Northern Athens, where I left my charge with her father, Judge Ward, and hastened myself to the hotel and to my room. Here I sent for a physician, who came and prescribed medicine, which I did not take, and gave me some advice which I did not follow. On the contrary, debilitated as I was, I took the stage, and on the evening of the same day, arrived at Concord, New Hampshire."

Here is the Chase will for you !

"Here my friend Sparhawk called to see me, and stayed with me all night. I rode with him to Hopkinton, where my mother resides. Here I remained sick nearly a fortnight, and of course did not deliver my master's oration.

"As soon as I was able to travel I set out on my return, going down to Concord in the evening and spending the night with my friend Sparhawk, and proceeding to Andover the next day.

"My old classmate, Ward, was my stage companion, and we had a pleasant ride together, talking much of the persons and scenes of by-gone times. When arrived with him at Andover, I walked with him to the Theological Institution, where I saw one or two of my old classmates and friends. One of them was going to Salem, and I agreed to accompany him. I found a most cordial reception in his family, some of whom were personally known to me before, and I spent a day with them, going out, however, in the meantime, to Ipswich to see my sister, there at school."

In another place is given his account of his going to Boston, thence to New York, thence to Philadelphia, thence to Baltimore, where he visited the Wirts. The diary proceeds :

"The next morning I quitted Baltimore, most unwillingly, for Washington, where I arrived about noon, and found all my friends well and apparently very glad to see me once more among them."

Let us now go back a little. Here are two entries, as to which I can not aid the reader's conjectures :

"Feb. 5, [1829]. I have for some time lived in a dream, from which I was partially awakened to-day.

"March 30. Almost awakened from my dream."

What was that dream? No doubt, essentially, 'twas "love's young dream" in some new fashion. More than that one can not even fancy, safely.

Chase apparently took not a little pleasure in an innocent flirtation. Here is an attractive indication :

"April 7. 'You must write a few lines in my album to remind me of you when far away,' said Elizabeth Cabell to me, this evening. Elizabeth is a pretty young lady of eighteen. She was born and educated, I believe, in the city of Richmond, but one would suppose that such a bloom could be bestowed only by the breath of the mountain breeze. She is singularly sensible and intelligent, but timid as a fawn.

"'My lyre is broken, Miss Elizabeth,' I replied.

"'Repair it then,' said she, 'for you shall contribute something to my treasury of friendship's offerings.'

"'Well, I will try,' and went home, and, before going to bed, wrote a few lines. The following are near the conclusion :

"Fain would I bind my memory to all
The glorious things of heaven, the beautiful
Creations of the earth, and teach the breeze
To whisper of my name, that I might be
The absent unforbidden."

Who does not remember with a mixture of delight and shame the "halcyon" days when he wrote album verses? When acrostics went on bravely till they came to the strange name of Emeline or Emmeline Jane Smith or Dorcas Aspasia Binks?

Our hero was a very human man! Here is another indication in the same direction :

"Jan. 29, [1829]. This evening I attended a concert with Miss E. W. and Miss E. C. The music was fine; the songs, especially one by Mr. Pearman, were sufficient to take the prisoned soul and lap it in Elysium. It was full of deep and touching pathos, and voice and manner were admirably adapted to the sentiment. Mrs. Feron, who assisted Mr. and Mrs. Pearman, sang several solos, but there was too much art and too little nature in her manner. I can see no reason why we should resort to a foreign land for singing, when we have those at home who can vie with the best of the foreign

vocalists. Music is an universal language, and all men have been taught the alphabet; so it may be well that we should adopt foreign airs, but let us sing such words as our own poets furnish, and with the organs which nature has given us. When we returned, Mr. Swann occupied the vacant seat in the carriage."

On the last day of January, 1829, we have this entry :

"This day I rode to the Papyrotomia with the younger girls, and returned rich in half a dozen black profiles. Mr. Wirt was indisposed, and I sat some time in his chamber, conversing on various topics, but principally upon the future course that it became me to pursue and upon the choice of a place of residence. In the evening the young ladies claimed precedence over their father, and demanded my attention to the song and the piano."

Kennedy records that Mr. Wirt himself "had a great fondness for music and no small proficiency in it;" that, indeed, "he often amused himself with writing down tunes from his memory, and, perhaps, composing in a small way;" and that, "this taste induced him to cultivate the musical talent of his children;" who all, it seems, "excelled in the art."

"Many friends," adds Kennedy,¹ "in Washington and Baltimore will remember the pleasant family concerts which the group around Mr. Wirt's fireside was accustomed to supply. During that period when the cholera detained him and his household at Berkeley Springs—in August and September, 1832—those who were there with him can not forget the well-arranged little musical parties of the evening, in which he and his children were the only performers."

Under date September 29, 1829, Chase wrote :

"'Music, heavenly maid,' occasioned us a little trouble to-day. One of the boarders was so fond of his instrument, that he greatly annoyed a neighbor who was disposed to study. Neither would yield, and as most of the boarders (the Goths!) took part with the student, the votary of Haydn was compelled to take his flute, French horn, flageolet, violin, and violincello and find other quarters."

Two days afterward the same pen set down the following account :

"Oct. 1. Called to-day on the banished Orpheus, and found him very comfortably situated in the third story, whence he had a very fine prospect of the windings of the Potomac. His table was covered with musical instruments and papers, and he was himself studying a mathematical theory of musical sounds."

¹ *Life of Wirt*, Vol. II, 877, 878.

Now let us look at another entry in which music is more than mentioned :

"I spent the evening of the day I arrived in Baltimore at Mr. Schroeder's. I had become acquainted with this family in Washington, and wished to continue the acquaintance. The evening passed pleasantly. Conversation and music mingled their charms. The conversation was interesting and the music sweet—very sweet. Miss S. plays and sings delightfully. Her favorite instrument is the guitar, and it is mine, too; for it is associated with many pleasant remembrances. I left at a late hour, intending and promising to call again; but, from circumstances, was obliged to leave Baltimore without doing so."

So much for music. How about the cognate theme of poetry? Here is a sample of our hero's dalliance with one of the muses in February, 1830, not long before he went to Cincinnati to reside. The diary of the 23d of that month contains this record :

"To-day, I wrote for a young friend the following verses :

When Mary bids, once more the lyre,
Long hushed, I wake again,
Nor ask the *Nine* to aid my lay,
For *Mary* wills the strain.

"Dull lyre! why trembleth every string
With emulous desire
To tell, with sweeter tones, the flame
That *Mary's* charms inspire ?

"To tell of all her witching grace,
Her winning smile, her beaming eye,
Her radiant, mind-illuminated face,
Her voice of melody ?

"Not now the time—not thine the power
Such notes as these to swell;
Ah! no; for sadness claims the hour—
Thou canst but breathe, Farewell!"

In another page of the same diary appears the following piece of rhyme:

A WISH.—To M. G. M.

"His love be thine who is all truth,
All nobleness, all mind;
The ardors of whose generous Youth
By virtue are refined.

"Be, of the noblest and the best
The best and noblest, he;
And, summing in one word the rest,
May he be worthy thee!"

The date of this effusion seems to have been February 23, 1830,
when the writer still remained at Washington.

CHAPTER X.

WASHINGTON IN 1827, 1828, 1829, AND 1830.

THE diary I have so often quoted gives, as we have partly seen already, quite an interesting view of life at Washington in 1827, 1828, 1829, and 1830.

Here is a suggestive entry :

"Jan. 1, [1829]. This levee differed in nothing from the one which I described elsewhere, excepting that I was somewhat more conspicuous in the crowd. The lady who leaned upon my arm was one of the most brilliant in the room, and I shone a little by reflected light. She was elegantly attired in a Scottish dress of the most tasteful description, and well did her accomplished manner become her graceful array. The time, however, passed rather heavily off, as I was in charge of one who attracted too many to allow me opportunity for conversation."

Harriet Martineau has written :

"One of the most remarkable sights in the country is the President's levee. Nothing is easier than to laugh at it. There is probably no mode in which a number of human beings can assemble which may not be laughable from one point of view or another. The President's levee presents many facilities for ridicule. Men go there in plaid cloaks and leather belts, with all manner of wigs, and offer a large variety of obeisance to the chief magistrate. Women go in bonnets and shawls; talk about the company; stand upon chairs to look over people's heads, and stare at the large rooms. There was a story of two girls, thus dressed, being lifted up by their escorting gentlemen, and seated on the two ends of the mantel-piece like lustres, where they could obtain a view of the company as they entered. To see such people mixed in with foreign ambassadors and their suites, to observe the small mutual knowledge of classes and persons who thus meet on terms of equality, is amusing enough. But amidst much that was laughable, I certainly felt that I was seeing a fine spectacle. If the gentry at Washington desire to do away with the custom, they must be unaware of the dignity which resides in it, and which is apparent to the eye of a stranger, through any inconveniences which it may have. I am sorry that its recurrence is no longer annual. I am sorry that the practice of distributing re-

freshments is relinquished ; thought this a matter of less importance and of more inconvenience."

Here is another extract from the same work of Harriet Martineau :¹

"Our party went out at eight o'clock. As we alighted from the carriage, I saw a number of women, well attended, going up the steps in the commonest morning walking dress. In the hall were parties of young men, exhibiting their graces in a walk from end to end ; and ladies throwing off their shawls, and displaying the most splendid dresses. The President [Jackson] and some members of his cabinet on either hand, stood in the middle of the first room, ready to bow to all the ladies, and shake hands with all the gentlemen who presented themselves. The company then passed on to the fire-place, where stood the ladies of the President's family, attended by the Vice-President and the Secretary of the Treasury. From this point, the visitors dispersed themselves through the rooms, chatting in groups in the Blue Room, or joining the immense promenade in the great East Room. After two circuits there, I went back to the reception room, by far the most interesting to an observer. I saw one ambassador after another enter with his suite ; the Judges of the Supreme Court ; the majority of the members of both Houses of Congress ; and intermingled with these, the plainest farmers, store-keepers, and mechanics, with their primitive wives and simple daughters. Some looked merry, some looked busy ; but none bashful. I believe there were three thousand persons present. There was one deficiency—one draw back, as I felt at the time. There were no persons of color."

That was written, if I remember rightly, in 1835 or in 1836. How did Chase feel on that subject, in 1827, 1828, 1829, and part of 1830, while at Washington ? I can not answer. But I know that he lived to congratulate his friend, Thomas Marshall Key, on the passage of a bill, drafted by that strange character—the bill abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia.

Key, while a bachelor, was distinguished as the author of the *Married Woman's Law* in Ohio. He was one of my most intimate acquaintances. I knew him well, and loved him well, although I knew his faults and foibles almost as well as I knew his face and figure. We shall see much of him hereafter.

To return to Chase : it is with some reluctance, after much consideration, that the following extract, from the diary so often quoted, is presented to the readers of this work. But the scandal to which it refers has been variously related in books and other forms of published matter. The responsibility of suppression seemed to me

¹ *Society in America*, III, 96.

greater than the risk of censure in presenting the account that follows:

It must be remembered that our hero took a northward journey, expecting to deliver his master's oration at Dartmouth. Having given of that journey the account we have already seen, he goes on as follows.

"Sept. 5. A singular chain of occurrences had commenced in my absence. Mr. Campbell, a Presbyterian clergyman in Washington, had stated in confidence to Dr. Ely, of Philadelphia, with a view to prevent the appointment of Maj. Eaton to the Cabinet, that Mrs. E. had been delivered of a child when she was Mrs. Timberlake, supposed to be by Maj. E., and that various other reports, greatly prejudicial to the character of both, had been for some time in circulation. Dr. Ely had made no use of the information then but some time afterward wrote to the President, informing him of the circumstances, and giving Mr. Campbell's name as the author of the report. The President immediately sent for Mr. C., who confessed that he had made the statement to Dr. E., explained his motives, and showed his authority. The President was apparently contented. But, the next day, he had changed his mind, and called upon Mr. C. to deny his belief in the charge. Mr. C. replied that he could not—when the President became angry, and talked of a suit for slander. Mr. C. now thought it expedient to prepare for the worst, and with that view requested me to call with him at Mrs. Williams' to-day. I went and the old lady told us that she was a neighbor to Mrs. Timberlake, and that Mrs. O'Neale, the mother of Mrs. T., had told her that she had had twins in the absence of Mr. T. This was the amount of her statement, but from other sources Mr. C. collected a mass of evidence sufficient, and more than sufficient, to establish every allegation he had made, not as of his own knowledge, but as resting upon the credit of a particular individual and upon the strength of common report. A few days afterward a conclave was held at the palace, for the extraordinary purpose of taking this affair into consideration.

"Nearly the whole Cabinet was present, and some extra counselors summoned for the special occasion. These last were Dr. Ely and Mr. Auditor Lewis. Mr. C. was summoned to appear and answer for himself. I can not state the particulars as they transpired. I have now no note of the transaction, and the minutiae have faded from my memory. However, the President became highly exasperated, and attributed the whole affair to the agency of Mr. Clay, and Mr. C. left the room indignant at the treatment he had received, and determined to publish the whole affair to the world. Dr. Ely followed him and entreated him to change his resolution. At last he consented. Many other incidents grew out of this. The ladies of Washington excluded Mrs. E. from their society, and so the matter still rests. Eaton has threatened personal violence to Mr. C., but will not probably execute his threat; and Mrs. E. called herself on Mr. C., and after alternate abuse and entreaty, screaming and fainting, finding the whole ineffectual, declared that his blood should be spilt for his audacity."

Whoever has examined Parton's version of this matter¹ must allow that the evidence of Mrs. Eaton's guilt was not by any means conclusive. I know Washingtonians of great respectability who hold her guiltless. The extract just made from the diary of Mr. Chase, by no means makes the case conclusive. Mr. Chase, no doubt, believed, as did Dr. Campbell, what Mrs. Williams said that Mrs. O'Neale said that Mrs. Timberlake, her daughter, "should have confessed," (as common parlance might express itself,) on this occasion. After all, however, we have nothing here but very doubtful hearsay, on the one hand, and, on the other, the presumption in favor of a woman's chastity.

One of the most interesting indications of the quotation just made is that of Jackson's making a cabinet matter of the guilt or innocence of Mrs. Eaton.

How our hero then regarded Jackson is thus indicated in his diary under date Jan. 7, 1830:

"This evening I went with my friend Swann to the President's drawing-room. The East Room, now furnished splendidly, but not gorgeously, was open for the reception of guests. Near the south center stood General Jackson, with whom I now shook hands for the first time in my life. He is rather above the ordinary stature, and has a graceful figure. His countenance would not inspire a disciple of Lavater with an opinion of lofty talent or vigorous intellect. True it is that age and hardship had done their work upon him; but the characters of mind are not to be effaced by causes whose influence reaches not beyond this diurnal sphere. General Jackson is not a man of mind. In his manners he is graceful and agreeable, and much excels his predecessor in the art of winning golden opinions from all sorts of men. General Jackson's career should be attentively observed by the political student, who is endeavoring from the book of human affairs to glean the lessons of political experience. If his popularity continues it will be strange, for I have read of no instance in the history of nations where popular favor has for a long time followed an unworthy object."

Chase was then not quite two-and-twenty years of age. Was he at that time "a disciple of Lavater?" Had he *studied* physiognomy as that enthusiastic Swiss defines the same? If so, he found some true cognitions and some quite unscientific fancies in association. Only part of physiognomy can be considered truly scientific.

Chase was, at least for some time, not without personal vanity. In his character, as in so many others, one could see how a man may be, at once, very proud and not a little vain.

¹ Life of Jackson.

And he was evidently vain of his fine person—vain and proud of his commanding port and presence, as, indeed, most men who have those fine possessions are.

I think just here of three distinguished men of Ohio, with whom I find myself comparing Chase with reference to person, port, and presence. Each of them was long ago distinguished for high stature. Two of them still live; one has departed. Thomas Ewing is the vanished figure. Henry Stanbery and William S. Groesbeck, still surviving, are the other type-figures here referred to. It is the more proper to refer to them because the fame of each is national. Their types were very different. Three tall, fine-looking men less like each other I do not remember. Ewing was a massive man in body and in mind. Neither Stanbery nor Groesbeck is so heavy. Well! but I have perceived in each of them the pride and vanity of person here in question.

Under date February 22, 1830, Chase, at Washington, made in his diary an entry which contains these words:

"Judge Burnett, of the Senate, is a small man, of a not unpleasing countenance. The indications of intellect are slight, but, by untiring industry, he has acquired a high professional reputation. He converses with some appearance of effort, and has been, as yet, a silent member of the Senate."

It would seem that Chase had really considerable faith at judgments of the physiognomic order. His ability to read character, however, has been more than questioned. Mr. Whitelaw Reid, ascribing to him deeper knowledge of mankind than I, for one, discerned in him, attributes to him, on the other hand, profound ignorance of men.¹ He was not so profoundly ignorant of men, I think, nor was he so profound in knowledge of mankind. Profundity, indeed, has never seemed to me a marked characteristic of his knowledge. It was very various and rich; but very deep it never seemed to me. We shall find him writing to Mr. Mellen that he was not fond of political metaphysics. Metaphysics, as every body knows, is a term of fearful sound and sense to most hearers. Chase was not so metaphysical, in any sense, as Ewing, for example. Depth, in all respects, marked Ewing more than Chase. It does not follow that the former was the greater man. If depth is necessary to true greatness, Washington was very far from great; and

¹ *Ohio in the War.*

neither Cæsar, nor Charlemagne, nor Napoleon had true greatness, while among the very greatest of the great are Emerson, Carlyle, and Goethe.

But it is of Chase's physiognomonic notions that the question is at present. Were they fixed? Did they remain in him as he passed from early manhood to the confines of old age? Probably, they were considerably modified by more extensive intercourse and more practiced observation. But of that I yet have found no direct evidence.

Returning to the President, of whom Chase said that his countenance would not inspire a disciple of Lavater with an opinion of lofty talent or vigorous intellect, I wish to say that all my efforts to discern true greatness, physical or psychical, in Andrew Jackson, have been wretched failures—almost as wretched as the scarecrow effigies of him which make beholders far from comfortable in a study of the sculptured wonders of this place. But there came a time, we shall see, when Chase must have modified the feeling toward Jackson, manifest in my last extract from the former's diary. There came a time when, somehow, he could call himself a Democrat of the Jackson and Benton school.

Of that, however, I propose to speak hereafter. Now, I wish to call attention to this entry :

"January 1, [1830]. Among other places, I called at Mr. Smith's, the President of the Bank of the United States. This family has long been on the list of my visiting acquaintances, but it is recently, comparatively, that I have begun to esteem them as friends. Mrs. Smith has written several little works, one of which was translated into French, and republished in Paris. She was here when the Federal City was in its infancy, and knew all the great men who have, at different times, adorned the councils of our republic, or who have, from foreign lands, come to look upon our rising greatness. In consequence of such association, she can tell much of by-gone days and men. One evening, she related to me the following anecdote of Jefferson :

"A report had prevailed that J. had written a letter to Charles Thompson, in which he professed a conversion to the Christian religion, and renounced the infidel opinions which he had formerly held. Mrs. S., delighted to hear this, wrote to Mr. J. to inquire if such was the fact. He replied that he had written no such letter to Mr. Thompson, and that his religious opinions ought to be, and were, known only to himself and God."

Here is another extract from the same document :

"At the drawing-room, this evening, I saw little to interest me

The usual motley crowd was present. The high and low, the ins and the outs, the wise and the foolish, the learned and the ignorant, the old and the young, the black and the white, and every intermediate here were congregated for various purposes. Some came to see the President for the first time; some to bow and prattle to the ladies; some to exhibit their own important selves, to announce to the world that they were yet alive; and some to prosecute schemes of political ambition. It were a curious speculation to follow to quiet chambers these several characters, and trace their emotions of gratified hope or disappointed expectation. We might see the belle exulting as she numbered over her conquests, and the politician reconstructing the intricate web of policy which that night's occurrences had sadly disordered. But it is idle to dwell upon such fancies."

This entry is under date January 7, 1830. Another, dated February 29, 1830, has this tenor:

"This evening I attended a party at Mrs. Ingham's. It was large and brilliant. Miss Livingston was there in all her splendor, and M. G. M. in all her attractive loveliness. Many other ladies were there, but nearly all of them were strangers to me. I was dull, and the hue of my feelings cast a shade all around me."

Under date October 4, 1829, we have:

"Called this evening with Smith at Mr. Pleasanton's. Miss Matilda played for us, and talked with us, and laughed at us, and was rewarded by Smith with the denomination of 'a piece of statuary,' when we returned home. Whereat Dr. Collins was offended, because, he said, it was indelicate to compare ladies to statues, the latter being generally naked. Whereupon a learned discussion followed, the particulars of which I do not remember, and if I did should not probably deem them worthy of relation."

On the 9th of February, 1829, our young Mr. Chase wrote down in his diary:

"Received, through the Wirts, an invitation to Mrs. Porter's. They could not go, and I did not wish to do so; but they wished a description of the party, and so I went. Not a great many persons had been invited; but there were enough. Mrs. Porter kindly chid me for not bringing the Wirts, but I assured [her] that the fault was not mine, and she pardoned me. A laughable incident occurred. Mr. Webster was standing engaged in conversation with some ladies near the center of the room when a servant presented to him what seemed to be wine. He took a glass and drank it off, not without some involuntary grimaces, which attracted the notice of Mrs. Porter, who inquired the cause, when she discovered, to her mortification as well as amusement, that the servant, through mistake, had brought us in some bottles of fine old whisky. As soon as propriety allowed,

I took my leave and returned to Mr. Wirt's, where I spent a pleasant hour before 'twal o'clock' summoned me, unwilling, to my home."

Our hero did not only see society and hear the same. He read society novels—whereof here is evidence, under date September 22, 1829:

"Read to-day the new novel, *Devereux*. It is, like the preceding works of the same author, full of gorgeous and exaggerated descriptions. It makes human nature assume a new aspect. It gives to crime a sublimity of terror which attracts even while it terrifies. It excites a feeling like that which one feels when gazing from an overhanging precipice into a yawning gulf—a strange propensity to plunge in, reckless of consequences. I deem them most pernicious works—works which do more to taint the morality of society than almost all others. The author is, doubtless, a gifted being—but he has prostituted God's noblest gifts to the vilest purposes. He might be great in the noblest sense; he is only great in evil."

Here is a remarkably suggestive entry, looking in another direction. In the same diary, under date February 4, 1829, our hero wrote:

"Mr. Clay gave a party this evening, and I attended, as I had neglected several previous evenings. When I arrived I found that the company had not yet assembled, and, after paying my respects to Mr. and Mrs. Clay, I took my station near the door to observe the various manners of the entering visitants. I soon tired of this employment and went into the next room and looked at the clock and the company alternately until half an hour had elapsed, when I took my leave, glad to escape from the scene of ceremonious frivolity."

It seems, therefore, that ceremonious frivolity was not quite pleasant to our hero.

He will do. Methinks, there ought to be no question now about that.

Here is another entry of decided interest to all that is before us:

"November 18, [1829.] I was introduced this evening to Mrs. Randolph, a daughter of Jefferson, at Mrs. Smith's. She is a dignified woman. It is said that she inherits much of her father's intellect. I had no opportunity this evening to judge the truth of the opinion, but was willing to take it on trust. A weak mind never inhabited a form so commanding, or imparted so much expression to a countenance. Some of her daughters were also present, but, unfortunately, in our country, talent seems to go according to the statute of distribution as well as estates. Very little of

the ancestor's possessions ever reaches an individual of the third generation."

In the entry dated January 1, [1830], we have the following additional notice of Jefferson's daughter:

"She is a very dignified lady; converses extremely well but sparingly. She repeated to me, in his own words, a description of John Adams by Dr. Franklin: 'Always an honest man, often a great man, and sometimes a madman.'"

Madison also refers to this saying. So, I think, does Jefferson. Doubtless, Franklin really so painted Adams, for the picture is at once like Franklin's work and Adams' character. When Adams babbled of court chamberlains and such things to our first President, was he in his great mood or his mad mood? Or had he sometimes purely silly moods?

Such questions seem to come up pretty often.

What did our hero think of the *etiquette*, and pomp, and pride, at Washington in 1829? Here is a brace of most suggestive transcripts:

"Called this evening upon——, and found him and his family at home. —— is one of a class of men always to be found in such a place as Washington—mechanics who have suddenly grown rich. But at W., instead of being elevated into notice among the fashionables by their wealth, they must still be content to remain as they were. One of his daughters is a pedant—the rest——. I did not stay long, but made my escape despite of requests from Miss —— to prolong my visit, and went to Mr. Wirt's.

"What a change to pass from the purse-proud, vulgar and affected——s into the midst of a pure, and gentle, and refined, and cultivated circle! It was enough to compensate me for facing a biting north-west, through the intervening mile. Of Mr. Wirt I have spoken before, and it is needless to repeat my observations here. Mrs. W—— is a lady of graceful manners, though, at times, a little tincture of aristocratic feeling makes a stranger somewhat uneasy in her society. She has a cultivated taste, and has displayed it in forming a Dictionary of the Floral language, which she intends yet to give to the world.² Her person is good, rising to about the common height, but not exceeding it. She has been religiously educated and is herself, I believe, in communion with the Presbyterian Church.

¹ There are, in Washington, survivors of the family here alluded to. No doubt, our hero, as an old man, would have modified his language in describing, when he was a very young man, the members of that household. I suppress, therefore, the name.

² Since published.

As might be expected, she is not fond of the mixed society at Washington, and seldom goes abroad except when the courtesies of society require of her the sacrifice. Her favorite spot is her own sweet home, and her chosen employment the education of her daughters. Under such a teacher, they could not but improve. As well might the rose refuse its beauty and fragrance to the wooing breath of spring."

Here is a quite interesting extract from the same diary :

"Jan. 28, [1829]. As Mr. Adams was soon to go out of office, his last drawing-room was numerously attended. I had engaged to go with Miss Wirt and Miss Cabell, and Mrs. Pleasanton was to matronize them. At the proper time, I called for the ladies. They were not ready. I sat patiently down to await their pleasure. Mrs. P. came soon, and evinced no little dissatisfaction at the delay, though she endeavored to conceal her displeasure under a mask of affected ease and gaiety.

"At length, however, we were all in the carriage, and 'round and round went the wheels,' until we arrived at the President's gate. The whole avenue to the palace-door was filled with carriages of those who had arrived before us, and we had only the meager satisfaction of not being the last of the train. Nearly fifteen minutes elapsed before we were able to reach the door. At length we were set at liberty and entered the house. An immense crowd was present. Three rooms were full of guests. Music was heard in the great, and yet unfinished, East Room, inviting the dancers to engage in the cotillion. Many accepted the invitation, and soon many light feet were tripping over the floor. At ten o'clock, the dance broke off, and the supper room was thrown open. Long tables were spread in a spacious apartment, covered with every thing that could please the eye or gratify the taste. They were soon surrounded by a crowd by no means reluctant to disburden them of their load. As each company was satisfied and departed, others filled the vacant places, and the banquet did not end until after eleven o'clock. Then the dance was resumed for a little while, until, one by one, the gay group diminished, when the music played 'Home, Sweet Home,' as a finale, and the pleasures of the evening were ended."

Under date October 16, 1829:

"This evening I introduced Smith to the family of Mr. Ringgold, and spent a few hours very pleasantly."

I suppose this was Mr. Hamilton Smith. With this gentleman the life of our hero had much to do, as we shall see hereafter. How I do not happen to have received from him any contribution to this volume I could not explain without departing from the policy that has governed me throughout, since the occurrence of some painful things, to which I have already alluded. Possibly, the time may

come when Mr. Smith and others will know why that policy forbade me even to apply to them for anecdotes and other contributions.

To resume. Here is, it seems to me, a particularly interesting entry:

"Dr. Hunt was married this evening to the youngest daughter of Mrs. Ringgold. The evening was extremely unpropitious, yet a great crowd was present. I went as a looker on. *I saw Mr. Van Buren moving about paying compliments and hunting¹ for good opinions.* Many beaux promenaded the rooms, and many belles seemed dying for their attentions. Mr. Ringgold was bustling around like a man determined that if his guests were not pleased, it should be no fault of his. The doctor was as happy as an old bachelor just escaped from the barren confines of single blessedness is apt to be on such an occasion, and the bride was a very pretty bride. At ten o'clock large folding doors were thrown open, displaying to the gourmands of the company a most inviting spectacle. An instant rush was made toward the tables; yet the gallantry of the gentlemen [caused] them to desist until the fairer portion of creation had retired. Then, however, hams, rounds of beef, chickens, were not spared. Pyramids of ice were demolished in less time than is required to record their fate. Wine flowed in rivers—and rivers were drank dry. At length, however, the appetite of the most eager was sated, and as there was nothing more to be seen I returned home."

Now let us go back a little. Under date January 1, 1829, an entry, part of which has been already given, yields the following:

"After leaving the President's we called upon Mrs. Porter, the lady of the Secretary of War. She is a very uncommon woman. To the utmost ease she unites the most dignified propriety of manner. She has the art of setting all who approach her perfectly at their ease, while she never permits them to forget even for a moment the respect which was [*sic*] due to her. All who had once been within her magical sphere felt the influence of her spells, and none was ever heard to breathe a wish for disenchantment. If ever I should be joined 'for better or worse,' I would desire to be united to one like Mrs. Porter, and having the added and more precious ornament of pure religion."

This was not intended either as a slur or a censure. We must bear in mind the marked religiousness of Chase's education and his character.

Let me ask attention here to two extracts (out of many), indicating his religiousness in 1829. The first of them reads thus:

"January 13, 1829. My birthday—and I have no guardian save

¹ Have we here a pun, referring to the bridegroom?

Him whose wards we are through life. I am twenty-one. 'To-morrow and to-morrow and to-morrow creeps in this petty pace, from day to day,' yet at length the most distant imaginable point of time will be reached. How precious a treasure is time, and how have I lavishly squandered it! Oh! that I could recall some of it from the abyss! Vain is the wish. Time lost can never be recalled or redeemed. Yet even now there is time, if I will but resolve and act, to do much. Knowledge may yet be gained, and golden reputation. *I may yet enjoy the consciousness of having lived not in vain. Future scenes of triumph may yet be mine.* Let me awaken, then, to a just sense of my great deficiencies. Let me struggle earnestly for the prize of well-doing and leave the event to the great Arbiter of all Destinies."

Under date January 1, 1829, we have:

"Among the most popular of the preachers at Washington is Mr. Campbell. In the pulpit he has a mild and subdued expression, which insensibly prepossesses the hearer in his favor. This favorable impression, however, is usually neutralized when he begins to speak. The tones of his voice are not agreeable to the unused ear, and the variety of intonation excites a suspicion of affectation. After a while, however, you forget all this, and then his graceful and emphatic elocution never fails of its full effect. I never knew a pulpit-orator whose action was so entirely free from fault. He knows well how to impart to every gesture a meaning not less obvious and affecting than that conveyed in spoken language. He is not eloquent—at least, not eloquent in the truest sense of that word. But he is a perfect master of rhetoric, and very few people know the difference. Profound thought, clothed in language which has a meaning of association, if I may so speak, deeper than the import of its letter, is essential to an eloquent man; and this Mr. Campbell has not. High-reaching imagination and copious expression are his gifts, and upon a skillful management of them his reputation is built."

Here is a markedly characteristic extract:

"July 12. I went with the Rev. Mr. Johns to a dilapidated building about four miles from the city, which goes by the name of Rock Creek Church. As we went out the clouds accumulated in heavy masses over our heads, and rolled heavily but rapidly along. I felt that secret and sublime sensation which, I suppose, everybody is impressed with at such moments—a feeling (?) of deep reverential awe, as if in the immediate presence of awful omnipotence. Drops of rain had begun to fall when we arrived at church. It was a very old building, having stood there since the earliest settlement of the district. It was never completed. The walls stood in their nakedness. The roof was unconcealed by a ceiling. Bare rafters stretched their enormous length from side to side. It was almost an uncomfortable sensation to look up and see them impending above you. The congregation, as might be expected in such a place, was very small. At length the clergyman began, saying, 'The Lord is in his holy

temple, let all the earth keep silence before him ; ' and the old fabric gave back the echoed words as if conscious that even that rude place might be a fitting temple for the Most High, if humble hearts and contrite spirits were met to worship there. The service proceeded, but soon the rain fell in torrents, and the 'thunder mingled its dread tones with the rush of winds and the fall of waters.' The tones of the preacher's voice were lost in the elemental roar, and he was compelled to dismiss the congregation. They formed themselves in groups around the building and awaited the abating of the storm. Night was approaching when the rain partially ceased, and we all seized the opportunity then offered to return into the city, where, however, we did not arrive before the storm raged anew. Yet we kept on through the midst of it and, in a short time, tho' ¹ wet and weary, reached home."

Let me now invite attention to my transcript of an entry dated February 21, 1830, not long before our hero went to "settle" in the Cincinnati valley. Here is one of the most interesting indications that I have to offer :

"I have witnessed, this evening, a scene unlike any thing I have ever imagined or heard of. There being no service at the other churches on account of the weather, I attended the Methodist chapel. I was [prepared], in a degree, for the sermon by the prayer. It was highly figurative, and impassioned, and earnest. The congregation were much excited, and united audibly with the minister. Their utterances, however, were not articulate language, but consisted of exclamations and groans, and, at times, shouts of triumph. When the sermon commenced, my attention was irresistibly drawn to the preacher. He began in a low tone of voice, and proceeded, for some time, in a simple, didactic strain. By degrees, however, he became more and more animated, until, at length, he forgot every thing around him, and gave free utterance to his crowding thoughts.

" 'What a paradoxical creed,' said he 'do these Christians receive, say the people of the world.' 'God in him and he in God ; how can that be?' 'In yonder blacksmith shop, you see the iron in the fire and the fire in the iron, and the more the fire is infused into it, the more nearly does it assimilate itself to the nature of that element. If this can be in material things, why not in spiritual?' Much similar illustration was used throughout the sermon. He described the nature of the Christian hope, and described the evidence of acceptance with God. The internal peace, which constitutes much of this evidence, might, indeed, he said, be sometimes marred by an unhappy

¹ Qu., Thoroughly ?

Not long ago, I paid, with two young companions, a pious pilgrimage to the spot where stood that "dilapidated building," but where now stands a new church. I love to visit every spot trodden by the footsteps of our hero as a young man, though, as already more than once quite clearly intimated, he did never seem to me above the reach of weakness and of worse than weakness.

physical constitution. 'The spirits of the believer may be depressed. He may faint in his march Zionward; and the tempter may thus obtain power over him; and his hope of glory may be obscured; and he may hang his harp upon the willows and sing no more the song of Zion; but in a little while the clouds will break away, and the light of God's countenance will shine upon him, and he will take down his harp from the willows, and tune it to a sweeter strain, and strike the notes with a bolder hand, till every chord resound, Glory to God.'

"He spoke of the delusive phantoms of pleasure which mock the pursuits of the ungodly. He dwelt upon the divine declaration, 'there is no peace to the wicked.' He described the transition from this state to the peace of God. 'At length, he said, 'the angel of deliverance approaches, and the prison walls are shaken, and the fetters fall off, and the soul emerges from its bondage into glorious liberty. I tell you, a new song is put into his mouth, and he shall sing it forever.'

"I am conscious that I but feebly imitate his language. It was plain, plainer than that I have attributed to him, but more expressive. There was, besides, a suddenness of transition from darkness to light, and from deep horror to lofty rapture, and a manner of delivery and a peculiarity of intonation which must be seen and heard to be understood. The whole was intended for present effect. And that end was answered. I never conceived it possible that declamation could so affect even so ignorant an audience. Some shouted aloud in anticipation of heaven. Some shrieked in dread of hell. Sobs and groans resounded through the house, mingled with the loud gratulations and thanksgivings of those who appropriated to themselves the rich promises of the preacher. Some started wildly from their seats as if to rush to joy or escape from woe, while many gazed with an earnestness of astonishment which demonstrated that such a scene was not common even in a Methodist meeting."

Bear this well in mind, discerning reader! We shall find the writer of it become a Methodist himself, and that in the full maturity and strength of his faculties.

But, while thus attending to things immaterial, our hero could attend to things material, with lively interest. Here is an extract from his diary, under date December 27, 1829:

"I went out to day to see the finished portion of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad. Only two miles have been as yet completed, but this distance suffices for experiments. The cars are very long, and about as wide as ordinary road-wagons—containing, without inconvenience, from twenty to thirty people. They weigh, as I was informed, about fifteen hundred pounds apiece. Yet I could set one of them in motion and draw it along with my little finger. Friction is reduced almost to nothing. I saw a horse draw a loaded car at the rate of ten miles an hour, and, apparently, with ease. A small

car, manned with a single sailor, was rigged with a mast and sails. He admitted two or three passed [passengers], and the little vehicle shot off before the wind, to the great amusement and delight of the surrounding spectators. The railroad must be completed. It is a project of too great consequence to the country to be suffered to remain unexecuted. Many find fault with the proceedings of the directors, and accuse them of a needless waste of the funds of the company. I am not able to judge of the justice of this imputation; but am willing to presume it to be without foundation. I know how easy it is to discover imperfections, and I know how impossible it is to be perfect. Mr. Niles, who is a man of great practical intelligence, and, generally, fair and impartial, speaks well of them, saying that 'the concern could not be placed in abler or better hands. The board of directors is composed of an unusual number of deeply-thinking, closely-calculating, and indefatigably-industrious gentlemen.' *I am willing to trust his judgment.*

"The road is of incalculable importance. It removes the Alleghanies. Annihilates them as an obstacle to the intercourse between the East and the West, while it leaves them still to answer the great ends for which Providence destined them.

"It makes Cincinnati and Baltimore neighboring cities, and renders every kind of communication between them as easy as it is now between Baltimore and New York. It will open to the West a market for their produce, and facilitate the introduction of the manufactures of the East. But it is useless to attempt an enumeration of the benefits to be derived from the completion of this great work. Time alone can make out the catalogue, and time, I am sure, will make out a larger and more splendid list than its most sanguine advocates now anticipate."

These words were written, as indeed their own terms indicate, at Baltimore.

Under date October 30, 1829, we have:

"I read to-day the life of Sir Isaac Newton, as published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. How do the persevering exertions of such great minds to acquire knowledge and extend the boundaries of science, put to shame my feeble efforts. Yet I think to reach the pinnacle of learning. Alas! that I should foolishly dream of extensive attainments when I suffer so much of my time to glide away in reverie—when I devote a still larger proportion to idle visiting. Under such circumstances, who could do any thing worth the doing?"

On the 5th of the next month he wrote:

"The impressions mentioned in the preceding pages were confirmed powerfully by an article I read to-day upon Dwight's *Travels in Germany*. Here I read of boys of eighteen whose attainments in literature were far, very far, beyond mine, and whose knowledge of the abstract sciences could hardly be compared

to mine. It would be as 10 to 0. I consoled myself, in some degree, by imputing my ignorance to a defective education. But this is but miserable comfort; had I possessed energy, resolution, industry, I might have made attainments large as theirs. But because I could not be suited as to the mode of study; because I could not surround myself with every thing that could assist labor, or facilitate research, I became tired and idle. Until these things can be, shall I refuse to labor? Then away with the fond expectations I have long indulged; they will never be gratified. Had the great men, had the German scholars—deferred the labor of application until placed in circumstances precisely according with their most extravagant imagination, would their names ever have been committed to time as a trust of which he might be proud? Let me no longer deceive myself—these miserable pretenses are nothing more than apologies for laziness or cloaks for incapacity."

The love of study, in alternate harmony and conflict with the love of wealth and fashion—or in other words of what is called society—may appear to have strongly marked the life of him by whom these words were written.

In the entry under date October 9, 1829, we have these interesting sentences :

"As we were coming home, we passed a man, whose tattered rags seemed to plead eloquently, tho' silently, for relief. I proposed to the doctor to stop till he came up, and offer him some money. To our surprise he refused it, but requested clothes. These we had not to spare. He threw back his miserable cloak, exhibiting the epitomized history of suffering under it, and exclaimed: 'Twenty years ago, I was master of thirty thousand dollars, and now I have not one picayune. Edward Livingston has brought me to this.' I now wonder that I did not stop to hear some explanation of this strange charge against a man who stands high in general esteem, and, at the present moment, occupies a seat in the National Senate."

Of the measure in which Salmon Portland Chase was charitable, in the sense of being ready to do works of mercy to the body, I know very little. I do not suppose that he was eminently charitable, eminently liberal, at any time. He never was an avaricious man, however, or a man without pity.

Of his interest in reform and advancement, his diary, under date May 25, 1829, affords a pleasant proof, as follows :

"I attended this evening a public meeting to consider upon the establishment of an infant school in this city. The meeting was very respectably attended, and some addresses were delivered, of considerable interest. It is wonderful to reflect upon the progress and excite-

ment of society. Carried on by that progress, and participating in that excitement, it is not always perceptible to us. The stream rushes on, but as we are borne upon its bosom, we are insensible of its motion; the atmosphere is hot and inflamed, but a fever rages in our own veins, and we are not aware that the temperature is at all changed. But if we remove ourselves, in idea—if we take a high and commanding elevation—if we get above this dim spot into the regions of pure and serene air, we obtain a view of the most extraordinary character. Man is seen rousing himself from the slumber of ages, and shaking off the bondage of ignorance and intolerance. Governments are seen remodeling—the old tottering to their fall, and the new springing up in beautiful proportions and resting upon broad and stable foundations. Knowledge is diffusing her influences among the nations. The wilderness is receding before the advance of civilization. Cities are springing up where the forest recently stood, and States are born and grow up to mature strength in less than half the time allotted to man upon earth. Space is almost annihilated. Human invention is approximating the remote and facilitating the difficult. The life of man embraces a far greater variety of incidents, and may be made of far greater importance to himself and to others than it ever could before. And, as if to meet the new demands made upon human intellect, new methods of instruction are devised, and the work is commenced earlier. Infant schools begin with the earliest dawn. They train the mind of the babe to activity and observation. They store it with the thoughts of others, and teach it to think for itself. The world is no longer a dull mass of matter of which the child knows nothing and cares to know nothing. It is full of wonders, and the very child now learns to send a delighted and intelligent eye over them. Young creatures, whose fathers at their age but learned to lisp nursery nonsense, have made large attainments in really useful knowledge—knowledge likely to make them better, happier, and more respectable. Yet the world is but half awake. The wonderful capabilities of humanity are known but to few. Colleges, schools, yet contain but a small portion of the population. Physical labor yet bears heavily upon the great multitude, and their noble faculties are almost unknown even to the possessors. Yet this state of things can not last. The signs of this time indicate the going on of a mighty revolution, and oppressed human nature shall yet be redeemed from the thralldom of sin, and ignorance and the serpent's head effectually crushed."

Assuredly, the indications of these extracts as to the manner in which the legal studies of our hero were attended, and, to some extent, peculiarized, by other studies and pursuits, are such as one must love to dwell on.

Here is, if I may so express myself, a thoroughly religious young man of the world, preparing for the duties of the legal profession. Such a man should have professional prospects. There should be, for such a man, a splendid future at the bar.

A lawyer as a lawyer, ought to be a gentleman. I have elsewhere said that William Wirt was one of the most perfect gentlemen that ever breathed. And Mrs. Wirt, in spite of that 'little tincture of aristocratic feeling' was clearly a most lovely lady. Of her daughter, Elizabeth,² Chase wrote, in 1829:

Elizabeth, the elder, is a noble creature.

"She is not very beautiful, and yet
There is that in her dark, bright, joyous eyes,
And in the expression of her speaking face,
Where, 'mid the graces, dwell perpetual smiles,
As sunshine dwells upon the summer wave,
Changing forever yet forever bright
With the sweet frankness of confiding youth
And the pure light that ever more pours forth
From the mind's fountain, that demanded more
Than the cold name of Beauty, which may be
The attributes of beings whom no ray
Of intellect illumines, and no charm
Of Loveliness invests.

"She has bright raven locks and a fine, frank, open, brunette countenance. She moves like a wind-borne thing over the earth. Her step is almost a dance, so much is she borne up by the excitement of her joyous spirits. I would not trust her with a secret. If her lips did not speak it her eyes would. Her sister is a more *spirituelle* being. There is more softness and more bland sweetness in her manner. Her cheek is something paler and has a mournful meaning. Perhaps she thinks of her lover, who is away on the sea. Perhaps, she is only meditating upon the fleeting nature of all sublunary enjoyments. Wherever you go, pure sisters, the friend who writes these words shall send up his prayers for your unbroken felicity, here and in a purer world."

Can there be the slightest question that association with the Wirts and with their friends, was part of the best preparation of our hero for the profession of the law? I think not. That profession was to Salmon Portland Chase what it should be to every well-educated man—what, for example, it was to Henri Francois d'Aguesseau, when he wrote on the *Independence of the Advocate*, his discourse on the *Knowledge of Man*, and his discourse on the *Causes of the Decline of Eloquence*.³

¹ Ante, p. 154.

² Now Mrs. Admiral Goldsborough.

³ *Oeuvres complètes du Chancelier d'Aguesseau*, par M. Pardessus, tome premier pp. 1, 14, 31.

CHAPTER XI.

LEGAL STUDIES—ADMISSION TO THE BAR—FAREWELL TO WASHINGTON.

IN an entry under date "1, 2, etc.," 1829, Chase wrote:

"December 1, 2, etc., [1829.] I was now engaged in reading large quantities of law, daily. I read thirty pages in Espinasse's *Nisi Prius* and thirty pages in Stephen on Pleading, besides attending to numerous and urgent duties. Of course, I read superficially, but my object was rather to finish a certain number of books before I applied for admission to the bar than to acquire legal knowledge. I effected my object, but at a great sacrifice. I have given strength to a habit of superficial reading which was strong before. It will not now be easy to eradicate it, and substitute for it a habit of close attention and patient reflection. Yet this must be done, or my admission to the bar will do me little good."

Were this a work of simple eulogy, I might insist that the confession we have just seen must be ascribed to a habit of self-censure, self-accusation, self-disparagement. On the other hand, were not this work composed by a lawyer of reading, observation, and experience, it might be in danger of countenancing the disparagement of our hero, as a legist, which has shown itself in certain quarters.

In another chapter I have¹ indicated my opinion of Salmon Portland Chase, as a legal practitioner. Here I wish to notice some peculiarities of his preparation for the bar, and then to draw attention to some other matters.

Under date December 31, 1829, we have:

"The last day of the year has arrived—a year that to me has been fruitful of events; some of them of a not unpleasing character. My vanity has been flattered by many proofs of the estimation in which I am held by my acquaintance—though my conscience tells me I am far from deserving it even in its lowest degree. During the past year I have made some attainments in literature and science not

¹ Chapter LIV.

altogether valueless, yet when I compare what I have done with what I might have done—when I place the reality by the side of the possibility, and perceive into what insignificance it instantly shrinks, I feel humbled and mortified by the conviction that the Creator has gifted me with intelligence almost in vain. I am almost twenty-two, and have, as yet, attained but the threshold of knowledge. *I have formed few settled opinions*, and have examined but few subjects. The night has seldom found me much advanced beyond the station I occupied in the morning, and the end of the year has at length come round and finds me almost in the very spot I was in at its commencement. I have learned little and have forgotten much, and, really, to conclude of the future from the past, I almost despair of making any figure in the world. Let me consider that I have not reached the age when improvement is hopeless, and that many obstacles have hitherto surrounded me and impeded my progress. Let me console myself by this reflection, and take courage. Let me once more resolve to struggle earnestly for the prize of well-doing, and, looking in humble confidence to him who is glorified in all the attainments of all his creatures, press on again in the race of virtue, of learning and science to the goal of virtuous and holy reputation."

Was the way to virtuous and holy reputation to be found in the profession of the law? How did this young man, intending to become a lawyer, regard the general compatibility of the profession he had chosen with æsthetics and with ethics?

From time to time, as we go forward, we shall find some clear indications of the proper answer to this question. But, since the death of Salmon Portland Chase and the dying away of the undiscerning laudation of him, in some of which so many persons, lawyers and non-lawyers, ventilated their own vanity as well as glorified our hero, so much has been said in disparagement of this man as a judge, that it is in chapters relating to his judicial career and character that I have thought proper to present the largest body of matter in relation to the view he took of polity and jurisprudence and of his profession.¹

Here I call attention to what I deem a very important extract from his diary, under date February 14, 1829. It reads as follows:

"I heard Mr. Webster to-day for the first time in the Supreme Court. It was a cause originally unimportant; but time and the progress of improvement had greatly augmented the value of the property in controversy. Years ago the land was a waste, uninhabited and unimproved. A few dollars bought it and were applied to the payment of the debts of an intestate. Recently, the heirs

¹ Post. Chapters

have discovered a flaw in the chain of title, and have claimed the land. It is now covered by factories and dwellings, and exhibits the busy scenes of a prosperous manufacturing town.

"Mr. Webster argued the cause for the heirs and with great power. He states his case with great clearness, and draws his inferences with exceeding sagacity. His language is rich and copious; his manner dignified and impressive; his voice deep and sonorous; and his sentiments high and often sublime. He argues generally from general principles, seldom descending into minute analysis where intricacy is apt to embarrass and analogy to mislead. He is remarkable for strength rather than dexterity, and would easier rend an oak than untie a knot. If I could carry my faith in the possibility of all things to labor, so far as to suppose that any degree of industry would enable me reach his height, how day and night should testify of my toils!"

We shall soon have to consider Salmon Portland Chase in the special character of a legist agitator—of a lawyer, agitating, as a lawyer, against the extension and perpetuation of the late "peculiar institution of the South." We shall find him insisting on the strict peculiarity of that institution—applying to it the strict rule in *Shylock's* case, according to fair *Portia's* ruling. We shall not, however, find him talking wildly about higher laws or about covenants with hell. If we shall find him mad, we shall find him showing something quite like method in his madness. He will not deny that slavery may exist, by force of unwritten, positive law, as ruled in *Commonwealth v. Aves*. But, allowing full effect to the decision in that case, and to the decision in the case of the *Antelope*, we shall find him following *Marbury v. Madison*, in arguing, with pen and lips, that a supposed legislative enactment which is in repugnance to the Constitution, the supreme law of the land, is, by reason of that repugnance, not voidable merely, but, from the beginning, absolutely void. We shall find him arguing this about the act of Congress relating to fugitives from service—or, in other words, to slaves.

We see, then, that it is important to this work, to introduce a purely popular account of the legal system of the Union as we see it, for example, in Ohio.

Though our hero studied in the District of Columbia, he did not expect to live at Washington or elsewhere in the District. He expected to "go West." The legal system of this district is peculiar. Let us take the legal system of Ohio for needed illustration.

Years ago, I "set up," in type, without writing, and caused to be stereotyped, intending soon to publish a very little volume, contemplating contribution toward proper popularization of the Law.

It was to bear the name *A Primer of the Law distinctively American*. It never came to seem to me quite fit for publication. But this extract from it may be found to serve our present purpose :

If we look at the Legal System as it is applied to the life of Cincinnati, we may raise our eyes from the least up to the greatest in that system thus :

1. By-Laws of the local Private Corporations ;
2. Ordinances of the Municipal (Public) Corporation, called the City of Cincinnati ;
3. So much of the Common Law of England as has not been abrogated by the cessation of its reason, and as is harmonious with the statutes and the Constitution of this State, with the genius, habits, and ideas of the people, living in Ohio ; with advanced civilization and improved moral sensibility ; with the legal system of the Union, with the law of nations and with the law of nature ;
4. Statutes—that is, enactments by the General Assembly—of Ohio ;
5. The Constitution of this State ;
6. The Supreme Law of the Land ; that is, the Legal System of the Union ;
7. The Law of Nations ;
8. The Law of Nature.¹

Practically, recognition of the so-called law of nature—which may be distinguished as the law of laws—the law of that which ought to be the rule of conduct and the regulation of relation and possession—can not be judiciously allowed to go beyond construction as applied to written constitutions. How with reference to simple statutes ? Can a judge declare a statute void because it seems to him repugnant to the law of nature, though not forbidden, either expressly or by implication, in the written constitution ? I would say not. But as to the legislation by city councils and the like, the rule seems to be well established, that an ordinance may be judicially disregarded on account of its repugnance to the law of nature.

Chase was very much disposed to hold up the regard due to the

¹ Another form of statement may be thus : 1. Rules and Regulations commonly called By-Laws) of Private Corporations ; 2. City Laws, comprehending Ordinances and By-Laws, properly so designated ; 3. An Ohio Modification of the English Common Law, a like modification of Ecclesiastical Law, a like Modification of old English Statutes, and the Law Merchant of Ohio ; 4. the Statutes of Ohio ; 5. the State Constitution ; 6. the Supreme Law of the Land, extending to all the States and Territories of the Union, and comprising : *a.* the Acts of Congress ; *b.* Treaties ; *c.* the Constitution of the Union ; and 7. the Law of Nations with the Law of Nature.

law of nature. Sometimes, as in a case in which I had the honor to be one of his professional opponents,¹ he appeared to me to carry to the verge of sheer extravagance his views about that portion of the legal system.

And he had some other peculiar views of fundamental law. In the celebrated *Vanzandt case*, of which a full account is elsewhere given, chiefly in our hero's own language, he insisted that the Ordinance of 1787 for the government of the territory north-west of the river Ohio, did not give place to the first constitution of the State named after that river, but continued, in that State, to have the face of a practically immutable law.

When did he form these views, and where? Was it here in Washington while he had Wirt for a legal teacher, and was often at least hearing of decisions by Chief Justice Marshall?

I am not able to answer. But this much, at least, is quite certain. In the already² cited lecture-essay on the *Life and Character of Henry Brougham*, Chase, at three-and-twenty years of age, expressed himself quite in the fashion of a law reformer.³

¹ *Ball vs. Hand*.

² Introduction.

³ He said: "The common law of England, originating in a barbarous age, in a state of society where commerce and manufactures were unknown, and men were divided into despised tillers of the ground and fierce wielders of the sword, is not and could not be expected to be adapted to the exigencies of a civilized, manufacturing, and commercial community. As at present administered, the common law may almost be said to be a common nuisance. True, many additions and alterations have been made in the process of time. It is quite a different thing from what it was; but it can hardly be said to be a better thing. It is now an immense patch-work; the parts have been collected from a great variety of codes, fitted to a great variety of times and circumstances. Some of it is Danish, some Saxon, some Norman, and some Roman. Some of it is ancient and some of it is modern. It is like a coat made of old cloth and new cloth, with sleeves for a baby, skirt for a boy, and a body for a man. It is like a coat in another respect, too; it is found to fit nobody. The administration of the law is more wretchedly defective than the law itself. Justice is sold at an enormous price. The witty saying of Horne Tooke is too true. To one who said, 'the courts are open,' he replied, 'Aye, like the London Tavern—to all who can pay the bill!' So high are these bills, so great is the expense of legal proceedings, that it is frequently better to pocket an injury quietly and say nothing about it, than to attempt to obtain redress at law. If any one in England have a hundred dollars owing to him, and his debtor refuse to pay, it is cheaper to let it go than to sue for it. If any one have paid a hundred dollars and taken a receipt, and the man who has been paid demand a second payment, it is cheaper to pay the money over again, than to go to law and defend the suit successfully. So that it was not fancy, but sober truth, that guided Dean Swift's pen, when he represented the father of the famous Gulliver as ruined by *gaining* a Chancery suit with

Thus it is quite evident that very early, indeed, this "literary lawyer" showed himself an agitator for reform of laws and legal manners. Doubtless much of his enlightened liberality, in this respect, he owed to intercourse with that other "literary lawyer," his preceptor, William Wirt.

costs. To put the matter more plainly before our readers, we will narrate the leading circumstances of one case in which Mr. Brougham was himself employed, and of which a meagre account may be found in Mr. Starkie's very valuable book on Evidence. We shall use nearly the language of Mr. Brougham's speech on the Reform of the Law, in which we find a more detailed statement of the transaction.

"The case was in the Court of Exchequer, and Mr. Brougham was counsel for the defendant. It became his duty to examine a witness for the Crown, who exhibited strong indications of perjury; but the verdict went against him, notwithstanding.

"On a new trial, however, the suspicion of perjury, before entertained, was turned into certainty, and the defendant was acquitted. A prosecution for perjury was instituted against that witness, and seventeen others connected with him. Eighteen indictments were found, and the Crown removed the whole into the King's Bench. The Attorney-General conducted the prosecution. On the first indictment, Meade, the perjured witness already mentioned, was clearly convicted. The other seventeen were then to have been tried, but the Crown had made them all special jury cases, and, of course, there was not a sufficient number of jurors present. A warrant was prayed as is usual, we believe, in such cases, that the jury box should be filled from the by-standers; but the Crown refused the warrant. Thus an expense of near fifty thousand dollars was incurred, and a hundred witnesses were brought from a great distance to London, all for nothing, except after the vexation, and trouble, and delay he had endured, to work the ruin of the prosecutor, who had at first been harassed on the testimony of the perjured witnesses. These poor farmers had no more money to spend in law; all the other prosecutions were dropped. Even the wretch who had been convicted obtained a rule for a new trial; but funds were wanting to meet him again, and he, too, escaped; so that public justice was utterly frustrated, as well as the most grievous wrong inflicted on individuals. Nor did it end here. The poor farmer was fated to lose his life by the transaction. He lived in the same village with Meade, the false witness; and, one evening, in consequence, as was alleged, of some song sung by him in the streets, this man, Meade, seized a gun and shot him dead on the spot. He was acquitted of murder, on the ground of provocation, but found guilty of manslaughter, and sentenced to an imprisonment of two years. A case of more complicated and enormous hardship, one fraught with more cruel injustice to the parties, can scarcely be imagined to have occurred in any country. Nor was this a very uncommon case. We have not sought through many volumes to find it. Such cases occur frequently. The Courts are familiar with them. The reports are full of them. They have almost ceased to be shocking to the administrators of the law. 'So anxious'—we quote from Blackstone by way of commentary—'so anxious is the law of England to maintain and restore to every individual the enjoyment of his civil rights, without intrenching upon those of any other individual in the nation; so parentally solicitious is our whole legal constitution to preserve that spirit of equal liberty which is the singular felicity of the British nation.'

Writing to S. Teackle Wallis, Esq., Mr. Wirt drew off this paragraph, with others :

"Bacon's *Essay on the Advancement of Science*, Locke on the *Human Understanding* and on *Government*, and some of the preliminary chap-

"Strange that Mr. Brougham should desire to interfere with such striking manifestations of parental solicitude. Strange that the people of England should desire to rid themselves of the guardianship and tender care of so kind a parent! Yet, strange though it be, it is not the less true. The people and their great advocate, influenced, doubtless, by some singular obliquity of moral vision, thought they saw great and grievous defects and vices in that system, which, to the clearer eye of Sir William Blackstone, seemed so perfect and so goodly. And Mr. Brougham set himself strenuously to the work of reform. He began by a speech in the House of Commons, the report of which fills one hundred and thirty-nine closely printed pages. It is perhaps, saying not too much of this speech to affirm, that there is not one, either ancient or modern, that contains a larger amount of information, all bearing, with admirable adaptedness and resistless effect, upon the very question under consideration. In this speech, he brought before the House the whole condition of the common law. No nook of the immense field had escaped his observation. He went into every dark corner and hidden recess, as into familiar and frequented haunts. And to this great knowledge of what the law was, he added a clear and sound understanding of what the law should be. While he pointed to the evil, he did not omit to indicate the remedy. All that he said was said with so much distinctness and simplicity, that no idea could be misunderstood; yet, with such force and energy, that no mind could remain unimpressed. He concluded with his celebrated motion for the reform of the law: 'That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, praying that he will be graciously pleased to issue a commission for inquiring into the defects occasioned by time or otherwise, in the laws of this realm, and into the measures necessary for removing the same.' He afterwards, for the sake of conciliation, made this motion less broad, by substituting the administration of justice in the Superior Courts, and the law of real property, as objects of inquiry, instead of the laws of the realm generally. Thus modified, the motion was carried unanimously. Two commissions were issued by the Crown, and the reports of the commissioners have been elaborate and valuable. There is a spirit now awake upon the subject that will not slumber again, until, instead of the present cumbrous and unintelligible system of law and courts, like that far-famed labyrinth, into which if a man once entered he never found his way out again, England shall have a simple and intelligible code of laws, and a cheap and prompt administration of justice. Mr. Brougham has already done much. He well understood what was to be done, and how it was to be done; and he went to work cautiously, as a man should, who is dealing with the veins and arteries of the social system. Last June, he brought before the House the result of his labors. His bill proposes to divide England into judicial districts of a convenient size. He would have only one judge, who should have power to try and determine, with the aid of a jury, all causes of a certain importance. If the parties desire it, the judge may hear and determine any cause without a jury. When required, the judge must also act as an arbitrator, and his award will have the force of a judgment. But the most remarkable feature of the plan is this: Any party may cite another against

ters of Hooker on *Ecclesiastical Polity*, are on the same gigantic scale of thinking. *These essays of Burke, and the constitutional opinions of Chief Justice Marshall*, belong to the same great class of intellectual effort, and you ought to become familiar with them."¹

If I am not mistaken, intimation has already been hazarded in this volume, that life, law, and language seem to be the special studies proper to the legist.

That the forum is, indeed, but life in little,² must be obvious. Life, however, interests the legist, not only in the sense in which the term life makes one think of manners, traits, passions, tendencies, but in the special sense in which life is regarded by the books on physiology, and in the system usually treated as comprising medicine and hygiene.

Chase bound me to him not a little by the interest he took in a work which, to the acceptance of by far the greatest number of its reviewers,³ though without extensive publication, undertook to contribute toward the improvement of the system, which may well be called forensic hygiene and medicine, and also of that which may well be called State hygiene and medicine.

whom he has any claim or complaint, before the judge. When there, they are to state their case in their own way, without any lawyer; and the judge, having heard them both, is to give them his advice like a friend. If they agree to abide by it, this advice acquires the force of a regular adjudication. This part of the plan seems admirable in theory, and has worked well wherever it has been reduced to practice.

"We see no reason why such a plan might not be introduced into the courts of this country with advantage. While we have great and just cause of grateful triumph that so much of the absurdity and evil, pointed out by Mr. Brougham in the system of English law, has been purged from our jurisprudence, we have also reason to be ashamed that so much remains. Our modes of distributing justice, especially, are far from perfect. And we may hope that it is not presumptuous to imagine, nor an unpardonable irreverence of antiquity to suggest, that the present generation may improve what a former generation has left susceptible of improvement. If our laws and courts should be so improved that justice could no longer be represented, and truly represented, as limping tardily along after a nimble rogue, and only catching him, if she catch him at all; when he can get no farther, in the last court of appellate jurisdiction, we may hope, also, that no lawyer would be found weeping in secret over shrunk fees and a lean docket."

¹ Kennedy's *Life of Wirt*, vol. II., page 386.

² Warden, *Man and Law*.

³ Particularly the *North American Review*, the *Independent*, the *New Englander*, the *Freeman's Journal*. Allibone's delusively defective dictionary of authors gives a most imperfect notion of the manner in which that work was treated by reviewers.

We shall find him taking a most painful interest in parts of medical learning.¹ Did he, while preparing for the bar, concern himself sufficiently with legal medicine? I think not. Of that, however, I propose to say a word hereafter.

That he did not more devote himself to legal studies while at Washington, he seemed deeply to regret. But let us make correct distinctions on that subject. He had Wirt for a legal teacher. Wirt would naturally give far more attention to the reports of cases decided in the Supreme Court of the United States than to any other reports. It would naturally happen, then, that those reports should be more interesting than any other to his legal pupils, of whom Chase was probably the most considered.

Now, at this time, there should be no question but that the finest reports we have are the reports in question.

Nothing more than *evidence of law* is yielded by decisions.² Law is made by legislation, not by judgment. The expression "judge-made law," like the expression "case-law," shows confusion of ideas. *Dicere non dare*—to declare law, not to make it—is the function of the judge. But let us not forget the facts. All law is not made. Great part of it is a mere growth.

I do not speak alone of law as fixed in usage. As to many interests, the law is that *that which ought to be, as ascertained by enlightened judgment, shall be*. Here we have, apparently, judicial legislation. Alter all, however, the decision is not law, but only evidence of law—a distinction of capital importance.

Did our hero, while preparing for the bar, pay due attention to the interest of the law in language?

Language, life, and law, I take it, are the preëminently proper studies of a legist. Every completely educated American legist might well be expected to know German, French, Greek, Latin, English. I confess I know too little of the Greek, and not enough of Latin; so that I am rather taking exception to a common fault of legal education than professing to have done all I should have done in lingual study.

While I was, in aid of this work, for a short time private secretary to our hero, there were interesting talks about linguistics between "my chief," as he seemed pleased to have me call him, and myself.

¹ Post, p. 272.

² Gholson, J., in *Skelley v. Jeff. Br. Bank*, 9 Ohio State Rep., 606. And see 1 Bl Comm., 70, 71.

For my part, I was much fonder of linguistics than of language, if I may so convey my meaning, while my chief was not so interested in the science of the typical in speech, of etymology, etc. Indeed, except as to Greek and Latin, and his mother-tongue, he appeared to have comparatively little interest in language. True, he was not ignorant of French, and he had learned a little German; but I was quite disappointed in his learning in linguistics.

Let us now examine whether Chase prepared himself sufficiently for the service he would hope at least to have to render to his clients as an orator.

The evidence relating to that subject we have partly seen already. Let me now invite attention to another extract from his diary.

December 24, 1829, our fledging legist went to Baltimore with artist King, whom he highly eulogizes. He set down about this trip:

"When we arrived in Baltimore, I took lodgings at the hotel. Mr. King had relations, with whom he found quarters. The same evening, I called at Mr. Wirt's, but having business in the city, did not remain long. At night, I returned again, and spent some hours in conversation with the family. The next day was Christmas, and we were all to dine together at Mr. W's. In the morning, I went to church. The Rev. Mr. Johns, of Baltimore, preached. It is the habit of this clergyman to deliver his sermons *memoriter*. This gives him a great advantage over reading, and over most extempore preachers also. His discourses are beautifully written, and very impressively delivered. They seem to come fresh from the heart of the speaker, and reach, I doubt not, the hearts of many of his auditors. After church, I went to Mr. Wirt's, where most of the other guests were already assembled. Our party was a very pleasant one, and we sat at the table until dark. We then adjourned to the drawing-room, where we spent the evening in social chat or innocent amusement."

Still the Wirts—the Wirts! Thank Heaven for that!

September 26, 1829, we have this minute:

"Called at Mrs. Elger's this evening, and rec'd, thro' Miss Margarette a rather unexpected message from Miss E. G. W."

October 9, 1829, appears:

"Rose early and went to Baltimore with Dr. Collins in his gig. Stopped at Mr. Wirt's, and took the family by surprise. Elizabeth and Catherine had gone to bid farewell to Mrs. Ousely, who was about to embark for Europe. They soon returned, and I conversed with them for some time. I then went to my hotel and spent the

night. The next morning, when I called, E — intrusted me with a token leaf for a friend at Washington, and bidding them farewell, we came away."

November 14, 1829, Mr. Chase set down in his diary :

"Calling on Mrs. Elgers to-day, she showed me a letter she had just received from C. L. Wirt, in which she reproached me with neglect of writing to them. I might say in the words of one mentioned in the Old Testament: 'Is there not a cause?'"

I do not understand this ; and I dare not speculate about a theme so sacred.

The Wirts were then at Baltimore. On the 28th of February, 1829, at Washington, the head of the house wrote to Judge Carr a letter, containing the sentences :

"My wife, on a full view of the whole ground, gives the preference to Baltimore. She is delighted to get away from the threatening storm and from the new association here—and my children are all reconciled to it. I have, thank God, a happy, innocent, and most affectionate family, and I have every prospect in a few years of placing them in independent, if not affluent, circumstances. I am bright and buoyant with hope, and shall meet the spring of the year with all its own appropriate gaiety and cheerfulness. As Erskine said, when they turned him out of the office of chancellor, "I am much obliged to them, for they have given me, in exchange for a dog's life, that of a gentleman." I have greater confidence in that God who has never forsaken me, even in those headlong moments of my life, when I have forgotten myself; and in addition to this, with so much on earth to cheer and support me, such a family, such friends, I should be a poor wretch, indeed, to despond. God willing, you shall hear of me in time to come to my advantage."¹

Under date, February 29, 1830, we have :

"On the next day, I went to Baltimore, and, having made some other calls, visited Mr. Wirt. It was not as it was wont to be. Some of the family were sick, others did not appear, and they who did seemed changed. Perhaps, it was but the picturing of my fancy, but I fear not. The next day, coming out of church, I met one of the young ladies. I had not seen her on the preceding day, and perhaps my own manner was somewhat affected by the reception I had met. She accused me of coldness. I defended myself as well as I could, and went home with her. I called again the next day, and bade them farewell."

That was but a passing cloud in the sky of our hero's friendship with the Wirts.

¹ *Life of Wirt*, by Kennedy, II, 227.

"Amantium iræ amoris redintegratio est,"

is beautifully rendered by an English bard:

"The falling out of faithful friends
Renewing is of love."

But let us go back to our hero's preparation for the bar.

Did he, while with Wirt, study elocution? Did he then devote himself to rhetoric except as we have seen? Having such a model as he had in William Wirt, he could hardly have failed to study, more or less attentively, the requisites of oratory such as is peculiarly appropriate to the exercises of the advocate. Did he formally study elocution, did he methodically study rhetoric, with reference to the profession he had chosen?

He could not have studied Rust's wonderful book; because it was not written. But he could have studied other works on elocution, and there were, at his command, good treatises on rhetoric.

In his profession, he would need a forensic logic for conducting legal thinking, a forensic rhetoric for communicating the results of legal thought. How far he recognized this truth, and acted on it, it is now impossible to ascertain. But what is certain is, that he was destined to become distinguished as a fine forensic speaker.

These three entries are of cognate interest:

"Dec. 7, [1829]. Went to Court to be admitted, but was not examined. The Court assigned Tuesday for our examination.

"Dec. 9. Attended again, and the Court again put off our examination till the 14th.

"Dec. 14. Attended the Court, and, with several others, was examined for admission to the bar. One was rejected, two were deferred; three, of whom I was one, were admitted. So I am now an attorney-at-law. I have a profession. Let me not dishonor it."

Here is a transcript of the entry made by our hero in his diary under date, March 6, 1829:

"When we see uncommon talent connected with uncommon weakness; when we see great genius subjugated by vicious appetite; we are apt to excuse Nature of injustice, and blame the unequal apportionment of her favors. Why, we are apt to inquire, are not the mighty in mind strong in principle? Why are not the emancipated from ignorance secured from the worse thralldom of vice? These reflections naturally arose in my mind when I saw Mr. T—— displaying in the Supreme Court an acuteness and profundity of dis-

cernment and a comprehensiveness of grasp, wonderful in any man, but especially wonderful in one so young, and reflected that he was a slave to drink, and that in a few hours those astonishing powers would be lost in intoxication. Here is a mournful proof that talent and learning are ineffectual guards against vice, that it is not enough that the light of reason beam brightly upon the path, unless her decisions be carried into execution by strong moral principle. Reason, indeed, may show us the right, but conscience, and conscience alone, can impel us to walk in it. Mr. T—— is about 35 years of age; of a slender frame and expressive countenance. It is darkened, indeed, by the influence of his vice, but all its original glory is not yet lost. His mind still acts powerfully—the demon has not yet obtained the mastery over *that*—and, I suppose, when he is sober, that is still alive to a sense of reputation. He exerted all his strength to-day. Displaying a copious learning, an accurate research, a rich and harmonious diction, a deep and minute analysis, he treated the most abstruse subjects as school-boy themes, and passed through the darkest fields of discussion as if they had been familiar and accustomed walks. Every body was astonished by the unexpected display. As I went home from the court with the Attorney-General, he remarked that, for twenty years he had heard nothing equal to it. But his reputation will fade away. He might incorporate his fame with time, and build for himself an indestructible monument—he might, but will not. And in a few years when he himself has sunk into the final slumber, his name and his remembrance will pass away forever. Would that for his sake the opiate which then shall have power over him might master him forever.”

When Salmon Portland Chase left Washington, determined to become a Cincinnatian, he resolved to be a sober man. He kept that resolution.

Here is another extract of like indication :

“Nov. 15, 1829. Went to hear Mr. Hewitt preach on the subject of temperance. . . . The largest audience I had ever seen gathered in a Washington church listened with profound attention and departed to their homes, all instructed and some, doubtless, reformed.”

We have found our hero censuring himself on account of failing to take advantage of his opportunities to study men and things at Washington. Yet his diary is very rich in matter, more or less reflective of the public life of this Capital at that time.

Here is, it seems to me, a very interesting proof of that which I have just suggested :

“March 4, 1829. To-day, the ‘Peoples’ President’ was inaugurated. Prodigious numbers assembled to witness the ceremony. Huge masses of men covered all the area of the Capitol, in the portico of which the General stood. The mob listened in breathless expecta-

tion while the Inaugural Address was delivered, but not a word reached their eager ears. The members of the last Cabinet were invited, and seats were prepared for them, but they did not choose to attend to hear themselves abused by insinuation."

Tender souls! Their courtesy was not of the first order, and one might infer against their sense, according to Franklin's alteration of the lines of Pope:

"Immodest words admit of no defense,
For want of modesty is want of sense."

"Now," saith Franklin, "is not *want of sense* (where a man is so unfortunate as to want it) some apology for his *want of modesty*? and would not the lines stand more justly thus?

"Immodest words admit but this defense,
That want of modesty is want of sense."

"This, however, I should submit to better judgments." ¹

Imitating an example so illustrious, I venture to submit to better judgments whether want of courtesy does not at least strongly tend to prove a want of sense?

How Adams behaved to Jackson when the latter approached him on a certain occasion is well known. The anecdote is far from creditable to John Quincy Adams.

To resume! Chase continues in this fashion:

When the address was over, the President mounted a horse and rode toward the President's house. The multitude followed, shouting, some on horseback and some on foot. The tide rolled on to the house. *Mr. Adams had left it a few days before, and retired to Meridian Hill, calm and serene without and within.*"

¹ Bigelow's Version of *Autobiography*, p. 101.

Laboulaye (*Memories de Benjamin Franklin*, 44), gives:

"Il faut que je vous cite les deux vers:
Pour la présomption il n'y a point d'excuse,
Car manquer de modestie, c'est manquer de sens."

"Cependant le *manque de sens* (quand on est assez malheureux pour en manquer) n'est il pas en quelque sorte une excuse pour le *manque de modestie*? et ces deux vers ne seraient-ils pas plus justes, si l'on disait:

"Pour la présomption il n'y a qu'une excuse,
C'est que manquer de modestie, c'est manquer de sens."

"Mais je laisse à des juges plus éclairés le soin de décider cette question."

About that calmness, that serenity, one needs must doubt in spite of Chase's judgment.

"He," continues Chase, "had performed his duty, and was content with that consciousness. The misled people could take from him his office, but they could not deprive him of that."

Our hero did not know John Quincy Adams. Adams was, like his father, a true worthy; but he was not such a worthy as he seemed to our young hero. Chase continues to relate as follows:

"Every thing in the house had been left in the neatest arrangement. But half an hour threw every thing into confusion. Those who entered first were obliged to find their way out through the windows; for, to return through the doors was almost an impossibility. At length, curiosity was sated, and all had offered their congratulations; the General gave the last shake of the hand with more pleasure than any before, and returned again to the hotel, that the ravages of the mob might be repaired, and the building prepared once more for his residence.

"For me, I would prefer to fall with the fallen than to rise with the rising."

Here is a reflection of Wirt's influence over Chase—of which a farther word hereafter must be said.

Attention is next invited to an extract, bringing on the stage the *Kinderhook Magician*. Under date Dec. 29, 1829, is this entry:

"When Mr. Van Buren first came to Washington, Mr. Swann was among the very first citizens who opened his house to him and extended to him the courtesies of hospitality. Mr. Van Buren was then merely a Senator, with no apparent prospect of ever being any thing more. Of course, Mr. Swann's attentions could be prompted by no spirit of selfishness. Indeed, at that time, no one thought it necessary to conciliate the favor of men in power in order to retain the stations they might hold. Fidelity was a surer guard than favor. Mr. Van Buren expressed and seemed to feel gratitude for Mr. Swann's attentions. He visited frequently in the family, and continued to do so from winter to winter until the last, when he was elected Governor of New York. He had held this station but a short time when he was appointed Secretary of State by Gen. Jackson.

"Rumor had been busy in spreading the report of an anticipated proscription, and Duff Green had announced the intention of the executive 'to reward his friends and punish his enemies.' Many gentlemen, friendly to the administration of Mr. Adams, who held offices under the general government, became alarmed. Mr. Swann was of the number. When Mr. Van Buren came to the seat of government, Mr. S. and his son-in-law, Maj. Mercer, called upon him. He did not reciprocate this civility. His intentions were

unknown. It was thought and rumored that he was against the policy of proscription. It was surmised that he intended to pursue a generous, magnanimous, and liberal course, and thus draw upon himself the regards of all parties. The thing seemed feasible and likely, and many expected that such would be his course; when the sudden dismissal of six clerks from his office showed the fallacy of all these suppositions and evinced his determination to go far as the farthest.

"A friend of Mr. Swann, desirous to learn what would be his fate, now called upon Mr. Van Buren. He found [him] sitting in his office, and entered into a conversation with him upon general topics. At length he carelessly asked: 'What is to be done with old Swann? We must not let him go, until at least we have had some more of his old Madeira?' Van Buren evaded the question, but Hamilton, who was acting secretary, and was then writing at a table in the room, raised his head from his paper, and gruffly remarked: 'He must go with the rest.'

"Some time after this, it was ascertained that it was not the intention of Gen. J. to remove Mr. Swann, and Mr. Van Buren had no sooner ascertained this fact than he hastened to return the calls of Maj. Mercer and Mr. Swann, and appropriate to himself, and to his kind interference, the whole merit of the service. But the artifice was too shallow. The contemptible intriguer was detected, and his renewal of civilities was looked upon with disgust and contempt. Such is the character of Martin Van Buren, cold, selfish, intriguing, base, and faithless. May he never reach the golden round to which he so ardently aspires."

It is well known that Mr. Chase learned to think more favorably of Martin Van Buren; that, indeed, in 1848, he supported him for the Presidency as the candidate of the Free Soilers, having been a member of the convention, which, at Buffalo, put him in nomination. It is well, however, to know what Van Buren seemed to Chase in 1829, as well as what he seemed to him in 1848.

That diary-entry of December 29, 1829, proceeds as follows:

"An acquaintance of mine called lately on Gen. Jackson to request public employment of him. He said that the General told him that his claims should be considered whenever a vacancy occurred, but that he could not remove any one to make a place for him. 'You see,' said he, 'what a fuss the people make about the removals which have been made already.'"

There can be no doubt that the people, at that time, were not disposed to sanction the extreme devotion of the political partisan.

Indeed, Jackson himself is represented as rather seeking to reward personal attachment to himself and to punish personal hostility to himself than to maintain strict party discipline.

Under date January 20, 1830, we have:

"Read Mr. Madison's letters to J. H. Cabell on the subject of the tariff. They are characterized by his usual clearness and vigor, and place the principle of protection on impregnable grounds. Yet the violent opposition of the tariff will not, I think, be allayed by it. It has its source, not in a sense of actual grievance, but in a narrow sectional jealousy and the high-reaching ambition of some sectional leaders. Assertion will, I think, be just as clamorous and dogmatical as before, and pride will be as loud and as obstinate."

That our hero came to be in some sense a free trader is well known. But I prefer to speak hereafter of his conceptions of political economy.

Here is an entry of decided creditableness to the young citizen by whom it was composed.

November 16, 1829, he said :

"I read, to-day, the speech of Benjamin Watkins Leigh in the convention of Virginia. It is an able and ingenious defense of the ancient order of things, covering nearly eleven closely printed columns of the *Richmond Enquirer*. A portion of the speech contained sentiments in which I heartily concur—particularly in a vivid and striking delineation of the degrading arts practiced by office-seekers. To other sentiments expressed in it I could by no means assent. The strange idea that the free laboring population of non-slave-holding States was on the same level, in the¹ point of intelligence, and should be on the same level, in point of political privilege, was unworthy of Mr. Leigh and utterly abhorrent to every principle of equal rights."

Under date June 24, 1829, we have :

"My uncle from Ohio called. An unexpected pleasure, as I knew not that he was east of the Alleghanies."

On examining the *Reminiscences* of Bishop Chase, to find some notice of this meeting, I failed to find any notice of it. Then I looked through the whole work to see if it, in any place, showed any thing like appreciation of its author's gifted nephew. Does it even mention him at all? I think not; but, perhaps, I may have overlooked some passage.

I repeat, the article of uncle distributed to our hero does not seem to me to have been very fine. What a contrast between the interest taken by Philander Chase in Salmon Portland Chase, and the interest taken in the last-named worthy by his legal teacher, William Wirt, no relative at all?

¹ *Sic.*

Under date February 22, 1830, there is a peculiarly interesting entry in these words :

"Judge Burnett, of the Senate, is a small man, of a not unpleasing countenance. The indications of intellect are slight, but by untiring industry he has acquired a high professional reputation. He converses with some appearance of effort, and has been as yet a silent member of the Senate. I had, this morning, some conversation with him, respecting Cincinnati. He said that the bar there was crowded as it is every-where. That there were many young men of fine talents and acquirements without business, but that *this was imputable chiefly to their modesty.*¹ 'Still,' he said, 'Cincinnati is growing rapidly. Population and wealth are increasing. Living is cheap. And, on the whole, it offers to you stronger inducements than any other place in the West.'"

Ere long we shall go with our hero to the growing city, where he is to make his name immortal. But before we bid adieu to Washington, let us look at some other entries of considerable interest.

Here is an entry extracted from the same productive diary, under date October 9, 1829 :

"When we arrived at our lodgings, I was pleased to find my friend Smith awaiting my arrival. With him I had a long conversation on subjects of great interest to me, and asked his advice, and finally obeyed the suggestion of my own fancy."

This characteristic anecdote reminds one of the anecdote already related,² about sending for a physician, "who came and prescribed medicine which" the patient "did not take, and gave" the patient "some advice which" the patient "did not follow."

But we must be off to Cincinnati. We shall look back, now and then, but now we must go forward.

¹ I acknowledge the responsibility for the italics.

² Ante, p. 141.

CHAPTER XII.

FROM WASHINGTON TO CINCINNATI.—CINCINNATI IN 1830.

UNDER date March 1, 1830, the diary so often quoted in foregoing chapters reads as follows :

"March 1, [1830]. The few days after my return to Washington, before I began my journey to this place, were employed in arranging my affairs and bidding farewell to my friends and acquaintance. All this was, at length, over, and on Thursday, the 4th of March, I finally left Washington, which had been my home for more than three years, and where I had found much kindness and many friends. It was not without regret that I looked, for the last time, perhaps, on those familiar scenes.

"But we soon lost sight of them all, and my mind turned from the contemplation of the past to the consideration of the future. It was not with dismay or dread that I looked forward. True, there was little to invite in the foreground of the picture. I was fully aware that I must pass through a long period of probation. That day and night must be witness to the assiduity of my labors. That my mind must be disciplined to habits of deep reflection and patient toil. That many obstacles were to be overcome, many difficulties to be surmounted ere I could hope to reach the steep where Fame's proud temple shines. All this I knew. But in the background were deserved honor, eminent usefulness, and a 'crown of glory'; and pain, and toil, and labor vanished from the sight which was directed over and beyond them."

Was this man inordinately ambitious? Have we, thus far, seen in him the lust of glory, place, and power? I think not. But I am proud of the just-quoted indication, that he was aspiring and, indeed, ambitious.

He continues :

"I will not describe our stage company farther than to say that it consisted of a woman whose occupation I could not divine, a young Yankee who was *wise* in his own eyes, a female convict just discharged from the Penitentiary of Virginia, a young gentleman of the name of Brown, from Washington, and myself."

Our hero was himself a young Yankee. We have seen him kick-

ing hard the shins or some softer parts of a young Buckeye, because the latter called him a Yankee. What did he mean, then, by writing so about a young Yankee,

"Who was wise
In his own eyes."

The truth is, that, by the time he went "West" to live there, he had ceased to be, in any sense, provincial. He was then a pure American of the best type.

His narrative proceeds as follows:

"The roads were in a miserable situation. A frost had just hardened the surface enough to make it difficult for the horses to extricate their feet, which went through at every step. The [stage] upset once, but nobody was injured. *When I pass this road again, I hope to travel on a railway.* Nothing less will tempt me on it again, for some time, at least."

He goes on as follows:

"In the course of time we arrived at Hagerstown. This is a small place, with a mixed population of Germans and English, in number about 3,000. Our host was a German, who, perceiving that an Indian boy who was with us, spoke English but imperfectly, addressed him in Dutch, but, strange to tell, the boy still remained silent."

Have a care, thou intending Cincinnatian! The city thou hast chosen for thy future home is very "Dutchy." It is quite like Hagerstown in having a mixed population, of which a large proportion is (not "Dutch," indeed, but) German, or of German lineage.

That Indian boy and the German host seem to me very typical. The one is the type of the race that is departing, and the other seems to me the type of all that is most promising, at present, in the population of this country.

Not a drop of German blood, or of blood derived from German blood, is in my veins. I say what is here advanced about the German element of our composite population, not because I am of German blood, but because my studies of our population force me to see things which persons who have not attended closely to that population, may not have discerned.

Of this, however, more must be advanced hereafter. We have this farther record of the rest at Hagerstown:

"I came very near losing all my money here by over-carefulness. I am in the habit of leaving all the cash I have with me in my pocket when I retire to rest. But, this evening, lest by possibility I

might lose it, I took my money and placed it, with my watch, under my pillow. About midnight, we were called to take the stage, but my friend Brown was too unwell to go on, and it went without us. Had we then taken the stage, I should infallibly have left my money. As it was, when I rose in the morning, I took my watch without once think [ing] that there was any thing else. But Brown, after I had left the room, looked under my pillow, saw it, and restored it to me. I remained here two days, one of which was Sunday.

"I left Hagerstown on Monday morning, and, after two [days] and a half of hard riding, night and day, arrived in Wheeling. This is a pleasant little place on the banks of the Ohio. I visited their manufactory of cut glass, and was astonished and delighted by the elegance and delicacy of the work. I remained in W. but a single day, when I took the boat for Cincinnati. She was, by some misnomer, called the Paragon, an appellation to which she had good claim, if *parvitude* of size, meanness of accommodation, and slowness of motion constitute one.

"On board the boat I became acquainted with Gen. Tipton, from Indiana. This gentleman was born, I think, in North Carolina or Tennessee. His parents were indigent, and he, consequently, did not enjoy the advantages of a scholastic education. *But he received one equally valuable.* The difficulties with which he had to contend were rough but efficient teachers to a mind like his. Besides, *he thought*, and his mind became stronger by exercise. He is remarkable for his energy, and strength, and sagacity. He now strives to acquire knowledge by every means, and I have heard him say that a consciousness of his want of it has frequently forced tears from his eyes."

Perhaps the general exaggerated somewhat. But it may be that he uttered measured truth. The value of methodic education is beyond the reach of easy calculation. One may have it, in some circumstances, without living teachers. Books may yield it, so that the great students of antiquity are drawn into the service of these days as educators; but the living voice is often better than the mute instruction of the noblest books could be.

The education of our hero certainly was far from perfect. But it had a pretty good beginning, and it was not suddenly cut off. Its greatest imperfection, we shall find, was but the imperfection of its methods.

Method is the very soul of teaching. More and more the miracles that can be worked by method manifest the value of the schools, in spite of their defects.

The theme is far from irrelevant. Our hero was for some time a teacher by profession. In a certain sense, indeed, he never ceased to be a teacher. But of that no more need be suggested now. The subject must come up again hereafter.

In the diary I have already so often quoted, I find also, as a part of a long entry, the following memorandum :

"On Saturday morning early we arrived at the landing, of which, at some future time, I may give a description."

In the *Cincinnati American*, he did, some time afterward, describe the landing. Under the title, "*Our City*," he, then acting as editor *pro tempore* of that paper, for his friends, James F. Conover and Isaiah Thomas, furnished this characteristic article :¹

"Thirty-five years ago, over all that is now Ohio, there stretched one vast wilderness, unbroken, except by the small spots of civilized culture, the one at Marietta and the other at Cincinnati. At these little openings, hardly each a pin's point upon the map, the arm of the frontiersman had leveled the forest and let in the sun."

"These are the words of DANIEL WEBSTER in his first speech on 'Foot's Resolution.' They usher in a splendid description of the wonderful transformation of the territory that now constitutes the State of Ohio, from a wilderness in which dwelt savage men and savage beasts, into a magnificent abode of civilization, opulence, taste, and power. It has a merit, rare in such gorgeous paintings. It is a perfect breathing image of what has been. The description was molded upon facts and took their exact shape. Lofty and grand though it be, it can not be grander or loftier than the scene it pictures."

"Thirty-five years ago our city was, as he said it was, a little opening in the midst of a vast, unbroken forest. And what is it now? Let us look around us. Let us walk around Cincinnati and take note of what we see. First, there is the great landing, sloping down from Front street to the water's edge, a declivity of between sixty and seventy feet in perpendicular elevation, and reaching along the river more than two whole squares. The noble stream is up now, and a part of this immense work is hidden from view. Yet enough is visible to show that it would be a difficult matter to find a structure like it anywhere. If the rise of water hides the landing it shows the steamboats for the use of which the landing was made. There they are, of a stately structure, fitting the river on whose bosom they rush along, and the mighty territory whose productions they carry to a distant market. As if Providence had designed this spot for their use, the river, generally careering on with a rapid current, here sweeps round an eddy, and thus forms a natural harbor, as it were, for them. They are discharging and receiving their cargoes. To-morrow almost every one of them will be gone, and their places will be filled with others."

"As we proceed eastward, coming up into the city a little, our ears are greeted with the sound of busy occupation, and our eyes with the

¹ Would Chase have been successful as a journalist?

sight of the numerous factories. There are the steam mill, and the cotton factories, and the saw mill factories, and the engine factories, and others that we have not room to enumerate. Here is the principal source of the wealth and prosperity of our city. *It is labor that gives value to every thing.* The raw material is worthless till it is wrought. What purpose serves the iron in the earth? What good does the cotton ere it be gathered? Labor must be applied before value can be created. Ever since the decree went forth, 'In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread,' little has been the worth of the earth's spontaneous productions, and so will it be ever. Where the sweat of the face is, there will be bread; and where the laborious population is, there will be the prosperous city and the flourishing empire. We do not mean to assert that all our vigorous growth and early maturity is due to mechanic labor alone. Commerce has its share, and other causes have had their share of influence in operating the grand result. We only intend to say, that the mechanic has been the principal, not the sole agent of the prosperity of the city.

"We pass on eastward until we come to the water works, and then climb up the hill that lies just down upon the river, until we attain a commanding position for a panoramic view of the valley. The first thought that strikes us is, that this spot must have been marked out for a high destiny in the councils of heaven. That wide amphitheater below must surely have been scooped out on purpose to be the seat of a great city. On all sides it is guarded by the everlasting hills, which seem, from this point, to be arrayed around the whole valley, in the form of an ellipsis. We see *La Belle Rivière* entering it from the north-east. It sweeps round in a beautiful curve, and we see it again far off and seeming like a zone of silver, binding nature's verdant apparelling, gliding away tranquilly toward the mighty Mississippi. From the north and the south several small streams are seen pouring in their scanty tribute. The canal comes in from the north, and is covered with boats. We close our eyes for a moment and listen. We hear, from the river, the roaring of the steam; from the canal, the notes of the bugle; and from the entire city, that confused noise of the rattling of wheels and the jar of machines, and the clamor of voices, which always indicate the presence of a multitudinous population. We open our eyes again and we almost imagine that we see the city grow. We do see all the symptoms of vigorous growth. There are factories, more than we saw when in the valley, and in every part of the city. There are many churches, some of them grand in their proportions, and splendid in their architecture. There are the residences of some of our private citizens that show like palaces. There are extending streets and multiplying erections of every description, on the two levels that, with the connecting declivity between them, form the area of this vast amphitheater. There are the markets, not quite so neat fabrics as they might be, but filled to overflowing with the abundance of the surrounding country, and crowded by the great multitude who live to eat, or eat to live. There, too, is NOT—alas! that we must say so—a CITY HALL worthy of the greatness and opulence of our city.

"Having now cast a general and rapid glance over the scene before us, we descend the hill, and we meet with men not yet past the

prime of life, who tell us that when they were boys they used to gather grapes and hunt squirrels and wild turkeys over the very spot where these thick-crowding edifices now stand.

"This is a faithful outline of Cincinnati, as she now is. We intended, when we began, to sketch, in the same brief way, her history, and character, and prospects; to speak somewhat of the inducements held out to emigrants, and to say what classes of men would, probably, find advantage in coming here, but we have no room to do all this now. Perhaps we may resume the subject in our next or some future number. In the mean time, we may observe that we do not expect to edify our city friends with a description of what they see every day, but to gratify the natural curiosity of those who, living at some distance from us, have frequently expressed a wish to know something more about Cincinnati than they could learn from geographies."

The diary proceeds as follows:

"After breakfast we went to the hotel, where I obtained a room much larger than I needed, indeed, for I am but six feet by one or two, and the chamber was at least ten by six."

At that time he had been able for some time to stand up straightly. No one could have been made to believe that he had been, in infancy and boyhood, an ungainly, awkward being. But I have been told, and there is reason to believe, that at school he was "picked on," and, at one time, had to have a champion—at least had one.

The diary proceeds as follows:

"After taking a survey of the premises, I called upon Mr. Caswell, for whom I had a letter from Mr. Wirt. This gentleman ranks among the first at the bar of Cincinnati; but as I shall have occasion to say more of him hereafter, I shall make no farther mention of him here."

April 7th we have this record:

"I dined this day at Mr. Caswell's with a small company, consisting, for the most part, of Kentuckians. The entertainment was not in the profuse style of Virginia hospitality, but, I confess, in a style much better suited to my taste. It was a little singular that the day was warm enough to make it expedient to ice the water and wine. Every thing passed off pleasantly, tho', as usual at our American dinners, there was little conversation until we left the table. In the evening there was a small party."

It appears from the next entry that our hero became at once acquainted with Mr. Benham—whereof hereafter. Now I wish to look back a little.

Under date April 2, 1829, at Washington, Chase wrote:

"Mr. Trist wished me to call with him at Mr. Wirt's; we did so, but finding no one at home, we left our cards, and returned to our boarding-house. I invited Mr. T. into my room, where we sat conversing a long time, principally upon the extent of human knowledge. Mr. T. has imbibed many of the notions of Wright and Owen, and, misled by an *ignis fatuus*, which he believes to be a conductor to rational freedom, he plunges headlong into¹ bottomless abyss of infidel inconsistency. He read many extracts from the *Free Inquirer*, with the hope of convincing me of the solidity of his opinions; but I was either too strongly wedded to my own sentiments or too thoroughly persuaded of the fallacy of his, to be much affected by them."

Next, attention is invited to the following transcript of the entry dated April 10, 1830, at Cincinnati:

"On this day, I united with the church of the Rev. Mr. Johnston, in commemorating the Lord's passion. It was in a small school-room in the city that the holy rite was celebrated; for an unhappy division has taken place in the Episcopal Church here, and the greater part of the communicants have withdrawn from the original society. I trust I was actuated by proper motives in the act of participation, and that it will be blessed to my spiritual welfare. *By conviction, I am a Christian. My reason is fully convinced, and my understanding perfectly satisfied.* My heart, also, I think, cordially and gratefully assents to [the] plan of salvation thro' free grace and Christ Jesus. May he, who endowed me with intellect, enlighten my understanding. May he, who has given me affections, draw them supremely to himself."

Now let us look forward a little. Under date April 30, 1843, in the same diary—if such it may be called—appear these words:

"Up late; attended Sunday school—few in attendance on account of bad weather—contributions for missionary purposes small; attended church—more free from wandering thoughts than usual; Winthrop—good sermon on 'With the heart man believeth unto righteousness and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation.' He distinguished faith working by love and purifying the heart from spurious faith, whether imaginative or intellectual—insisted on vital faith and open profession of religion. Coming home, read, before and after dinner, Bishop Chase's *Reminiscences* and D'Aubigne's *Reformation*. The bishop had more trials and more pleasures in England than I was aware. His courage, faith, and forbearance were exemplary. *I exceedingly admire the character of Luther.* How he endured seeing the invisible! He lived, almost, out of the body.

¹ So in the original.

To him, the clouds, the winds, the thunders, and the lightnings uttered voices. Voices spoke to him from the recesses of his own heart. He saw what no man else saw. He heard what no man else heard."

The man who made that record was a born reformer, and he could have been a Luther; but I do not say he was one.

That he sometimes manifested some thing very like affection for Vanity Fair, I have not hidden; but neither that love nor any other weakness ever rendered him an irreligious man. As far as I can see, his deep religiousness colored all his agitation against slavery from, say, the year 1845 down to the breaking out of the civil war, if not during the remainder of his life. Indeed, for a time, the feelings which he cherished for the cause of the enslaved appeared to border on that half-maniacal enthusiasm which we often see in the zealots of religious faith.

Here is an extract from his diary, under date Sunday, February 22, 1845 :¹

"Rose in pretty good season—private devotion in bed-room. I feel so little my sinfulness, and so little my obligations for mercies received, that I am disturbed by it. Mr. Fenton, a young lawyer, who stayed with me last night, breakfasted with me. Alice and Kate in town; Mr. Fenton left at half past nine. I spent the morning in reading on slavery, and in perusing Milton's vindication of the action of Parliament in executing Charles I. Dined alone; read Job and other parts of Scripture, my understanding of what I read is very imperfect, and, I fear, my spiritual apprehension of the truth still more so. May God enlighten me by his Holy Spirit. Took tea alone, and wrote above. *Have not attended church to-day*, chiefly because of inconvenience of getting to town, having no place there for my horses; but partly, also, *because I feel doubtful as to my duty arising from the relation of the church to slavery. On one side, I can not doubt that it is wrong for the church to maintain an indifferent if not an hostile attitude to the cause of the enslaved; on the other, I feel quite sure that other members of the church, who do not feel as I do in reference to the slaves, are far more zealous in other good works, and live much nearer to Christ. I am anxious to see the path of duty in reference to the subject of church connection more clearly than I do.*"

Again we must look back a little. Under date January 7, 1830, we read :

"This day I called at Mr. Ingham's to see my friend—. This young lady has the most perfect skill in all the arts of pleasing, or, to speak more truly of her, she has from nature the rare ability to

¹This appears to me a most important entry.

please without art. Her face is not one which a sculptor would choose for a model, yet it is beautiful in feature and still more beautiful in expression. Even her looks of anger and scorn have a pretty gracefulness which half disarms them. Her form is slight and frail, but exquisitely molded. Her motion is free as the summer breeze, and, like it, soft and gentle, or animated and unreserved. Every word and tone of hers is a sweet music—sweeter, because, like the tones of the wind harp, they are unsubjected to the rules of art."

Why turn back to this entry? Rather, why reserve it to be used in this connection? Does it prove the depth of the religious sentiment in him who wrote it? Patience, gentle reader! Here is the conclusion of that entry:

"I was very near falling in love with this lady—nay, I should certainly have done so, had not our tastes been, in one particular, wholly dissimilar. She is fond of the gay world—I have no desire to partake in its vanities. *She is disinclined to religion and its duties. I value them more than any earthly possession.*"

Let us, then, go forward with the certainty that Salmon Portland Chase was deeply, fervently religious, when he went to try his fortune or to find his fate at Cincinnati.

Still in April, 1830, we have this relation:

"Walking in the garden with E. P., I remarked to her that she ought to give me a bouquet as a reward for aiding her in translating Flora's Dictionary. She replied: 'I will. I will select such of them as have an appropriate meaning.' 'I should prefer to be the selector myself, Miss E. Perhaps you might not choose such flowers as I should wish. 'Oh, there is no fear of that,' she observed, smiling. 'You would not want any flowers which I should not be willing to give.' 'You must not be too confident,' I answered, for you may be certain I shall choose the most expressive.'

"We left the garden with our party, and I escorted a part to their old residence in a distant part of the city, and in the evening returned to Mr. L's, where E. was staying. She told me that her flowers had been taken away by some one, but she had a Geranium left, which she gave me. 'I will look for its meaning,' said I. It was Preference. 'I showed it to her. 'May I have it now?' 'Yes,' 'May I consider the gift as I think proper?' 'Yes.' And I took it and construed it as the artifice of a beautiful and admired coquette to gain another admirer, and win another heart."

Was the construction right? We can not know. Perhaps some lovely possibilities were ruined by that reading.

In May, some day earlier than the twelfth, we have this account:

"I was one of a party to Gen. Taylor's. The mansion is pleasantly

situated, and is surrounded by many pleasant appurtenances. I shall remember the garden, because I there learned a secret which surprised me not a little. I was conversing with Miss —, and in the course of our dialogue, I had occasion to ask, why she smiled. ‘Oh! I was merely reflecting your good humor.’ ‘I should be most happy if you would reflect me at all times, for then you must become the image of me—another self.’ ‘That I can’t do,’ she said. ‘Let me have the reason, if it be not locked in the chamber of your secrecy.’ ‘Won’t you tell?’ ‘No.’ ‘Never?’ ‘Never, never.’ ‘To no one in the world?’ ‘Well, then,’ said she, pulling off her glove, and exhibiting her pretty white hand, and directing my attention to a ring upon one of her delicate fingers. ‘See there! The ring you know is binding.’ ‘Is there a name upon it?’ said I. ‘No.’ ‘May I ask the name of the favored one?’ ‘H.’ ‘And what letters of the alphabet compose the rest of the precious word?’ And she told me. I was thunderstruck. I could not believe her; for I had heard her and seen her expressing feelings of repugnance toward him, by word and look, which I thought then, and still think, had too much nature in them to be feigned; and, besides, there was a disparity of fifteen or twenty years between their ages.

“‘Is it possible?’ I exclaimed.

“‘Aye, even so.’

“Just then, we were called, for our party was about to return to the city.”

Does not that read very like a comedy—or, rather, like a passage of a tragi-comedy? But it tells well for the narrator.

I suppose, the Gen. Taylor spoken of was the great man of Newport.

The next entry, dated May 12, has the memorandum :

“I received to-day, from E. P., a promised bouquet, consisting of Rose Geranium, Periwinkle, Holly, White Rose-bud, and a common rose.”

We have already seen that he had learned from Mrs. Wirt the idiom of the flowers.

Under the same date we have this anecdote :

“‘Don’t you think that Mr. Girmke and I are somewhat alike?’ said Mr. G—— to Mr. C——. ‘Yes,’ replied the latter, ‘you do resemble him in the tone of your voice and mode of delivery.’ ‘Oh! it was not that I alluded to. I referred to his force of mind and rapidity of thought. Indeed, I think he is the greatest man in the State.’”

What old Cincinnatian can fail to fill up the blank in the designation of “Mr. G?” No doubt, it was Mr. Greene who asked that modest question, and, to the response, replied as we have seen.

Here is another anecdote, recorded under the same date :

"Mr. B., another of our western lawyers, was one evening asking a young lady to dance with him. She declining, our hero fell upon one knee, and, drawing a dagger, exclaimed: 'Dance with me, or——'. 'Pray, sir,' said she, 'allow me to conduct you to the hearth lest your blood might stain the floor.'"

Immediately following the mention of the Caswell party we have :

"Mr. Benham related to me an anecdote of Col. Davis, who fell in the battle of Tippecanoe.

"A poor woman in Kentucky had been robbed of two or three hogs and brought a civil action for damages against the thief. Mr. Davis was employed for the plaintiff, and the cause came on for trial. Mr. Davis¹ began, and, in a short time, obtained complete possession of the feelings of the jury. He described the poverty of the plaintiff, and painted her poor and miserable cabin. He depicted her struggling for existence, alone and unaided, and spoke of the baseness and atrocity of that nature which could steal from such penury. When he concluded, the jury retired hastily, and, after a very short absence, brought in a verdict for 500 dollars damages. It was thought unreasonable, and a second trial was granted in another county. When the day came, Davis traveled to the court on foot; the same scene was again exhibited, and he again obtained a verdict for 600 dollars."

That, however, be it noticed, was not in Ohio. It was in Kentucky ; where the influence of oratory always has been what it never could have been in the adopted State of Mr. Chase.

May 22, 1830, his diary records :

"I spoke, this day, in the moot court, upon a case in which I was counsel for the plaintiff, and failed completely. My voice was affected by a severe cold, and my self-possession nearly destroyed by the presence of several of the faculty."

The diffidence of Chase was never wholly overcome. At times it had a very beautiful effect. No doubt about its genuineness could have been entertained by any one. Nor could any discerning person have mistaken it for *mauvaise honte*. How much it must have cost this man to play the part he so soon made famous !

On page 75 of the diary we have :

"June —. I was in the beginning of this month admitted to the courts of Ohio as a practitioner of law."

Now conscience took the form of moral courage. He was ready

¹ Daviess is the true name.

now for clients ; and it became his duty to acquire more self-possession. Under date September 1st we have :

"Sept. 1, [1830]. Commencing the practice of the law and assuming, for the first time, the responsible duties of my profession, I feel as I did when I entered Washington, more than three years ago, a stranger and adventurer. I entered, asking the favor and protection of the God of the fatherless, and that which I desired was signally bestowed. I trust that I feel, now, the same confidence, and I believe my confidence will not be disappointed."

Here are two quite interesting indications :

"Sept. 5, [1830]. I am in my own office now. Let this be the commencement of a new era in my existence—an era marked by devoted application, strenuous exertion, unremitting industry, and much thought."

"Sept. 30, [1830]. The month is ended. Its days have not gone without leaving a mark behind. My business has been very small, yet exceeded my expectations. I have earned about fifteen dollars, and *perhaps shall be paid.*"

In the elsewhere cited document, containing a biographic sketch of our hero is the sentence :

"Mr. Chase's early professional life was like that of most young lawyers who commence business without estate or influential friends at home—a struggle for subsistence with ample opportunity to repine over present neglect or indulge in visions of future success."

The truth is, Mr. Chase began with some advantages, which, but for his diffidence, might soon have led to what he might have called success. Yet he was once quite tried for want of money. Under date August —, 1830, appears the entry :

"August —, [1830]. This month passed without any incidents worthy of notice. I was somewhat embarrassed in my pecuniary concerns by a failure of expected remittances, but was relieved by the kindness of a friend, whose pecuniary assistance can easily be repaid, but whose prompt aid entitles him to the regard always due to tried friendship."

The biographic document just referred to shows that this friend was John Young.

Under date September 30, 1830, we have seen an entry beginning as follows :

"The month is ended. Its days have not gone without leaving a mark behind."

The same entry contains the statement :

"I have read, *in law*, about eight hundred pages in *Starkie's Evidence*, of which the first volume pleases me best. The second can not, of course, be so methodical as the first, a different arrangement being adopted, but I do think that it is not so methodical as it might have been. It seems to me that the author, aware that this division of his subject was not so susceptible of luminous arrangement as the first, threw his matter carelessly together, without design of method or ambition of precision. I have, of course, read other books upon cases I have had."

Of kindred interest is the statement in the same entry :

"I have been endeavoring to get a distinct and full knowledge of Aristotle's life, character, and writing, and have made some progress, though the work is not half done yet."

The same memorandum contains the following statements :

"In history, I have read Pitkin's *United States*, a work abounding in valuable information conveyed in a dry but perspicuous style. In the newspapers, I have read the account of the new French Revolution—the most wonderful event in the political history of man. A great nation rending off the fetters rashly placed on it by its rulers—overturning the old government without confusion, though in the midst of carnage—depriving its governors of power unworthily used—establishing a new and better rule—and then quietly returning to its accustomed employments—and all this in one week—is a spectacle of moral sublimity which can not be paralleled.

"In general literature I have done little—almost nothing. When I say I have read a few pages of Lucretius, in course, and a few pages in other authors without order, I have completed the account.

"In the Bible, I have read almost the whole book of Psalms, finding new beauties and new glories at every perusal.

"In composition I have done little with regularity. I have brought up my journal by writing about forty pages in this book, and have commenced several pieces, which are yet unfinished, besides bringing up long arrears of an extensive correspondence."

It is often said that Salmon Portland Chase destroyed himself by hard work. That is a hard thing to do. But certainly it was not done by the hero of this work. As already intimated, he was a good worker, though not even. Sometimes he would have a fearful fit of work, and then he would, indeed, work wonders. But the indications of his diary, as well as my own observation of him, added to his own account, to me, in conversation, warrant me in saying that he was quite uneven in his application.

Under date July 4, 1830, we have the words :

"I went with my friends, the Longworths, to hear an oration

from a young gentleman of the Bar by the name of Peters. It was a sensible and well written composition, displaying very considerable power of mind and giving tokens of more in reserve."

This entry, even if it stood alone, would suffice to prove that he who wrote it was in what he would himself, no doubt, have called "the best society of Cincinnati." He was evidently fond of the society of fashionable ladies, notwithstanding his religiousness.

He was always making coalitions, or endeavoring to make them, was he not? Why not attempt to form a coalition between faith and fashion?

Seriously, much as he liked the society of fashionable women, he was never frivolous. All fashionable women are not frivolous, I think—nay, know.

October 19, 1830, has this mournful record:

"I have this day assisted in the mournful duty of paying the last tribute to a deceased acquaintance. His name was Appleton, a son of the late President Appleton, of Bowdoin College, in Maine. He came here a few months ago—in August—bringing with him an enviable reputation. His openness of heart and gentleness of manner, gained for him the regard of many. He commenced the study of the law in the office of Messrs. Fales & Pendleton; but Providence had decreed that his blooming hopes should be blighted even in their blossom. His progress in study was arrested by a violent attack of typhus fever, which, in three weeks, brought him down to the grave. He is buried in a strange land. There are none to weep over his grave. A mother's and a sister's tears will be poured out for him, but they will not water his silent resting-place. He sleeps in the great valley of the West, where he gladly hoped to reach the fabric of his fame—and we trust that 'he sleeps well.'

"This evening I wrote the following verses, and when I went to tea presented them to Miss L. C. L.:

"The autumn wind sings mournfully,
The death song of the year,
And, yielding to Time's stern decree,
All bright things disappear.

"The pleasant birds have flown away
To sing in climes more blest,
Where fields and skies in robes of May
Perennially are drest.

"The zephyr, that, with perfumed wing,
Played erewhile round our path,
Hath flown away with gentle spring
From winter's waking wrath.

"The beautiful and fragrant flowers,
Fair nature's crown and pride,
From rustic walks and garden bowers,
Have faded all and died.

"And I with sad presageful heart
Contemplate the decay,
Till, summoned in my turn to part,
I, too, shall pass away."

CHAPTER XIII.

THE HERO AS LECTURER AND ESSAYIST—MISCELLANY.

“IN the spring of 1830,” says the elsewhere-cited biographic document, “the Cincinnati Lyceum was organized. Mr. Chase took a prominent part in drawing the public attention toward the enterprise by newspaper articles and personal influence. He was a member of the committee to draft the constitution. The leading exercises of the Lyceum consisted of a series of lectures, and of these, four were delivered by him—one on the ‘*Life and Character of Henry Brougham*,’ which was published as an article in the *North American Review*, vol. ;¹ another on the ‘*Effects of Machinery*,’ published in the same *Review*, vol. ;² and another on ‘*Galileo*.’”

It was not in the spring but in the autumn of 1830 that that Lyceum was organized. As we have already seen, it was not till that spring that our young legist went to fix his residence in the Cincinnati valley. Moreover, I am able to set forth a relevant document which bears the date October 28. That must have been October 1830, because in October, 1829, the life we study still had its home in Washington, and before October, 1831, one of those Lyceum lectures had appeared as an article in the *North American Review* for July, 1831.³

That, however he may have used the names of others, and whatever he may have referred to others, he himself proposed this institute, appears from the following article, composed by him :

¹ 33, p. 227.

² 34, p. 220.

³ The document referred to reads as follows :

“At particular request, several gentlemen met at the private room of Henry Starr, on Monday last. The establishment of a Lyceum in the city of Cincinnati became the subject of conversation ; and for the purpose of distinctly ascertaining the views and opinions of those present, Nathan Guilford was appointed chairman and Henry Starr secretary. On motion, it was resolved that a committee of three be appointed to draft a constitution, to be submitted to the citizens of Cincinnati for their consideration.

“Messrs. Chase, Walker, and Guilford were appointed the committee, who will report next Saturday evening, precisely at seven o'clock, at the Council Chambers

"For the Cincinnati American.

"A LYCEUM.

"I proposed, last week, the establishment of a Lyceum in our city, and presented an imperfect outline of its plan. I shall attempt to fill up that outline in this and subsequent communications, and trust that the subject will engage the attention and excite the zeal of maturer minds. It is a subject which belongs to every individual among us; for who is not interested in every scheme for the improvement of the public mind? Who is there, to whom benefit is not derivable, from every addition made to the stock of public information? If but one individual is made more enlightened than before, those who are around him must participate in the advantage. One communicates to another, who, in turn, diffuses what he has received through the circle of his association. Knowledge, like light, spreads itself far and wide. A beacon's radiance reaches far, but the illumination of a single powerful intellect, reaches farther. But here we do not propose the enlightening of one mind, but of many, and not by the efforts of one intellect, but by the united and concentrated exertions of all who are willing to give their energies to the cause. But it is time that I should describe the means by which the results alluded to are to be reached, or, in other words, sketch the plan of the institution intended to be established.

"In the first place, then, a lecture-room will be necessary, with suitable accommodations for the lecturer and such an audience as may be expected to assemble. The room formerly used as a chapel in the College Edifice, with some slight alterations, would answer the purpose well. Here our citizens could assemble and listen to plain and perspicuous exhibitions of the truths of science, accompanied by such illustrations as should render them intelligible to every capacity. Our intelligent mechanics might be here instructed in the principles of those arts whose practice they already understand so well. The nature of the agents which they employ might here be fully elucidated, and the thousand accidents and losses which are occa-

It was further resolved, that the proceedings of the meeting be published in the papers of the city.

"N. GUILFORD, *Chairman.*

"HENRY STARR, *Secretary.*"

"LYCEUM NOTICE.

"The committee appointed to draft the constitution of a Lyceum, will report on Saturday evening, at seven o'clock, at the Council Chamber; at which time and place the citizens generally are invited and requested to attend.

"N. GUILFORD,

"S. P. CHASE,

"J. WALKER,*

Committee."

"October 28."

* Probably a missprint for T. Walker.

sioned by a want of this knowledge, might be happily prevented. If the nature of steam, for instance, and the principles of its application to the purposes of navigation, were fully explained in a course of familiar lectures, it is probable that the disasters, resulting from a mismanagement of this terrible power, would be far more unfrequent. But it is obviously impossible to enumerate the various instances, in which the practical business of life would be aided by the knowledge thus communicated; for there is an intimate connection between all the varieties of human action, so that no man can acquire any particle of information, which at some period of life will not be of service to him."

Here let us dwell a little.

The composer of this volume was connected with the "river men" of Cincinnati through his relatives, two of whom were leading members of that class of population and were practical mechanics. He had much association with machinists, and especially with engine builders. He coöperated with mechanics and others in the not inconsiderable work of amelioration wrought, for some years, by the Washington Lyceum. Before that institute was organized the Cincinnati Lyceum had gone out of being. So had the Henry Institute. And, after a tolerably vigorous existence of some years, the Washington Lyceum followed its illustrious predecessors.

It was found that such practical and scientific views as those expressed in the last foregoing extract, were less inviting to working men than the opportunity to debate theology, æsthetics, ethics, politics, and the like.

Mr. Chase went on as follows:

"Let it be sufficient, then, to say, in general, that the PHILOSOPHY OF KNOWLEDGE (by which expression, I mean *the methods of study and research* which such men as Galileo, and Bacon, and Newton, and La Place, have taught and exemplified), and the THEORY OF MECHANICS, and the PRINCIPLES OF POLITICAL SCIENCE will be prominent objects of investigation, and that a vast body of historical, political, and scientific lore will, of course, be connected with these topics, in discussion and discourse.

"Farther, a Philosophical apparatus should be provided. The necessity of this will be apparent to him who reflects upon the imperfectness of the ideas which language conveys to us, of physical objects and mechanical operations. No description, however elaborate and exact, will convey to a hearer so exact an idea of any object, as he can obtain, in fifteen minutes, from personal observation. Let us recur, again, to the instance of steam, and suppose the lecturer to be describing the parts and the action of a steam-engine, without the help of any apparatus whatever. The notions of his audience must be confused and perplexed, and no two will be likely to under-

stand him alike. Attention will be wearied and patience will be exhausted. But put into his hands a small engine, which can be had for a trifling sum (though I am inclined to think that some of our public spirited manufacturers will give one to the institution, and every difficulty will vanish), his explanations will be easy and intelligible, and his audience will depart instructed and pleased. It is unnecessary, however, that an *extensive* apparatus should be procured to begin with. An electrical machine, an air pump, and a few optical instruments, would, perhaps, suffice.

"We propose, then, that a LYCEUM be established in this city; that lectures be delivered in it on the various topics of science and literature; that its members consist of all mechanics, manufacturers, merchants, and professional men, who may be willing to communicate, or desirous to acquire useful knowledge; that there be procured for the use of the institution, a lecture-room (to be used also as a forum), a philosophical apparatus, a library, and a cabinet; and that the north wing of the COLLEGE EDIFICE be devoted to the purposes of the institution.

"It is obvious that this plan comprehends the present MECHANICS' INSTITUTE, though it would enlarge its design and establish it upon a sure basis. The public-spirited founders of that useful institution would not be unwilling, it is believed, to have it merged in the one proposed.

"The usefulness of Lyceums has already been tested in Germany, in England (the one in Liverpool has a library of TWENTY-FIVE THOUSAND VOLUMES), and in the Eastern States. Shall not CINCINNATI BE THE FIRST TO ESTABLISH A LYCEUM IN THE WEST? C."

It appears to me that Chief Justice Chase was at fault in recollection when he wrote as follows to Rev. Mr. Blanchard, in 1868:

"It is curious how men best acquainted with each other mistake as to matters of personal history. . . . And you, too, are mistaken in your facts. No mob ever rifled my sister's house. Mob violence was threatened, and she took refuge in my father-in-law's house one night. No injury was done to her dwelling. It was not for any thing to her that I brought suit against some leaders of another, or perhaps the same mob—my memory does not serve me. It was for injuries to the office of the *Philanthropist*. I would, of course, have brought the same suit for an injury to a Chinaman or a Chinawoman; but my heart's sympathies were with the persecuted printers of the *Philanthropist*, as they would have been with any other persecuted people. I was not an abolitionist, it is true, and perhaps never was in the technical sense, but I had pretty strong leanings that way, and pretty strong sympathies with them under injuries. I was not a life-long Whig; but a sort of independent Whig with Democratic ideas, from 1830 say to 1841. Sometimes I voted for a Democrat, but more generally for Whigs. Judge Burnet, Groesbeck & Co., never cut me. Judge Burnet was a very kind, personal friend; though neither he nor Mr. G. approved, I dare say, of my anti-slavery views, and I should, no doubt, have been better

received in society had I better suited the prevailing Cincinnati tone."

I think, the state of society at Cincinnati in 1831 was by no means favorable to the reception of a lecture, offering to the consideration of a public audience, what was said against slavery by Mr. Chase in his lecture on the Life and Character of Henry Brougham.¹

Did the man who first used those words in a lyceum lecture at Cincinnati, and then had them printed in the *North American Review*, expect to be brilliantly successful at the West? Already had "King Cotton" flourished his dark sceptre, his domain extending even beyond the "river beautiful," which formed in the Cincinnati valley the dividing line between the legal territory of his dread "peculiar institution" and the institutions of free territory.

¹ "In 1810, in consequence of the attempts to evade the prohibition of the Abolition Acts, he moved in the House of Commons, 'That this House will, early in the next session of Parliament, take into consideration such measures as may tend effectually to prevent such daring violations of the law.' In the course of the debate on this motion, he pledged himself to bring in a bill for punishing slave-trading as felony. The motion was carried unanimously, and in the next session, he did introduce a bill, declaring 'all dealing in slaves by British subjects, or persons within the British dominions, a felony, punishable by transportation, or imprisonment and hard labor, at the discretion of the court which tries the offense.' This bill passed into a law, and has the high merit of being the earliest public recognition of the principle that the traffickers in human flesh are pirates, and ought to be treated as such. Mr. Brougham subsequently turned his attention to the condition of the slaves in the West Indies. His humane exertions in behalf of that friendless and unfortunate race of men are above all praise. But a few months have gone by since he moved, in the House of Commons, 'That this House do resolve, at the earliest practicable period of the next session, to take into serious consideration the state of the slaves in the Colonies of Great Britain, in order to the mitigation and final abolition of their slavery, and more especially to the amendment of the administration of justice within the same.' In his speech in support of this motion, he placed the question on higher ground than that of simple expediency. He went to the bottom of the merits of the case, and denied utterly the fundamental principle of slavery, that man may be the subject of property. 'There is,' he exclaimed, 'a law above all the enactments of human codes; the same throughout the world, the same in all times; such as it was before the daring genius of Columbus pierced the night of ages, and opened to one world the sources of power, wealth, and knowledge, to another, all unutterable woes; such it is this day; it is the law written by the finger of God on the heart of man; and by that law, unchangeable and eternal, while men despise fraud, and loathe rapine, and abhor blood, they shall reject, with indignation, the wild and guilty fantasy that man can hold property in man!' This motion however, was negatived; and here the subject rests for the present; but there is every reason to believe that public opinion will finally force Parliament to adopt the measures which it contemplated."

Salmon Portland Chase was willing to be unsuccessful, as men say, in order to be thoroughly devoted to great causes; but I think I do but justice to his memory in intimating that he sometimes acted as if he believed that great success could be commanded by desert, in spite of public ignorance and studiously disseminated prejudices.

Indications of his early errors on that subject are very frequent in that lecture-article on the *Life and Character of Henry Brougham*. The Introduction to the present work gave one of them in the words:

"It often happens that one man, by the force of circumstances, or by the resistless energy of his own spirit, is placed or places himself in a situation to control, like an earthly God, the destinies of whole nations."

In the article thus quoted for the second time we have these words also:

"While thus engaged in laying deep and strong the foundations of his fame in a broad and comprehensive knowledge of men and things and their infinitely diversified relations, he did not neglect the more dry and abstruse investigations through which lies the road, and the only road, to legal distinction. He had chosen the profession of the law, and to choose a profession, and to determine to be among the most distinguished of its members, were to him one and the same thing. He set about giving effect to this determination with all that energy of will and perseverance of effort, which he had already displayed so conspicuously in other pursuits."

These words, portraying Brougham, almost make a likeness of their author. They betray, however, that the remarkably successful and not less remarkably unsuccessful man who wrote them was once in danger of falling into fixed error on the subject of success and failure; that for a time, at least, in his early manhood, he had not sounded the depths of the true philosophy respecting aspiration and ambition, of achievement and of triumph.

That philosophy, in my opinion, does not allow us to ascribe so much to simple merit in relation to success. It is not true, in point of fact, that the only road to legal distinction, for example, lies through "the more dry and abstruse investigations" just alluded to.

The truth is, Chase set out, as a young man, with very false ideas on the subject of the influence which a single individual of great

abilities may exercise over vast numbers of his fellow-men. In that same lecture-article on Brougham stand the words :

"We would not be thought to have forgotten the maxim that none but the dead can be accounted happy. We are aware that the judgment of the dead was not, and is not peculiar to Egypt. Nor is that judgment to be held in light esteem. Posterity will, no doubt, pronounce more impartially upon the doings of a man, but, perhaps not, therefore, more unerringly than his contemporaries. The mists of prejudice may be dissipated—may be, but are not always; yet much will be forgotten that is essential to a just decision; and ignorance darkens judgment as much as prejudice misleads it. There are important purposes to be answered by a contemporary trial of the living man. If he have done well, the applause of the world will encourage him to do better; if ill, the censure of the world will deter him from a repetition of the evil. Public opinion, now-a-days, takes cognizance of every man's thoughts and conduct, and binds him over to good behavior. It is well that it is so. It is well for mankind, that public opinion cheers the laborer in a good cause onward, while it rebukes the evil-doer in tones of authority that must be felt and can not be disregarded."

That is a picture of ideal rather than of real life. It were, indeed, well for mankind were public opinion so apt to cheer the laborer in a good cause onward. It were well, indeed, happy for the world were public opinion so apt to rebuke the evil-doer in tones of authority that must be felt and can not be disregarded. But it is not so in real life.

I next invite attention to an extract from the lecture-article on the *Effects of Machinery*, which the Chief Justice told me he preferred to the piece devoted to the appreciation of the *Life and Character of Brougham*. We read :

"It has not been the fact . . . that men have applied themselves to the study of their own times with as much earnestness as to the investigation of the records of the past. It has always been extremely difficult to obtain contemporary information of events. Intelligence has been transmitted from point to point very slowly. And when it has finally reached its destination, it has come in so questionable a shape, that its authenticity could by no means be relied on. The consequence has been that men of learning and study have turned away from so unpromising a field of research. Almost all writers, except those whose business was politics, have occupied themselves in other tasks. It was a natural consequence that science became speculative rather than practical. The object of study was rather to gratify the instinctive desire of knowledge, than to strike out a light to guide the conduct, or to discover the means of improving the condition of man. And thus men, instead of believing that they were intrusted by Providence with the care

of their own fate, have been accustomed to think of themselves as embarked, without a rudder, without a sail, without an oar, upon the stream of destiny, hurried on, they know not how, and destined to arrive, they know not whither."

Is it true that men are intrusted by Providence with the care of their own fates? Is it truly strange that even the most practical of men should become, at last, accustomed to think of himself as embarked, without a rudder, without a sail, without an oar, upon the stream of destiny, hurried on, he knows not how, and destined to arrive, he knows not where?

The article just quoted goes on to say :

"But there is a better philosophy than this—a philosophy that attributes more to man and less to circumstance."

The subject seems to me of very great concern to this whole work I therefore ask attention to another extract from the sketch of the *Life and Character of Brougham*. In the words about to be presented we shall see the same error as to failure and success, and, of course, in respect to the force of the one in relation to the many They are of this purport, referring to their hero, Brougham :

"His character has powerfully influenced the age. His example of earnest, devoted, persevering labor to accomplish noble ends by noble means, has been long before the world. If we were called upon to name the man, who, in our opinion has done more for the human race, we confess we should not know where to look. Franklin alone, in modern times, may be compared to him as an instance of what one man, animated by a noble and enlarged philanthropy, may accomplish for his fellow-men; and in his great efforts for the diffusion of knowledge, he seems, constantly, to have held the example of Franklin in full view.

"From his youth up, he has shunned no toil, however severe. His whole life has been a life of intense labor, a series of great exertions. He has evinced on all occasions a large and comprehensive benevolence; a sound and practical judgment; united with a genius of the loftiest and most universal character. We do not know that a single one of the numerous schemes of momentous importance, which he has originated, can be said to have finally failed."

We have seen that when he wrote the article just quoted, Mr. Chase was only three-and-twenty years of age. Afterward he learned more thoroughly the truth relating to success and failure.

Afterward, indeed, he learned, in bitterness of spirit, the true relations of the one to the many, the many to the one.¹

Under date March 1, 1831, appears the entry of which this is a transcript.

"March 1, [1831.] To-day, I resume my long-neglected journal, not because I had nothing to record, but because I thought I could not spare the time required. I have again renewed my former practice, because I think it so useful as to warrant the abstraction of a few moments from other occupations, to be devoted to this. This day has not been a remarkable one. I have jogged on in my old path. In the morning, I read the second case in the Ohio Reports. The principles involved were obvious and the merits of the case clear. In the afternoon and evening, besides writing a column, I read two books of Akenside's *Pleasures of the Imagination*. I once admired this poem, but I now begin to lose my relish for it. It is stiff and artificial. It wants life and feeling. In the evening Mr. Peters called, and I went with him to Mr. L——'s, where we found Miss C. L—— and Miss M——s just starting to go to the lecture. We joined the party. I offered my arm to Miss C. L——; Peters, his to Miss M——s. The walk was pleasant, and the lecture very good, but somewhat tiresome. When we came out, I had forgotten my overcoat, and returned to obtain it, Miss C. L—— having said she would await my return in the hall, with Mr. Peters; when I came out I found them gone. I followed in the way I supposed they had taken; but not finding [them] after walking half a square, I gave up the pursuit and returned to my office."

The distinctively judicial mind, rather than the mind of one formed to shine as an advocate, seems indicated in that part of the foregoing extract which relates to legal reading. What of the remainder of the extract? Does it indicate the beau, the dangler, the ambitious gallant? I think not. Yet it shows a pretty marked delight in the society of fashionable folk, and rich.

This man might, possibly, have married a poor woman. Had he married a poor woman, he would have been a fond husband. He was born, indeed, to be uxorious, if uxorious does not mean exactly what the dictionaries indicate. According to the dictionaries, uxoriousness means fond submission to a wife. I think it means just fond husbandhood, if that expression may be suffered, for the nonce, to serve the purpose that I have in view. Now, fondness, in the feeling of devotion to a wife may be of the submissive stamp, or of the domineering type. One can not study life without observing in-

¹ See letter to Miss Nettie Chase in 1864.

dications of this truth, which, indeed, is constantly receiving illustration all around us.

Chase could never have been a submissive husband. He was born to be a fond, devoted husband; but he could be that without ceasing to be imperious.

Had he married a poor woman of refined tastes and polished manners, he would, probably, have been more aided in the proper popularization of his character, his aspiration, his ambition. But, in social life, he seems to have preferred the rich to the poor. He was not, I have said, and I maintain, a snob; but he was almost a snob. He was almost what may be called a Christian snob, when he was associating, as we have just seen, with the Longworths and their friends at Cincinnati, in 1830 and 1831. But such a man could never have been long a snob or much a snob in any circumstances.

Here is the language of a most suggestive entry, under date March 2, 1831.

"March 2, [1831.] I was a tardy riser this morning. The sun anticipated me by more than an hour. When up, I read the Scriptures, finished Akenside's poem, perused an article in the *Edinburgh Review* on the Effects of Machinery, and¹ accumulation, and about fifty pages of the *Wealth of Nations*, and about a dozen pages of Say."

In the Introduction allusion has been made to a discreditable characterization of our hero, drawn by a contributor to the very periodical that, almost four-and-forty years ago, published Salmon Portland Chase's article on the *Effects of Machinery*. Discreditable, indeed, appears to me that rash characterization.

I would say that that man, whoever he may be, who represents the hero of this work as having shown himself financially a fool, judicially a trickster, may succeed in establishing his own unworthiness; he must most ignominiously fail in his endeavor to defame the memory of Salmon Portland Chase.²

¹Sic.

²This, I need hardly say, is not a bid for favorable criticism. Have I not already indicated my conviction that this life, at best, is but a battle with delightful truces?

From the first I anticipated that lively, if not terrific, would be the conflict of this work with certain partialities on the one hand, and with certain prejudices on the other. Have I not already learned how rational was that anticipation?

Here is a sample of the precious article in question :

"We have commented at length upon Mr. Chase's public career for the purpose of illustrating the ignorance, audacity, and reckless levity, with which, in this country, affairs of the greatest moment are often conducted. *There seems, in some directions, to be not only no statesmanship, but no capacity to learn and apply some of the simplest truths in political economy.*"

That last sentence may be very true. I think it is quite true. The very article on which I am commenting seems to me itself abundant illustration of that truth, so far from creditable to the age and to the country. But if there be talk concerning "ignorance, audacity, and reckless levity," whither shall one go for choicer specimens of them than in that self-same article, so full of sound, so little marked by sense?

March 2, 1831, appears, after record of reading, this minute :

"I went with Miss L. L——, to hear Mr. Durbin, but was disappointed. Returning, walked with Miss E. L——, the other lady having taken the arm of her cousin. Mr. Young called and conversed half an hour. Neither of us in very good spirits."

There was cause, no doubt, for depression at that time. Here is a suggestive statement relating to our young lawyer :

"His first client paid him half a dollar for drawing a deed ; his second, after having availed himself of his services and borrowed of him half a dollar, never to be seen by him again."

After all, however, it is easier to defend our hero against all prejudices whatever than against certain partialities.

As for the *North American Review*, I was, beyond expression, pained to find in its pages the article in question. I had not forgotten—I do not forget—that, noticing a predecessor of this work, that same *Review* expressed itself as follows :

"Judge Warden manifests, throughout the volume, the attributes of a clear thinker, an independent reasoner, and a vigorous writer. While he is guiltless of any startling heresy or innovation, his work is, in the best sense of the word, original ; many of the opinions to which it gives voice bearing the impress of a first coinage, while those that are old are evidently new-cast and freshly stamped."

That is high praise. I must forever show my gratitude therefor. But, if I must be grateful to the author of the words just quoted, must I not be grateful, also, to the man who so trusted and so honored me in making me his preferred biographer ?

I trust I do not suffer gratitude to make me indiscriminating in this work. On the other hand, I do not infer the unworthiness of the *North American Review* because it suffered a contributor, assuming the tone of an oracle, to pronounce such words as those quoted in the text, respecting Salmon Portland Chase.

That statement is in the biographic document referred to in another place. No doubt, it is correct.

But the true stuff was in this man. Here is the record of a vitally important resolution :

"I made this resolution to-day: I will try to excel in all things, yet if I am excelled without fault of mine, I will not be mortified. I will not withhold from any one the praise which I think his due, nor will I allow myself to envy another's praise, or to feel jealousy when I hear him praised. May God help me to keep it!"

It was in the diary, to which we have been thus far so much indebted, that, under the date April 29, 1831, the hero of this work recorded that characteristic vow and prayer.

It appears to me that prayer was answered. Far from faultless—very far from blameless—marked with many, yea, with various as well as many errors, as was the career of Salmon Portland Chase, he who ran that course endeavored to excel in all things; yet, if he found himself excelled without fault of his, he was not mortified. He withheld from no one the praise which he considered due; nor did he allow himself to envy another's praise, or to feel jealousy when he heard another praised. It would seem, indeed, that God did help him to keep that noble resolution.

Under date July, 1831, we have an entry relating to Mr. Dane and the Ordinance of '87:

"This subject," he says, "has acquired much interest in consequence of having been introduced into the debate in the Senate between Messrs. Webster and Hayne. In an Appendix to his *Digest of American Law*, Mr. Dane has taken the trouble to put the merits of the case in a clear point of view. He states that the ordinance was not copied from the resolve of Mr. Jefferson as Mr. Benton asserted, etc."

We have seen that it was in July, 1831, that Mr. Chase could read in print his lecture-essay on the *Life and Character of Henry Brougham*. We have also seen, in the course of the present chapter, that it was on the second of March, of the same year that he read an article in the *Edinburgh Review* on the *Effects of Machinery*, together with about fifty pages of Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, and about a dozen pages of Say. It is proper now to say that on the first of January, 1832, appeared in the *North American Review* his lecture-essay on the *Effects of Machinery*. That piece contains these words:

"We look upon the knowledge of the present circumstances of society, of the transactions of our own age and country, of modern science and modern art, as more important than any other. Yet it is precisely the sort of knowledge, of which, until very recently, we have had least. We would not be understood to undervalue any species of knowledge. Every kind of information is precious. We would only say, that that which instructs us where we are, what we are, and how we are, has peculiar value. It is true that to know the present, we must be, in some degree, acquainted with the past. To understand the result, we must have knowledge of the cause. To foresee consequences, it is necessary to know how consequences have been heretofore produced. What we complain of is, not that we know too much of what has been, but that we do not know enough of what is;—not that we are too familiar with the past, but that we are not familiar enough with the present. And we would go so far as to say, that, if any part of knowledge were to be given up, it would be better to let alone the study of what happened before we were born, and the conjecture of what is to happen after we are dead, and confine our view within the horizon of our present existence. It was demanded of the Spartan King, 'What study is fittest for the boy?' His answer was, 'That of the science most useful to the man.' Utility measures the value of knowledge, as of every thing else; and, surely, on the scale of utility, the knowledge of what is all around us, affecting us, physically, intellectually, and morally, in countless ways, ranks far higher than the knowledge of the circumstances of preceding generations."

These utilitarian views were certainly not of the selfish order. They were taken by a mind which, if not made for poetry, was at least poetic. But of that I do not wish to discourse at present. Let us now attend to other thoughts.

The article just quoted is not inconsistent with the essay on the Life and Character of Brougham. In that piece, a young legist of the literary order tells his readers, as he had before told a Cincinnati audience, that biography helps us to a better understanding of the way in which the great machine of society works, the prime forces that act upon it being the thoughts and feelings of individual men, and it often happening that one man, by the force of circumstances or by the resistless energy of his own spirit, is placed or places himself in a situation to control, like an earthly god, the destinies of whole nations, or, still oftener, originates some new thought, or makes some new discovery or invention, destined in its consequences to change the whole aspect of society. Here we see the author's conception of the practical philosophy taught by example in biography. The holder of that conception may well maintain that the knowledge of the present circumstances of society, of the transactions of our own age and country, of modern science and

modern art,—that that which instructs us where we are, what we are, and how we are,—must be deemed more important than any other kind of knowledge. That biography and history are of that most precious kind of knowledge, or at least directly tend to multiply its cognitions, ought to be allowed without discussion.

But the question how much is to be credited to the individual and how much to the multitude may long provoke discussion. That discussion never can be very profitable till we learn to pay due regard to the real laws that govern failure and success. Until that time we shall not accurately measure either the force of the many or the force of the few in art and science, in religion, and in government.

I have elsewhere intimated my opinion on that subject. It is not my purpose, here to add a word relating to that topic. But it seems to me a subject, thoughts of which may well accompany our entire progress through this work.

Returning to the article on the *Effects of Machinery*, I engage to speak hereafter, as becomingly as possible, of what appear to me its indications, touching its composer's views of public economics.

Let us now return to the hero's professional life. An entry dated April 10, 1832, reads as follows :

"I this day formed a law partnership with Gen. E. King and T. Walker. We are to divide the proceeds of the business equally. I am to be cashier. Walker and I are to purchase what additional books are wanted and to pay the expense of rent, fuel, light, and servants."

June 9th of the same year furnishes this note :

"Gen. King went to Columbus to-day, and left me in charge of our whole business."

June 12th, this :

"Wrote to King communicating the substance of a letter on business from R. Biddle, of Pittsburg."

And June 16th, this :

"Received our new book-cases to-day, and made quite a change in our office. Feel now rather more at my ease than for some months past."

We have already¹ seen some indications that in the sense thus indicated, our hero loved to be at his ease.

¹ *Ante*, p. 160.

The next entry to which I desire to call attention is dated November 1, 1832. It reads as follows:

"Dissolved partnership with King & Walker and formed a new one with D. J. Caswell. I am to give a bonus of \$1475 in a note payable in 90 days, and to share equally in all business, including that of the agency of the Bank of the United States for which Caswell is solicitor."

The Walker of the dissolved partnership was destined to become deservedly famous as the author of an admirable *Introduction to American Law*. It is with proud gratitude that I remember what he did, or tried to do, for me as one of my preceptors in the law. The Gen. King of the dissolved partnership was considered one of the very ablest members of the Ohio bar. Mr. Caswell had less reputation and not very great ability.

Under date February 14, we have:

"A few days ago the Ohio began to rise rapidly. After reaching its ordinary height, when reckoned at full flood, the noble stream, as if satisfied with that display of strength, flowed steadily on for a while, without increase or abatement. After a few hours, however, it began to subside, and continued slowly falling for some time. It then rose again, and higher than before. Merchants, whose warehouses fronted on the river, began to remove their goods from the lower story to the level of the bank. The river, like an animal eager in pursuit as its antagonist retires, pressed closely on, and forced them to remove their stores still farther, to the second story. This morning I went down to look at the stream. As I passed down Broadway, across Columbia Street, I looked toward the eastern termination of the latter. It was covered with water. At the foot of Broadway, the river had filled the space between the two hotels, and covered the floor of the western store in Cassily's buildings. I stepped from the pavement (sidewalk) on board a woodboat, from which I passed to a steamboat of the largest class, which lay so that its side was parallel with the western front of Cassily's buildings. I mounted the hurricane deck, and walked to the stern of the vessel. My position afforded me a commanding view. I saw the water pouring into the fourth story of the steam-mill, reckoning from the top. Newport and Covington were both, in a measure, flooded, a great part of the former being under water. The Ohio now swelled to an immense flood, more than a mile from shore to shore, and seventy feet in depth, rushed on almost without a ripple. It was sublime. It was power, mighty, terrible, yet unostentatious. It was simple grandeur; a calm putting forth of gigantic energy. I looked to the west. The whole quay, lately so dry, was now covered with steamers riding majestically on the bosom of the water, crowded together in close neighborhood. One was just about to start, and her engine was working and throwing out vast volumes of steam. I returned

to the sidewalk and went on board another boat, from which I had a complete view of the land side of the scene. The boats were receiving and discharging their cargo directly on the sidewalk, being lashed, for the first time, I suppose, to the trees which had been planted to shade it. The space between the steamboats and the range of buildings was crowded with busy men. I have seen the busiest streets of New York, but never have I beheld a scene of such activity. The water was at the curbstone, and at the foot of Sycamore and Broadway over the curbstone. On Commercial Row the water was six inches deep in Owen's store, and the same, nearly, at Broadwell's, corner of Sycamore and Front. I went to my office, but, after a while, determined to visit the west end of the town to see what had been done there. I passed along Fourth Street to its termination. The whole western part of the city, except a ridge of land immediately on the bank of the river, was inundated. Of one house I could only see the roof, while others were visible from the second story upward. I went down Elm Street until my progress was stopped by the water. I then hired a waterman, with whom I embarked. The boat, under the impulse of a strong and skillful arm, shot swiftly down Elm until we reached Columbia Street. We continued our course along Columbia Street to Western Row; down Western Row to Front Street, along Front to Elm, up Elm to Columbia, along Columbia to Vine, on which street, at the distance of about a square from Columbia, we were landed, after sailing in deep water in the midst of the most populous part of the city for nearly an hour. On Columbia Street, from Vine to its western termination, the water was from four to six feet deep. The depth on Front Street, between the same limits, was from two and a half to six feet. Every thing that could float and sustain a man was pressed into service. And multitudes were busied in saving the wreck of their furniture. Many of the houses which we passed had been abandoned. In others, the inhabitants still remained, but had retreated to the second story. As I passed the dwelling of a friend, between Elm and Plum Streets on Front, I recognized some of the young ladies of the family at a window in the second story. I ordered the boatman to stop, and conversed a few moments with them from the street. The door was open into the hall, the floor of which, with that of the parlors, was deeply submerged. On Columbia Street, lumber was floating away in vast quantities, and, in one instance, a small dwelling-house had been uplifted from its foundations.

"At the moment when I write, the water yet prevails, and is rising!"

Saturday, the 18th, yields this addition :

"The water, after rising for more than a week, began to subside to-day. The flood has been unprecedented. The whole of the city south of Lower Market Street has been completely inundated. With several friends, I took a boat for the purpose of observing the scene. We embarked on Main Street, a little below Lower Market, and proceeded through Columbia Street, through the whole length of which a strong current was running, to Broadway. Passing the

theater, we observed that the water was upon the platform of the steps. We sailed down Broadway into the current of the Ohio on the outside of the steamboats. The water covered the first pane in the windows of the second story belonging to Cassily's buildings. As we passed along down the Ohio, we observed that the doors of the buildings at the corner of Water Street and the quay were hardly visible. We entered the city again at Plum Street. As our boat turned round, I had a full view of the magnificent stream. It was a rushing ocean. The water at the corner of Front and Elm was nearly at the tops of the doors. Many frame buildings in this quarter were removed from their foundations, and some of them descended the river. Others still remained, blocking up the streets, or lying close to where they formerly stood. On Walnut Street, the water approached within a few feet of Pearl Street houses, and on Vine within a few feet of Third Street. Almost the entire population of the inundated part of the town abandoned their habitations. The consequent distress among the poor is very great, though the citizens, with their usual prompt humanity, are exerting themselves to relieve it as far as possible. Our party landed at Main Street; and I, probably, shall never again pass in the same manner over the same ground. At all events, I hope no similar deluge will ever again present an occasion for a like excursion."

CHAPTER XIV.

LAW AND LOVE.—MISS GARNISS.—PROGRESS.

THAT Salmon Portland Chase was never a secessionist was advanced in the first chapter. Sometimes I have looked upon him as the Calhoun of free territory. He was never that. But he admired Calhoun and liked him.

Under date April 10, 1830, Mr. Chase's diary contains this entry :

"This distinguished statesman is an unfortunate politician, yet a very great man. Few men in our country are gifted with more splendid abilities. He thinks with rapidity, yet with correctness. The powerful impulse under which his intellect acts seldom forces it out of the right line of reason. All that he does, and utters, and imagines is marked by his grand, characteristic, impetuous energy. It is said that he was desirous of supporting the administration of Mr. Adams, but was overruled in his native State. 'He proposed,' a gentleman who had ample means of knowing the truth¹ recently remarked to me, 'to support the administration, in a caucus of South Carolinians.' The proposition was received with disgust, and Gov. Taylor rose and exclaimed: '*Crucify him.*' So decided disapprobation alarmed and discouraged him. He fell in with the prevailing sentiment, and went for Jackson, yet Jackson still remembers his original preference, and there is no love between them. Calhoun afterwards composed the celebrated protest of the South Carolina Legislature against the Tariff.

"It may be said of him, not unappropriately,

"On each glance of thought
Decision follows as the thunderbolt
Pursues the flash."

We must pay not a little farther attention to the sentiments of William Wirt, the legal teacher of the man that wrote the words just quoted. Evidence that Wirt and Wirt's wife and children were very near and dear to Chase, and that the head of the Wirt family had a very high place in the affection, admiration, and

¹ Was it E. S. Thomas?

esteem of his most distinguished pupil in the law, has been presented. Well, Wirt also had a great opinion of Calhoun. But it does not follow that the former ever approved the latter's doctrines on the subject of nullification.

In a letter to Judge Carr, dated January 6, 1833, the man who, a few years before, had been Chase's legal teacher, said :

"As to the right of a State to secede from the Union, I do not recollect to have heard it made a subject of discussion in the high times of '98-9 and 1800, and consequently, never heard the denial of the right to secede treated as a high federal doctrine. I can not, however, distinguish between the right of secession and the right of revolution."

Wirt, who was, in my judgment, a much greater legist than he seems to some admirers, was, in my opinion, right in intimating, as we have just seen, that no distinction can be soundly taken between the right of secession and the right of revolution. But it does not follow that John Caldwell Calhoun was either a fool, a madman, or a knave, because he did not agree with William Wirt in that respect.

"A man of the right stamp," says our always interesting, but so often superficial Parton, "lives better than he writes ; a man of the wrong stamp writes better than he lives."¹ These words, referring to the writings of Calhoun, are calculated, like, perhaps, most of Parton's philosophizings, to mislead. I have elsewhere shown that a good book is necessarily much better than its author, even if the author be the best of men. However that may be, I almost agree with Parton where he says :

"The writings of Mr. Calhoun, voluminous, argumentative, difficult to read, seem to reveal to us an honest, earnest nature."

I go farther. I declare that, though the writings of Calhoun are better than their author, they are *very clearly* the expressions, at least for much the most part, of an honest, earnest nature. There should be no question about that, in spite of the great odium that has attached itself to the name of Calhoun.

A number of eventful years—years marked by darkest sorrow, deepest suffering to so many of us—have passed since I first studied the great work of the great Nullifier on *Government*, comparing it with passages in the not less interesting work of James Balmes,

¹ *Life of Jackson*, III, 447-447.

Protestantism and Catholicity compared in their effects on the Civilization of Europe. Now, I find myself comparing it with Buckle's so-called *History of Civilization in England*, with that book of Balmes, with the works of Jefferson, and with the works of Chase.

The latter seem to me the nearest of them all to accuracy. Balmes is not free enough; he loves authority too much. Calhoun mistakes the very nature of authority in States. The mentioned work of Buckle seems to me hardly less morbid than suggestive—an unwholesome argument in favor of a noxious kind of skepticism. Jefferson, I think, remarkably confounds important governmental principles with fallacies of the most perilous description. Chase, it seems to me, was wrong, at times, and erred on more than one occasion, very dangerously. On the whole, however, his so very various contributions to State Science are, in my opinion, of more value than is to be found in any other contributions of the sort in American political letters, not excepting even those of his illustrious judicial predecessor, Marshall.

That the *Cincinnati American* had for editors Messrs. Conover and Thomas has been stated. Chase, however, was at one time editor *pro tempore* of that very interesting paper, and it is evident that, at other times, he furnished some of its editorial matter. Here is an article he cut out of it and pasted in his scrap-book, which he so long afterward placed in my possession while redeeming his engagement, mentioned in the Introductory. It is evidently his own work:

"It is high time for Mr. Calhoun, if he wishes to retain the confidence of his western friends (and we believe that a large portion of the Jackson party, so-called, in the West are his friends), to come out with a clear disavowal of the odious doctrines of Nullification. Does Mr. Calhoun wish to be king of South Carolina? Does he desire to be president of a southern republic, to be bounded on the north by the Potomac, and on the west by the Alleghanies? We can assure him that he has not the slightest chance of any thing else, so long as he is thought to be a Nullifier. He may rely upon it, that he has no more prospect of being president, entertaining nullificatory opinions, than he has of being king of the moon. *That* imputation, if just, will be a millstone about his neck and a mountain upon his head. Let him be strong as Enceladus—still he can not rid himself of it. It will infallibly pull him down and crush him.

"If Mr. Calhoun be not a Nullifier, let him come out and say so. Let him proclaim his real opinions—be they what they may—in clear, decided language—in terms that can not be mistaken or misconstrued. The people have a right to demand this of him. They

do demand it. We can tell Mr. Calhoun, that the imputation we have referred to, makes his friends cold, and palsies their efforts. It puts into the mouth of his enemies a sword with resistless edge. And we can tell him, too, that Mr. McDuffie's speech at Charleston has done him no good. Mr. McDuffie is thought to be his intimate, confidential friend. They are thought to have 'one mind, one soul, one spirit, and two bodies.' If Mr. McDuffie's sentiments are his—why, then—'farewell to all his glory.' If not, Mr. Calhoun owes it to the country, to himself—to his own reputation for frankness and sincerity—to come forward and disavow these doctrines.

"We have made these remarks in no unfriendly spirit to Mr. Calhoun. We have ever admired his splendid talents and noble character. We would infinitely prefer him for President to Jackson or Van Buren, but not to CLAY. On this matter the preference of this paper is known and is decided.

"We think that Mr. Calhoun has been misled. Perhaps the glare—the false glare—of ambition misled him. Perhaps it was the evil influence of friends, highly excited themselves, and communicating their excitement to him. Whatever it may have been, one thing is certain: Ever since

" 'He narrowed his mind,

And to party gave up what was meant for mankind,'

his fortune and his reputation have been declining together. Ever since he turned off from the high path he first chose to walk in, and, instead of continuing as he began, national in his policy and national in his feelings—contracted his strong intellect and noble heart into cramped sectional dogmas and sentiments—his star has been sinking. Most earnestly have we deplored it—most earnestly do we now deplore it; but not more earnestly, we are well convinced, than many who stand in higher places and have a far greater influence.

"Mr. Calhoun has now an opportunity to retrace his steps, and retrieve his reputation. We do hope that the opportunity will not be lost. It may never again occur."

The date of that utterance was some time in ———.

In another article of a little later date we have this explanation:

"Mr. McDuffie rejects the doctrine of Nullification, as a constitutional remedy for State grievances, but he asserts the right of a sovereign State to right her own wrongs, by the exertion of her sovereign authority, in cases of intolerable oppression, and he recommends this remedy to the people of South Carolina. In other words, he advocates disunion, without disguise; and maintains that the sovereignty of the State would protect its citizens, engaged in resisting the General Government, from the punishment of treason.

"These pernicious doctrines can obtain no currency. They are too revolting to the great majority of the American people. And it is with the profoundest regret that we behold a man so highly gifted as Mr. McDuffie, so honest, and disinterested, and honorable as he has uniformly shown himself to be, led away, we know not by what delusion, into such fatal errors of doctrine."

But it may be said: Here is not argument; here is but an appeal to preconception, prejudice, blind patriotic sentiment.

The mind of Chase was never subtle. It delighted not in metaphysics, and it took no pleasure in political abstractions. It was always eminently practical in the best sense of that expression.

In the doctrine of the Nullifiers he found subtlety and sophistry. He did not then consider that a serious treatment of it in the way of argument would be necessary in addressing Cincinnatians. Perhaps, in that particular, he erred. But the reasoning he used in *Texas vs. White*,¹ certainly affords clear evidence and perfect proof that he *could* have reasoned ably against the doctrine of nullification, when he was a young man, had he felt that reasoning against it was required.

In the summer of 1831, it seems, Mr. Chase, furnished with letters to Webster and other notables of Boston, visited New England. Of this visit I can give no particular account. The biographic document furnished me, as already stated, relates that Mr. Chase's article on Brougham, aided by the marked attentions of Mr. Webster, insured him a very favorable reception, for so young a man, among the prominent circles of Boston and Cambridge.

That our hero was decidedly what I have called a literary lawyer, has been clearly shown. There are some yet unnoticed indications of that fact in his diary. Among these is one under date June 18, 1832, as follows:

"Wrote to J. Longworth, at New Haven, and sent a prospectus of the *Review*; asked his exertion for it; congratulated him on his college honors, etc."

June 25, a letter to Timothy Walker, was thus noted:

"Letter.—Regretted that he did not see the Wirts; made some remarks on concession and nullification; told him of the failure of the late attempt to unite the Claymen and Anti-Masons; of the recent tariff meeting; of the cholera; urged him to exertion for the *Review*; foretold its success, etc."

Under date July 3, a letter to Judge Hall was thus minuted:

"Agreed to superintend the publication of the Qu. M. M., and do what I can for the work. Mentioned that Tannehill had been requested to come here, and expressed a hope that the Judge would not give up the idea of editing the Quarterly."

¹ Post. See 7 Wallace, 700.

There is a memorandum of another sort, under date August 24th. Two names are obliterated in the places indicated by blanks in the following transcripts:

"As I went to dinner to-day, I saw ———, 'pouring his leprous distillation' into the ear of a 'workie,' whom he was probably enlightening as to his superior fitness as a candidate for Congress to ———."

The next paragraph reads as follows, under the title, *Description—Eulogy*:

"His face, sir, is an assault and battery upon physiognomy. He was educated in a college where ignorance was taught as a science, and he took the first honors as a proficient when he was graduated."

Earlier was given the following extract from a New Orleans paper:

"When you have found me a woman who prefers eloquence to youth, beauty, and pomp, place me on ——— marbled steep. There, swan-like, let me sing and die, and my last notes shall be a poem in her praise! But, before you *do* find me such a woman, you will have assembled the unicorn, the salamander, and the phoenix, in one cage, to which let me recommend you to add your lady who prefers eloquence to youth, beauty, and pomp, and what a menagerie will you have."

Here is the language of an entry, dated June 12th:

"Wrote to Dr. Lindsly to-day, inclosing the name of a subscriber to his projected periodical, and expressing my regret that more could not be obtained."

Here is a memorandum of a letter written to W. F. Chase, and reads as follows:

"Letter—declined loaning him money—urged him to exertion and self-reliance under Providence. The truth is, I am much in need of money myself; business is dull, and I hardly know which way to look."

Under a subsequent date, July 3, is the following memorandum of a letter to Mr. Hamilton Smith:

"Requested him to pay what is due me—about \$40.48—to Dryden & Hunt. Advised him to leave his school, and commence the practice of the law."

At a later period, Mr. Smith often lent his credit, or his money, to our hero. They appear to have been near and dear friends.

A letter, under date June 25th, to E. Parker, is thus minuted :

"Letter—acceded to his proposition that I should become the guardian to Helen ; requested the immediate remittance of her portion of mother's property, and of what is due her from the estate ; requested general information as to the condition of the estate, etc."

The first entry for 1833 is under date January 18th, as follows :

"On Tuesday, the 18th ultimo, I was attacked by a violent headache, which proved to be a rheumatic affection. I had exposed myself much to the weather the Saturday and Sunday previous ; and, on the evening of Sunday felt the approaches of the disease. Thinking I was suffering from ordinary headache, I paid little attention to my symptoms, until the neglected disease so increased in violence that I was forced to my bed on the day first mentioned. For two or three days the disease made little progress, and I felt hopes of a speedy recovery. These hopes, however, were not to be realized. One morning, after an unquiet night, the disease had left me free from pain. Dr. Colby had left the house, thinking that I was doing well, and required but little care. But, before noon, a fever supervened. I felt myself rapidly becoming worse ; and when the doctor returned in the evening, I described to him my symptoms. He seemed somewhat alarmed—*bled me*, and remained with me to a late hour that night."

I have laid a special stress on the words *bled me*. We shall find Dr. Colby vainly protesting against bleeding in a case of almost tragical concern to this whole work.

The narrative of Chase proceeds as follows :

"The next day I was very sick. My strength declined rapidly, and, in a short time, I could, with difficulty, support myself. The medicines I took had no effect."

How did he know that ? But so most of us reason as to medicine. There was nothing in the world, except medicine, as to which Chase would so have inferred. He adds :

"Finally, a consultation of physicians was called, and a different plan of treatment was determined on. From that time, I began to recover, and, in the course of a few days was able to leave my bed. During this illness, I was seriously alarmed, as were also my friends, lest I should never recover. I was led by this circumstance to review my life ; and in how different a light did many things appear to me from that in which I had once regarded them. Some things which I had thought almost venial, now appeared exceedingly sinful. Yet I trust I was willing to depart in the hope that I should be with Christ. I felt a confidence, that, though my transgressions were multiplied and aggravated, yet the blood of Christ was sufficient to wash away all sin. And I resolved, if I should recover, to try to do more for God than I had before done ; to live a more godly life, and to be more instant in prayer, and more abundant in good works."

From that time on, for many years, the tone of religiousness in our hero grew gradually far from amiable. Now and then, indeed, it showed some of the sunshine of the truly lovely in the Godward; but, for the most part, it darkened his mind and made him far from happy.

Writing, as I am, as already intimated, in the house in which the light of Lincoln's life went out, how natural it is that I should often find myself comparing Chase with Lincoln? I compare them now in point of piety—in other words, as to religiousness.

Dr. Holland, Lincoln's best biographer, thus far, insists that, notwithstanding Lincoln's habit of relating stories of a certain stamp, he was essentially religious. I agree that he was, at least, not irreligious. No such man could have been irreligious.

But the type of the religious sentiment which we discern in Lincoln is quite different from the religious type which is to be discerned in Chase.

In neither Chase nor Lincoln is to be discerned complete consistency in matters of religion. Let me say at once, however, that if the reader of these paragraphs has never studied the phenomena of moral and religious inconsistency and contradiction, he or she is ill-prepared to read the revelations of this work.

The last-quoted entry concludes as follows:

"During my illness I received a letter from Mr. Fairbanks at Columbus, informing me that the Senate had subscribed for two hundred copies of our proposed new edition of the Statutes, and that the House of Representatives would probably concur. The resolution, however, failed in the House by one or two votes, and was amended afterward by reducing the number to one hundred, and then passed."

The work so referred to is a splendid monument of Chase's talents, tastes, and toils. I do not speak of it in terms of eulogy. I have often, at the bar or on the bench, had occasion to examine it critically. It is unsurpassed in its department.

It presents, moreover, a preliminary sketch of the *History of Ohio*—a sketch fitly foreshadowing the fine argument in the Vanzandt case, in relation to the Ordinance of 1787.

The entry of January 21, 1833, is one of the most suggestive in the diary. It reads as follows:

"Rose this morning without any strong consciousness of the presence and government of God—dressed and breakfasted—after break-

fast retired to my chamber; read the Scriptures and prayed. Went to my office. Several friends called to congratulate me on my recovery, and Mr. Horton, a young member of the bar, well informed, of fine natural endowments, and of prepossessing appearance and manners, who has left a good practice in the smoky city of Pittsburg, to come and settle among us, returned a call I made on him some days since.

"I read Judge Ware's opinion on assignment, lately pronounced in the District Court of Maine. The Courts seem to be setting their faces against preferences effected through assignments; but will it avail any thing to cut off one head of the Hydra? Partially arranged our library; returned homeward. The acquaintances I met on the streets seemed glad to see me once more abroad; on my way home, called on Mrs. King, and thanked her for the kindness she showed me during sickness; dined and returned to my office. Completed the arrangement of our library, a tedious and laborious business. Mr. Cope called and conversed a good while. Read article in the *American Jurist* on the mistakes of the *Westminster Review*; returned home, took tea; heard Helen's lesson in French; studied the history of the Federal Convention, preparatory to a lecture on that subject; commenced an examination of the Ohio Reports, with a view to a new edition of the Statutes of the State, which I am to edit; studied the New Testament half an hour; reviewed the occurrences of the day—found a lamentable forgetfulness of God's presence, goodness, and providence, and shall now, after prayer, retire to bed. 11 P. M."

On the 22d of the same month, Mr. Chase received notification of membership in the Hamilton County¹ Agricultural Society, the meetings of which were held on the first Saturdays of March, June, September, and December. Doubtless, he who wrote that article on the *Effects of Machinery*—so important to the cultivation as well as to fabrication—and who had taken part of his own various culture as a farmer's boy—took lively interest in thought, at least, in agriculture.

Here is an entry of quite different interest:

"April 27. I heard, to-day, that I had had a violent quarrel with a gentleman of my acquaintance. There was not a word of truth in the story; but it had been sent into circulation by some forger of slanders, and had, by this time, I know not how many indorsers. I mentioned the thing to the gentleman concerned, who was amused by the tale, though displeased by its circulation.

"In the evening, heard Rev. Mr. Peabody lecture at the Mechanics' Institute—lecture extempore, without much preparation. The Institute has done, and is doing, much good. More than a hundred scholars are receiving instruction in various branches of useful

¹ The county in which lies Cincinnati.

knowledge. They pay three dollars a year, which money goes to increase the funds of the Institution. The best teachers in the city render gratuitous services in instructing, every evening, all who will come.

"After the lecture, I called on Mr. Townsend, and had a long talk, principally interesting to myself alone.

"In the afternoon, Mr. G—— invited me to join his party in riding. Declined the invitation and rode with Longworth and Mr. Young. Met Mr. G——'s party while out."

This Mr. G—— was, doubtless, Mr. Garniss, father of Catherine Jane Garniss, destined to be the first wife of our hero.

The next entry reads as follows :

"Attended Dr. Beecher's church—sermon by Dr. Beecher on the *Christian Character*. Text, 'Except ye be converted and become as little children, ye shall, in no case, enter the kingdom of Heaven.' The Christian sustains a filial relation to God, and must discharge the duties and possess the feelings belonging to that relation. The child has no separate interest from its parents—is careful of their honor; resents aspersions on their characters; reposes implicit trust in their wisdom; obeys, unhesitatingly, their commands; regards them with affectionate love, and resorts to them with confidence in every difficulty. So feels, so acts, a Christian toward his God.

"To-day, I have been at Dr. Colby's and Mrs. Foote's. Mr. Young came in before church.

"I have read an *Essay on the Progress of Society*."

Then follows the account of the essay.

April 28 is marked by this memorandum :

"Called to see J. Longworth in the evening—spent an hour and a half in chat—then went to the fair—spent about five dollars—attended Helen to Mrs. Foster's—come home."

The 29th by this :

"Rose at six o'clock—read newspapers—attended to the preparation of the Statutes till dinner—wrote to Judge Turner requesting information as to the history of the territory etc.—prepared case for Supreme Court—called on Longworth—coming away called back by E.—— C.———came to the door—retired—returned, brought me glass of water—conversed awhile—good night—went to see Helen—gave her money—called on Miss G.—returned home—went to bed unwell."

The interest deepens ; that Miss G. was Catherine Jane Garniss.

April 30, with May 1, furnishes this record :

"After breakfast, said to Mr. G., that if Miss G. would like to at-

tend the May Day exhibition of Miss Hentz's pupils, I should be happy to attend her. She assented, and we went on horseback. The exhibition took place on a dusty side-hill, over which a few bushes were sparsely scattered. An arbor was provided to screen the throne from the ardor of the blazing sun. Thither the elected queen was conducted, and crowned. Several addresses was then delivered—some good—some bad, and some indifferent. We came home under a broiling sun, and agreed upon a ride in the evening by moonlight.

"In the meantime, I was busy professionally. At six we started—ten in company—four ladies and six gentlemen. *I abominate large parties.* The dust was intolerable, and the sultry air was almost suffocating. The party generally, however, was in fine spirits. For myself, I felt languid and unwell, and said little, nor said that little well. I was reproached for my dullness, but reproaches had no effect on me. Having at length arrived at home, I took tea at Mr. Garniss's rooms."

That was at the Pearl Street House, the hotel of the *bon ton* at that time, where our hero had his domicile.

The diary continues:

"Thence proceeded to Mr. Edmunds' wedding. Found bride and groom walking on the pavement. Joined them, and chatted awhile—Went into the house—chatted awhile—Came home, and went to bed. *Must think more and eat less to-morrow.*

May 2 has this entry:

"Meant to call on Edmunds and Miss Elliott this morning, but did not—Went to Clerk's office and examined docket—Spent some time, after return, upon the new edition of the Statutes—Mr. — called. In the afternoon, read a few pages of Reports, and took notes—Read a little miscellaneous—Called on J. Longworth—talked half an hour, principally on the effect of the affections on the happiness and true glory of human life. Saw the young ladies but a moment at the gate. E. Miller and his sister were conversing with them—Called on Miss Cassilly, spent an hour—Came home, and now, after having read something in the Word, and having commended myself to the keeping of my Greatest and best and only true friend, I shall lay down to sleep."

The next day is thus accounted for:

"Rose rather late—Attended to making a report of bank business—Was engaged for awhile on the Statutes—Went to Court in the afternoon—Judges Lane and Wright. Called to see Longworth—found him almost well—Saw Miss E.—Miss C. indisposed. Called on the Judges—Spent an hour and a half very agreeably. Called at Mr. G's. room—heard, as usual, a little slander. Came home."

May 4 affords the following :

"Made out and presented Report to Bank United States. Wrote to Mr. Peters asking his kind offices in reference to an arrangement proposed with the Bank—Wrote to Mr. Swann, to inquire whether any law of the territory has probably been lost—In the afternoon, wrote to Judge Pease [and] to Mr. James, of Urbana—Bought some Psalms and Hymns of Corey & Fairbank—After tea called at Mr. Foote's."

The next day has this self-reproachful record :

"I have this day deviated very far from the paths in which a Christian should walk on the Sabbath. In the morning, after my usual devotional exercises, and the cursory perusal of a chapter in the Bible, I went to breakfast. The morning of the day of rest had awakened no fitting sentiments of grateful love in my bosom, nor did the bounties which spread the board have that effect. After breakfast, I read a Review of Chatham's Letters and a sermon by Doctor Beecher. The first was badly chosen employment for a holy day. The second was good, and, I hope, did me good. After this, I went to church with my sister. Mr. Root preached, but I listened so negligently that I do not even remember the subject of his sermon.

"After this, I went to dine with Mr. Cope. No other person was invited, and, *as I have no other than a boarding-house*, I did not scruple to accept the invitation, but, instead of directing the conversation to suitable topics, I suffered myself to fall into worldly and frivolous talk, without bearing on any thing good. After dinner, I went to church. Dr. Beecher preached on the unreasonableness of unbelief. After the sermon, the communion was administered. I did not participate, having never communed in a Presbyterian church.

"After church, I accompanied Judge Lane to his room where, after some thing said on matters connected with religion, the conversation took a literary and political turn. From the Judge's room I went to tea—thence to my brother-in-law's, and thence to my room, having spent a Sabbath as unprofitably and as sinfully as I have done for years. May the Lord pardon me, and arm [me] with sufficient resolution to avoid such conduct in future."

Is not that a strange self-accusation? One would think that day well spent.

May 7 has this record :

"This morning I arose with very serious reflections and earnest determination to act with more system and consistency than have marked my conduct of late. After breakfast I walked to the Court-house, where I remained about an hour. I then came home, and furnished some copy to the printer, and spent a little time on the book. I then went to dinner. After dinner I worked awhile; then called on Mr. Jenks; thence went to Mr. G's room, where I was cheated of time till sundown. After tea, I called at Mr. Longworth's, whence I have just returned."

The entry under date of May 11 has this purport :

"Aroused this morning by an alarm of fire—Rose and went to the window—It was raining, but a broad, red glare was spread over the north-west quarter of the city. Not belonging to any fire company, I returned to my bed, and remained there for an hour; then rose, dressed, walked, and bathed. After breakfast, read a book of Milton—P. L., a chapter in the N. T——, then called on Judge Lane, and invited him to accompany me to church. He declined, and I went alone.

"Dr. Beecher preached a plain and very powerful sermon. His object was to show that no man who will not *now* repent and be converted has the slightest reason to hope that he ever will. He enforced this topic by arguments drawn from experience and Scripture with great earnestness and force."

Whoever heard Lyman Beecher as often as I heard him can appreciate that tribute. Full of errors, this father of the most distinguished of the Beecher name, did not a little mischief in his day. His *Plea for the West* was full of patriotic bias and religious bigotry. But he was truly a great man and as good, at heart, as he was great. I heard him often, and I always felt that I was listening to one of the most earnest spirits that ever uttered a sermon. Chase continues :

"He said he did not wish his hearers to resolve that hereafter they would become Christians. He wanted to sever that strongest of the cords of sin. He wanted to show that neither the promises of God, nor the analysis of moral government, nor the experience of men, justified any reliance upon resolutions of future obedience. While men delay, habit strengthens and ties multiply, and, by and by, the sinner will struggle, but he can't get loose. I listened to the greater part of the sermon with much attention, and hope it will be blessed to my soul."

On the 18th, he recorded only that he "sent preceipe for sundry executions in favor of B. U. S. to Columbus."

As brief is the record of the 20th. It runs :

"Wet and covered with mud on a ride."

The next day he recorded as follows :

"Was much amused by the following passage from the '*Malade Imaginaire*' of Molière : 'Mais sur toute chose, ce qui me plait en lui, et en quoi il suit mon exemple, c'est qu'il s'attache aveuglément¹ aux opinions de nos anciens, et que jamais il n'a voulu com-

¹ So in the original.

prendre, ni écouter les raisons et les expériences des prétendues découvertes de notre siècle,¹ touchant la circulation du sang, et autres opinions de la même facine.”²

In my eyes, this piece of pleasantry assumes a melancholy—nay, a mournful interest, when I consider it as foreshadowing some passages in the same diary, showing how, according to the hero of this work, the healing art fearfully blundered in bleeding to death—but let us not anticipate that horror.

There is a business memorandum, under date May 22. The next entry, dated August 2, reads as follows :

“The following shows the mortality in Cincinnati from the first of — up to this time, from cholera and other diseases: 1st week, June, 24; 2d week, June, 48; 3d week, June, 43; 4th week, June, 40. 1st week, July, 42; 2d week, July, —; 3d week, July, —; week ending July 23, 99; week ending July 30, 122.”

The next entry, dated August 7, is a memorandum of a letter to Hamilton Smith, as follows :

“Reply to his of July 25th or thereabouts—New edition of Statutes—Loan of money—Advice and promises as to settlement in Cincinnati—Cholera—Drs. Smith and Staughton victims—Remembrances, etc.”

The next is a memorandum of a letter to W. F. Chase and Nathan Guilford, as follows :

“To W. F. C., stating causes why Helen did not come to Lockport; and giving general counsel. To N. G., inclosing notes for several friends at the Yellow Springs—State of health improving in town, etc.”

The next, dated August 8, is a memorandum of a letter to T. Swann, as follows :

“Letter—Introduction of Mr. Thal—Foreigners—Cholera in the West—Inquiries for Miss Cabell—Reminiscences—Mr. Wirt’s fam-

¹ So accented in the original.

² So in the original. Perhaps it may be well, with reference to some readers to English, these words. I give this off-hand version: “But, above every thing, that which pleases me in him, and in which he follows my example, is that he attaches himself blindly to the opinions of our ancients, and that he has never been willing to comprehend or even to hear the reasons and the experiences of the pretended discoveries of our age, touching the circulation of the blood and other opinions of the same fashion.”

ily—Mr. Swann's family—Miss Maxey and Collins Lee—Rectification of mistake about answer of letter from Fredericksburg."

Omitting several entries of no interest I next offer the following:

"Nov. 20. To rise at half past six—Not done—Breakfast moderately—Ful'd¹—Read newspapers—Ful'd—Finish brief B. & R. ads. B. C. & W.—Get letter-book and judgment-book from C. & F.—Dine sparingly—Look over docket and arrange cases—Tea—Hear Bishop McIlvaine—Wrote Agricultural Address—Read—Bed."

Next we have:

"Dec. 3. Did not leave the house till after breakfast; then went to the office, and, before I had occasion to leave it, Smith came. I walked with him toward the court-house. He left me, and I went alone. After remaining a few moments at the C. H., I returned, and was encountered by several Dutchmen, by whose business I was obliged to return to the C. H. After spending some time in examining papers in the clerk's office, I returned to my office, and was closely occupied till dark. In the course of this day I lost my specs. I am confident I had them in the morning. I went nowhere in the morning before seeing Smith, except to the post-office. When I went to the C. H., I think I did not have them. They must have been mislaid, then, either at the office or at home before I left the house.

The next entry is a memorandum of a letter to Hamilton Smith showing borrowing of that gentleman's credit on commercial paper, and referring to the proposed taking of a debtor, on *capias*, in Indiana.

The next entry must close this chapter. It is long, but it is full of interest to this whole volume. It is of this tenor:

"February 8, 1834. I awoke this morning, and remembered that the day belonged to God, and gratefully acknowledged the benevolence which provided a special season for thought on eternal things. I felt resolved that the day should be more appropriately employed than my Sundays have lately been.

"At about seven I rose, and dressed and breakfasted sparingly. After breakfast I returned to my room and read, but with little attention, a chapter in Romans. I then offered my thanksgivings for past mercies, and supplications for needed aids and blessings, to the great All-Giver. I then put my Bible in my pocket, and went to my office. An accidental reference had determined me to read the book of Deuteronomy, and I occupied the hours till church time in

¹ Fulfilled, no doubt.

reading the first chapters. I was much affected by what I read, and, I hope, instructed. The perversity and punishment of the Israelites, their peculiar privileges, their singular institutions, the earnest prayer of Moses that he might be permitted to enter the promised land, and his final exclusion, affected and interested me. I thought I would look into Milman's *History of the Jews*, to see how he treats these matters, and, to procure the book, went up to Mr. Perkins' office.

"While there, I conversed principally on secular topics.

"At length I went to church. When near Dr. Beecher's, I met Mr. G——, and went with him to hear Mr. Lynde. The sermon was indifferent. The style was low, the ideas, sometimes, ludicrous, and seldom impressive. On the whole, it was far below Mr. L's average. Leaving the church, I walked home with Mr. G. In conversation with him, and afterwards, I fell into the common fault of dwelling chiefly upon the defects of the sermon without adverting at all to the instructive thoughts thrown out in it.

"At Mr. G's, I found Mr. H. sitting with Mrs. G. She had *Bulwer's England and the English* in her hand. We conversed on ordinary topics. Miss G. remarked on the eccentricity of Mr. H., and mentioned a striking instance. She also told me that she had dreamed of me last night; that we were together at Mr. Longworth's; that I perceived a drop of water on her cheek, and, attempting to wipe it off, discovered that she was rouged; that I upbraided her with deception; that she declared it was the first time that she had ever used paint, but that I would [not] believe her; that, finally, after endeavoring in vain to restrain her feelings, she burst into tears, and actually sobbed so violently that her mother heard her, and came into the room and awakened her, when they both laughed heartily at the incident.

"After sitting about half an hour, I declined an invitation to dine, and went over to Mr. Longworth's. Here I was kindly and cordially greeted. Miss E., who had been sick for the past week, came into the room. After we were seated at the dinner-table, Mr. Jones came in, and introduced Gen. Clarke. This gentleman resides far up the Missouri, between the State of that name and the Rocky Mountains. He was attired in a brown hunting shirt, which opened a little upon the breast. It was furnished with a small cape which was copiously fringed. A quantity of fringe also lined the back of the sleeve, from the shoulder to the wrist. The skirts were also fringed. The whole was confined to the body by a crimson sash, which was tied at one side, and the ends hung down to the thigh. The whole dress was extremely picturesque, and the whole expression of the old veteran highly interesting.

"He was asked if there was a post-office in his neighborhood, and answered, with perfect *naïveté* that there was one about a hundred miles off, to which he sent twice a month. He described several peculiar plants and flowers, and proved as interesting in conversation as he was in appearance.

"After dinner, I went to church. Dr. Beecher preached. His subject was the urgent necessity and the best adapted means of moral and religious culture. He dwelt with great force upon the

inadequacy of mere intelligence to the salvation of the nation. Enlightened Greece had gone down. Rome, who borrowed her light, had perished. America, too, must perish unless she improved upon their example. He adverted to the various devices of corrupting influence—the influence of infidel publications and organized infidel exertion; the struggles of papacy to establish an influence in the West; the tide of European emigration, augmented by existing agitations, and the theatre and other amusements of the same class. He then adverted to the change of condition in the country from the time when every thing was regulated in law, to the time when every thing must be accomplished by associated effort, and declared himself glad of the change. He then spoke of the means of renovation of infant schools, Sunday schools, Bible societies, etc; declared them to be ample, if rightly managed, and concluding by urging upon his hearers the duty of active personal effort.

"After the sermon, I went to my brother-in law's, where I took tea. Thence I returned to my office, read Robert Hall on the *Excellency of the Christian Dispensation*, and wrote these lines."

CHAPTER XV.

RETROSPECT—COMPARISON OF CHASE AND WIRT—WIRT'S DEATH—
CHASE'S FIRST MARRIAGE.

NO mention has yet been made of a letter, written on the 11th of November, 1831, by William Wirt to Mr. Chase. The whole letter I have never seen. That only extracts from it are given in Kennedy's *Life of Wirt*¹ is, at least so far as the present work is concerned, to be regretted. It appears to have been a long letter.

Kennedy suppressed Wirt in more than one instance where suppression seems to have been at least of doubtful propriety. For example, referring to a fragment of autobiography, running over the first ten years of Wirt's childhood, the fastidious biographer remarks:

"I shall select from these reminiscences what I find useful to my present purpose, without venturing to submit the whole to the eye of the public. They dwell upon incidents which, however grateful in the telling to that affectionate circle to whom the memoir was addressed, and who could find in it a thousand memories of family endearment, would, I am fearful, be considered as too trivial to excite the interest of those who are strangers to the genial spirit and household mirthfulness of the writer. Even for the extracts which I may submit, I must deprecate, on this score, the too rigid criticism or fastidious comment of my reader—asking him to remember that a father, discoursing to his children assembled around their own hearth, on topics which derive their agreeable savor from their love to him, may claim a dramatic privilege from the critic, to have his performance judged by its adaptation to the scene, the time, the place, and the persons."²

Taking into consideration the position of Mr. Chase, in 1849, when that work was published, every line of the letter written to him, as we have seen, would have had, in addition to its interest as relating to Mr. Wirt, a special interest in its relation to the person to whom it was addressed. Is there not reason to suspect that Mr. Kennedy's feelings as a partisan had something to do with his

¹ Vol. II, 311.² Vol. I, p. 17.

giving only extracts from that letter? Perhaps not. He seems to have had a most imperfect notion of the due minuteness of biography. The Wirt he has portrayed was not exactly the true one, though in spite of his suppressions, one can form at least a pretty fair conception of the character in question. Here a very different policy has been pursued, throughout.

The letter referred to was in relation to the presidential candidature of the man from whose pen it emanated. Of that candidature it is difficult to speak without offense either to Masons or to anti-Masons. It was as an anti-Mason that William Wirt was a candidate for the Presidency.

Writing to Rev. Mr. Blanchard, on the 18th of November, 1868, an already-quoted letter, Chief Justice Chase expressed himself as follows:

"I am neither Mason nor anti-Mason. My father was a Mason, and I always supposed the order did a great deal of good in their way. I have never studied the subject."

I can not say that I have never studied the subject; but I can say I always supposed the Free Masons did a great deal of good in their way.

On the 11th of November, 1831, then, Mr. Wirt wrote to Mr. Chase, then a young Cincinnati lawyer, a letter which contained these words, with others:

"I am perfectly aware, with you, that I have none of the captivating arts and manners of professional seekers of popularity. I do not desire them. I shall not change my manners; they are a part of my nature. If the people choose to take me as I am—well. If not, they will only leave me where I have always preferred to be, enjoying the independence of private life. They may make some rents in my garments in the meantime, but they will make none, I hope, in my peace of mind."

How highly he who wrote those words appreciated the esteem of the young man to whom he wrote, appears in the following paragraph of the same letter:

"You have now the whole case before you, and I thought it due to the friendship you have always professed for me, to state it at large. I will not embarrass you with the question, whether you approve my course or not. It is enough for me, that my own conscience approves it, and that I do not believe that it is condemned in heaven."

That Chase was not induced to follow Wirt, in this respect, is not surprising. His own father, we have already seen, had been a Mason. And the country generally seems to have considered, that the party of the anti-Masons was not called for by the welfare of the people. We have seen that such men as Greeley and Seward may be named among the anti-Masons of that day; but we have also seen that the only vote carried for Wirt was Vermont.

To Chase, in the letter already quoted, Wirt explained that, considering the strength of the anti-Masons and the rapidity with which their party was increasing, he saw that unless their nomination could be secured for Mr. Clay, he, Clay, could not be elected. Wirt proceeded to say:

"Mr. Clay was the choice of my district, and I had been deputed by it as a delegate to the National Republican Convention, whose object I understood to be to confer on the selection of a suitable candidate, giving the preference to Mr. Clay, if found that he would be strong enough to displace General Jackson; and if not, to prefer any one else who could secure to us that result."

When Mr. Wirt so wrote to Mr. Chase there is reason to believe that there was an understanding between the writer and the receiver of that letter that the life of Wirt should be written by the already practiced pen of Chase.¹ I have already offered part of that evidence; I now present another part. A letter-book of our hero contains this memorandum:

"CINCINNATI, February 27, 1835.

"A letter of friendship—general remarks—Congratulation to William on his planter life—Henry and Dabney fitting for college—Miss Cabell and Mr. Daniel—*Difficulties in the way of my writing biography of Mr. Wirt*—Suggest Mr. Kennedy—Affectionate remembrances—Suggest ideas as to publication of Mr. W's works—2 vols., oct., not quite—Opinions, arguments, and speeches to be included—Old works also and letters chronologically arranged, etc., etc.

"To C. G. Wirt, Wirtland, Florida."

Among the difficulties in the way of Mr. Chase were some which he may or may not have recognized, but which he would hardly have felt free to state fully in that letter.

I congratulate my readers and myself that the author of this work was never so intimate with its hero as the latter was with William Wirt. I congratulate the readers of this work that it is not written

Ante, Introduction.

by a person who was ever intimate with the surviving relatives of its hero as was Salmon Portland Chase with the surviving relatives of William Wirt. I have, indeed, no doubt that the surviving relatives of Wirt would have been entirely well disposed toward the work of Chase had he gone forward, as he purposed. All they would have *consciously* desired, if I may so express myself, would have been a faithful narrative and a true portraiture. But whoever has read Sir Joshua Reynolds on the subject of likenesses must remember what that writer so well says about the perils of the painter that allows himself to take suggestions from the near relatives and friends of the sitter. I admire and love the Wirts, although I have spoken with but one survivor of the family. I seem to have known them, to have lived beneath their roof, to have heard the ringing laugh of the father, to have learned the language of the flowers from the mother; to have assisted at their family concerts; surely, then, what I am saying here is not intended to disparage them or any of them. Yet I have no doubt that Chase would have been, and that Mr. Kennedy actually was, greatly embarrassed by intimacy with the members of that household.

Perhaps, there is no reason to suppose that Chase, in abandoning the design of writing Wirt's life, was influenced by the consideration, that he had been so intimate with Wirt and his household. Yet it seems to me at least that that consideration must have come to trouble him had he made progress in the work referred to.

How could he have painted Wirt as the latter was in his days of free drinking? How could he have done justice to the first love and first marriage of his hero? There is, indeed, perfect proof that the second wife of William Wirt was tenderly, devotedly beloved by her genial husband; that she was to him an object of esteem as well as affection; that his admiration of her was, indeed, unbounded. How he loved the children that she bore him it would be impossible to intimate. And yet the love and admiration that he had for her, his love and admiration of her and his children, could not annihilate the fact that his first love was not she—that his first wife was not named Elizabeth but Mildred. How could Salmon Portland Chase have done justice to that fact?

Examination of the manner in which Mildred's memory was disposed of by the pen of Mr. Kennedy, though the latter never had been intimate as Chase had been with the Wirt family, may at least

aid discerning readers to work out the proper answer to the question just suggested.

But the theme is painful. Let me proceed at once to the statement that a year and a few days had already passed since the death of him who made the name of Wirt illustrious. Mr. Chase, an actively employed young lawyer, lived at Cincinnati, far from the surviving relatives of his deceased friend and preceptor. That he had begun to gather materials for the contemplated biographic work, is probable. An entry, dated June 17, 1834, shows that, on that day he wrote to Fielding Lucas, of Baltimore, for "Wirt's Speeches, etc.;" but it is also probable that the assemblage of materials at Cincinnati proved to be almost impossible.

The work which he gave up was finally done, as he suggested that it should be, by John P. Kennedy, who was, like himself and like the subject of the work, a so-called "literary lawyer." But I have found in Tuckerman's *Life of Kennedy* this extract from a diary of Mr. K.:

"December 24, 1843. Some time ago Mrs. Wirt deposited a large number of papers containing the correspondence, etc., of her late husband, Wm. Wirt, with Mr. J. Q. Adams, who had undertaken to write a biography and edit these papers. After retaining the collection for some time, Mr. Adams was obliged, very reluctantly, as he told me, to decline the enterprise. The family have since committed it to me, and I have accepted. The papers are all in my possession, and I have just begun to review them. I hope to make some volumes of good stuff. Mr. Wirt was a very kind and intimate friend of mine, which alone would prompt me to this duty. But he was a man of a very rich character, of various interesting qualities, and passed a life of attractive incident, out of which a most engaging biography may be made.

"My plan is not yet adjusted, but if the correspondence and other remains will enable me to present a narrative in which these may be interwoven, I shall prefer that form. Some few hours labor a day ought to enable me to get this work before the public in the course of the year. I shall try."

No doubt, he did try. But his health was bad, and his appreciation of his task remarkably imperfect. In point of fact, the biography, already so inexcusably delayed, did not appear till 1849, about fifteen years after the death of Wirt. The truth is, Kennedy was a fine writer, and a good citizen; but certainly he was a bad biographer.

Of this, however, I have thought fit to speak farther in the chap-

ter noticing the qualifications of our hero as a judge, as affected by his indebtedness to Wirt as his legal

"Guide, philosopher, and friend."¹

I now invite farther attention to the obligations of this volume to one of the most interesting documents furnished me by Chief Justice Chase. I mean his letter-book, beginning with November 19, 1833, The first copy of a letter is signed C. & C., and is in the handwriting of Mr. Chase, as, indeed, is most of the matter in the book. Nothing can be happier than the style and diction of these letters, viewed as business papers.

Here is a letter of special interest, dated November 30, 1833, addressed to Booz M. Atherton, New Philadelphia:

"CINCINNATI, *November 30, 1833.*

"DEAR SIR:—Some time since I received a letter from my uncle, Bishop Chase, informing me that he had directed you to commence suit against the Trustees of Kenyon College for one thousand dollars, given by him on condition that it should be expended in the erection of a house for his accommodation and under his direction, and requesting me to aid you in the management of the cause before the C. C. U. S. Please let me know what you have done in this and the other business of the bishop. I shall attend the C. C. at the ensuing term, and shall be at Columbus in two weeks. I shall be glad to hear from you before I go or while there.

"Yours, etc.,

"S. P. C."

Several of the other business letters contain such words as these:

"You may rely upon our attention to your interests. You will confer a favor on us by making the circular on the third page known to as many of your friends as convenient. We shall always be happy to receive any orders from them or yourselves in the way of our profession, and remain, etc."²

Here is the memorandum of another letter, indicating proper attention by our hero to his own advancement:

¹ Post, Chapter LI.

² Solicitation of professional employment is not always direct. It is often indirect. It is not always at once bold and modest; it is often sneaking and apparently almost too humble to make its wishes known. There was no cant, no sham, no flam, about our hero. What he was he seemed, and what he seemed he was. What he desired he plainly showed that he desired.

"CINCINNATI, *January 27, 1834.*

"This was a letter requesting him [Hon. Sam. F. Vinton, M. C., Washington City] to use his influence to procure for me the appointment of visitor to West Point at the next examination, and thanking him for his favorable opinion of my historical sketch."

This was the already mentioned historical sketch, prefixed to Chase's Revision of the Ohio Statutes.

A letter, dated January 31, 1834, addressed to Rev. M. T. C. Wing, related to the claim of Bishop Chase on Kenyon College. It concluded :

"Will you have the goodness to submit the whole matter, together with this letter, to Bishop McIlvaine, to whom I beg you to present my assurances of high veneration and regard."

The next is to Bishop Chase himself, and refers to the Wing letter.

Now we come to the most delicate and difficult undertaking of this work. It is now necessary to speak of the first marriage of the hero.

The diary from which I have drawn so often is less particular in its account of Miss Garniss than is another document, furnished me by the Chief Justice.

One of the most touching things I know about him is the tender care with which he preserved memorials of his first love and his first marriage and of the death of his first wife. Of the second wife also there are very interesting notices in my possession ; but it was of the first wife only that he put at my disposal separate memorials.

Let no rash inference be drawn from that. For my part, I draw none whatever, in this work or elsewhere, without taking into consideration that any inference of that description may be very false. I never even thought of trying, here, to measure how much love the hero gave to this wife or to that. No such measurement is possible. But it seems quite safe to say that the death of the first wife was so peculiar—in a sense, so tragical—that the sorrow for it colored all the days of the after-life of him whose griefs and joys engage our thoughts throughout this work.

Among the most precious of the documents confided to me is one entirely distinct from the register so often quoted. I found it tied up with other memorials of the first love and the first marriage of our hero. It is in appearance a mere memorandum-book, leather covered. The entries are partly in penciling and partly in ink.

Here is one of them :

"The first time I ever saw Miss Garniss was at the house of M. P. Cassilly. I had just returned from the Eastern States, whither I had been on a visit to my friends and relatives. It was, I think, in the month of November, 1831. I was paying a morning visit to Miss Mary Cassilly when Miss Garniss came in. Her appearance did not please me. I thought her features large and her face plain. I had little conversation with her, and have no recollection of that little."

Let me introduce, just here, an extract from a letter written to me in the interest of this work, by my distinguished friend, General Thomas Kilby Smith, one of the most meritorious of our citizen-soldiers, during the civil war. That letter contains these words :

"His first wife, Miss Garniss, I retain a vivid recollection of. She was one of the most brilliant and beautiful women of the West. Her carriage and bearing were superb, at the period of their marriage, while he was awkward and ungainly in person. It was some years after that his person filled out, and gave him the august presence and dignity of bearing so admirable. His hands were delicate, and soft as a woman's."

Chase himself continues:

"Not long after this, I was invited to a party, on Front Street, at Mr. Henry Emerson's, whose niece, Miss Mary Smith, had recently arrived in the city from New England. I asked the favor of being permitted to escort Miss Cassilly, and it was arranged that a party should go from her house. At the appointed hour, Miss Garniss, with her father and one or two young gentlemen, came in, and we all went together.

"Shortly after, or perhaps before this, I called on Miss Garniss, at Mr. Hamilton's, with Mr. Young. She received us very politely. I conversed a little with her. I can not recollect the subjects of conversation, but I believe we talked a little about books. I remember that Miss Garniss sat almost in front of the door into the hall, about one-third of the distance from the door to the fire-place. The impressions then made upon me were favorable.

"I had, at this time, I know not how, taken up an impression that the Garniss family were pretenders to style, and were ambitious to lead the fashions here. My idea of Miss Garniss was that she was an affected and shallow girl—with little real delicacy or refinement of character. Oh! how mistaken was I in this estimate! How vastly did I underrate her! What genuine delicacy and depth of feeling, what devotedness and self-sacrifice, did she afterward evince!

"I do not remember—yes I do—I did see her again that winter. It was on New Year's Day. I was coming out of a house on Broadway—I think Mr. Lawler's or Mrs. Wood's. A large sleigh, drawn by four fine horses, stopped at the door, and a half dozen

laughing, merry girls came dancing into the house. Among them, and most conspicuous, was Miss Garniss. She looked beautiful. Her countenance was full of animation, and she moved along with light and elastic tread. I merely bowed to her as she passed me; but I frequently saw that party of sleigh-riders in the streets that day, and never without a feeling of half regret that I was not among them.

"I do not remember that I saw her again that winter. She went to New Orleans in February, where she reigned as a belle, for a season, and then returned to Cincinnati. The family, on their return, took lodgings at the Broadway House. I do not remember seeing her during the spring. Early in the summer she went to the White Sulphur Springs, of Virginia, whither I also had a strong inclination to go, and talked of so doing with Mr. Armstrong. I did not, however, go. When Miss Garniss returned from the Springs, her family took lodgings at the Cincinnati Hotel. Here also, for a short time, lodged Mr. and Mrs. and Miss Carlton, of New Orleans. I called on Miss Carlton several times—never on Miss Garniss. Miss Carlton, at this time, was the affianced bride of my friend, Thomas Swann.

"In the fall of 1832, while Miss Carlton was in Cincinnati, Miss Ruhamah Pike was married to Mr. Kenner, of New Orleans. I was at the wedding party, and so was Miss Garniss. I merely remember speaking to her. I have a vague idea of her personal appearance then, but it floats in my mind like mist. Nothing is distinct. Miss Carlton was at this party, and I paid much attention to her. She gave me a bouquet of flowers, of which I was silly enough to be vain.

God bless him for that silliness! Our hero was a right lover, was he not? He adds:

"In December, 1832, I was attacked by a violent disease, which nearly terminated my existence. Shortly after my recovery, Dr. Colby was taken ill, and my cousin Dunbar and myself, who then boarded together at Dr. Colby's, were compelled to seek new lodgings. Dunbar went to Mrs. Eaton's. I went to the Pearl Street House—sometime late in January or early in February—a new establishment which had been opened the preceding spring, and was then kept by Dexter & Alexander. Dexter afterward died of cholera, as did also one of his daughters, soon after child-birth. Mr. Garniss and his family also, at this time, boarded at the Pearl Street House; and I had not been there long before I called at his rooms. I found Kitty and her mother seated at the table, and Kitty was engaged in animated conversation with a Mr. Warfield. I was much pleased with her this evening, and repeated my visits frequently. One evening, when we were sitting at the table together, talking of I know not what—but trifles surely—I wrote on the blank side of a card these lines:

"Young love presided o'er thy birth
And named thee, then, the Queen of Mirth;

While on thy head the smiling Hours
 Placed, fittest crown, a wreath of flowers.
 And oft Love would implore to be
 A dweller in those eyes of thine,
 And oft he promised, nay, he swore,
 Wouldst thou but list to his request,
 That he would be a harmless guest.—But.”

“These lines were slightly altered from some which I had written, three or four years before, for and of a young friend of mine, one of the daughters of Mr. Wirt. Since the death of my dear Kitty I have found the card on which these lines were written. She preserved it from that time. In giving it to her I intended nothing more than a piece of gallantry, the import of which I purposely left doubtful.”

A philosopher in love is apt to be a little diplomatic; but, for all that, Mr. Salmon Portland Chase was thoroughly in love when he performed that “piece of gallantry,” the import of which he purposely left doubtful.

“While I boarded at this place, Mr. Drake and Mr. Bullitt, of Louisville, visited Cincinnati, and a few friends were invited to Mr. G.’s rooms, to meet them. I was charmed this evening by the grace with which she received her visitors. But I was most interested by observing her when standing perfectly quiet, with her fine countenance in repose. Her face then assumed a pensive and almost melancholy expression, which, to me, was extremely interesting. The singing was delightful, and the evening passed pleasantly away. There was a settee, cushioned, on the west side of the room, and I have a vague remembrance of sitting there with my Kitty and having some very pleasant conversation; but it is extremely indistinct.

“At this time, we used to assemble frequently in the parlor of the hotel after tea, and spend some time in conversation. Miss Townsend used to play and sing, sometimes.

“I used to sit near Kitty, at table. On one occasion, she gave me one-half of a double Almond as a Phillipina,¹ and having, at our next meeting, anticipated me in the utterance of the magic word, I gave her a book. It was the *Percy Anecdotes*, and, on a blank leaf, was written: ‘Phillip to Phillipina.’ Some time after this, I gave her half of a double Almond in the same way, and brought her in my debt. I looked with considerable anxiety for the result, hoping that, from the nature of her present, I could gather some idea of the state of her feelings toward me. I hoped that her present would indicate preference. I was disappointed; for, with the maidenly delicacy and propriety which characterized every action of her life, she gave me a blank album. I turned its leaves, hoping to find something written there. There was nothing.

¹ So in the original.

² *Sic.* The authorities give Philopena, or Fillipeen.

"About this time, my friends began to rally me upon my attentions to Miss G., and rumors began to be circulated of our approaching wedding at the Pearl Street House. I had not, however, at this time, any fixed purpose of addressing her, nor do I think that she had learned to regard me in any other light than that of a friend, and, perhaps, that word is too strong.

"Some time about the middle of April, I remember riding out with my dear Kitty, her father, and Mrs. Lawler. I rode with Kitty; Mr. G. rode with Mrs. L. We went down the river, and returned over the hill below Mill Creek. We rode several miles, and, as we were returning, my fair companion and I trotted on rapidly before the rest of our company, until we were induced to diminish our speed by the repeated calls of her father, who now came up, quite heated. He was very severe in the reproof of his daughter, and uncivil in his language to me. I took no notice of it, however, at the time, nor afterward, but I felt it deeply; and, but for my partiality to Miss G., my visits to his family would then probably have ceased."

I can see Mr. Garniss, "in my mind's eye," as he thus misbehaved. He was, at times, a man of far from even temper, far from pleasing manners; nor did he, at any time, I think, inspire profound respect. Yet he was, in effect, a worthy member of society.

It was on the 4th of March, 1834, that, at the house of Mr. John P. Garniss, Salmon Portland Chase and Catherine Jane Garniss were married by Rev. Lyman Beecher.

Mr. Garniss then lived at the south-east corner of Broadway and Fourth street, Cincinnati.

A fanciful biographer would make up, here, a wedding-piece; a pen-picture of great beauty. Marriage is the very top of bliss for the young husband. Erskine has, however, said all that can be said of that felicity. The speech in which he paints the rapture of complete and innocent possession is hardly surpassed in any set of words in the English language.

It was not a little thing to have a husband such as Salmon Portland Chase assuredly was, on the 4th of March, 1834. It was surely no little thing to have such a wife as she who on that happy day bestowed her hand, with her heart in it, on our hero.

My attention has been called to this paragraph, cut from a public print:

"A correspondent of the *Courier-Journal*, who knew intimately Catherine Garniss, the first wife of Chief Justice Chase, sends this incident, *apropos* of the recent prominence which has been given to that lady's name. I knew from her own lips how difficult it was for her to decide to marry Mr. Chase, and shall never forget her apology

for not bringing him to see me on one occasion: 'He is so uncouth, and has such an unmanageable mouth! Wait until I polish him up a little—then I will bring him to you and show him off.' These were her laughing words. They were just married then, and he was scarcely the sort of person to submit to a polishing process. Eighteen months later, she was dead."

The *facts* stated in that paragraph can easily be reconciled with the extract already made from Gen. Smith's letter,¹ and they are quite in harmony with what we have found our hero saying, in the Trowbridge letters, about himself. What is the proper *inference* from them? Is it, that Catherine Jane Chase, of that name the first, did not admire as well as love her devoted husband? Is it that this woman did not see the treasure God had given her in such a husband? Surely, no such inference is warranted. And we shall clearly see, as we proceed, that this wife and this husband very dearly loved each other.

Well! he was not rich in gold and gear. He had not then the charm of person, port, and presence. To a friend his wife could jestingly speak of him as we have seen, without, indeed, expecting that her words should go before the public, long after her departure, as an indication that she did not appreciate her great husband's heart and brain; but who doubts that, when she so jested, she knew well the jewel she would polish? On the other hand, her husband saw in her a very *belle*. Was he not proud of her attachment to the man he felt himself to be, in spite of his then ungainly look and bearing?

Gen. Smith farther says of our hero:

"He had a terrific temper, though under almost perfect control.

"I knew him once alight from his carriage and give a burly teamster a most severe thrashing for unprovoked insult and outrage. Upon another occasion, I saw him kick a powerful man out of his office and down stairs because of some (what he considered) base proposal."

What did Uncle Toby's angel do with that offense of our hero? Ah! this man was very human, after all.

"He was," continues Gen. Smith, "intensely satirical, and of ready wit as a young man."

Perhaps, a little exaggeration marks that sentence. But who

¹ *Ante*, p. 238.

knows better than the writer of that letter? When I first became acquainted with the man whose character I here endeavor to portray, the seal of sorrow had been fixed forever on his face. I did not know his manners before the death of his first wife.

But we must now change the theme. On the 25th of March, 1835, Mr. Chase wrote, in substance, as follows, to his brother, Edward Ithamar, then at Lockport, New York :

"MY DEAR BROTHER:—Why have you not written to me? William proposes to go to St. Louis—Will go with Mr. Wiggins, a man of property, who will introduce him—Hope he will get Mr. W.'s business—needs nothing but care and industry to succeed—Has improved much. His debt will am't to \$750—too much to owe. I propose to remit \$125 each; to get his note to Dr. Colby, indorsed by the Dr. and myself, discounted for the balance. You must guarantee the Dr. Alice will come shortly; her visit has been unpleasant—sorry, but could not help it. Hear nothing from Helen. Love to all.

"Yours, most affectionately,

"S. P. CHASE."

To his father-in-law, Mr. J. P. Garniss, he wrote, March 25, 1835, a letter, which he registers as follows :

"MY DEAR SIR:—Your letter this morning received—answer immediately to meet you in Philadelphia. Ferryboat does well. City elections coming on—several candidates for Mayor. Business reviving. No opposition in bank election. All well, etc. etc."

On the 3rd of April, of the same year, he wrote to Richard Peters, Esq., at Philadelphia, a letter, of which his letter-book gives this abstract :

"Glad to see you intend new edition Chancery Reports; suggest such publication that purchasers can take whole or part; avoid typographical errors; not condense too much. Send prospectus, and I will get subscribers. Respects to Mrs. P. and family."

A letter to Rev. A. Ganills, Georgetown, Kentucky, dated May 8, 1835, reads as follows :

"DEAR SIR:—The time has arrived when an answer must be filed to Bishop Purcell's bill. I have prepared one for you. Shall I send it to you at Georgetown, or shall you visit Cincinnati ere long? I have received Mr. James Denison into partnership. Please address Chase & Denison. Yours, etc.,

"S. P. CHASE."

The next letter speaks of Mr. Denison as a young gentleman.

A letter to Hamilton Smith, Esq., dated May 29, 1835, after disposing of some business matters, thus proceeds:

"The books came, at last, safe to hand. I am much obliged to you for the trouble you have taken in this matter; though I can not say that I am much pleased with my purchase. The books are old and in bad condition; but perhaps this is the case with all Kentucky reports. Cincinnati is going ahead again like a young race-horse recovered from a sprain; how long it will be before another halt, human intelligence can not foresee. My wife is tolerably well, and if she knew of my writing would join in affectionate remembrances. Finish your cottage, and I will come and see you.

"Yours, faithfully,

"S. P. CHASE."

The friendship thus referred to stood always. It is one of the very beautiful things in the life we are following throughout its course.

And it is a thing of which Mr. Smith, the survivor, may well be proud. I know that Mr. Whitelaw Reid, in his *Ohio in the War*, has said, in effect, of Mr. Chase, that while profoundly versed in man, he was profoundly ignorant of men; so that the merest charlatan could deceive him into confidence; and very many instances might be given in apparent justification of that judgment. But, in point of fact, Chase was neither so deep in man nor so shallow in men as that judgment indicates. It is a superficial judgment. But, however that may be, when Mr. Chase had opportunity to study individuals as he had opportunity to study Mr. Smith, he judged as well as most men; and his friends are not to be discredited by the notion that he was profoundly ignorant of men.

Here is a little note that shows that he was not so ignorant of men as he may have seemed. It is most precious to my eyes. It was dated June 3, 1835, and addressed to "Nicholas Longworth, Esq., Present;" and it said to the rich, eccentric, shrewd, but sometimes partially deranged Cincinnati:

"MY DEAR SIR:—I have considered the proposition submitted by you yesterday, and in reference to it say: 1st, that I am much obliged to you for the favorable estimate which the proposition itself implies; and, next, that I do not perceive how I can, consistently with my duties as solicitor of the Agency Office, enter into the proposed arrangement with you. In behalf of the bank, I have been already engaged in one or two suits adversely to you, and may hereafter be employed in more. But, this objection apart, I should hardly feel willing to enter into an arrangement which would devolve upon me the care of your entire business in addition to that

which I now have. My business now, though not so large as I might attend to, perhaps, is yet sufficient for a young lawyer, and increases steadily in a ratio at least as great as my capacity to transact it. I should distrust my ability to fulfill my duties to my present clients and, at the same time, satisfy your just expectations. I must, therefore, decline your offer. Yours, truly,

"S. P. C."

Now this little document establishes, first, the high standing of our hero as a practicing lawyer at the Cincinnati bar, when he was only twenty-seven years of age; and, second, his high principle and character as a professor of the law.

CHAPTER XVI.

CHIEFLY POLITICAL—M'LEAN AND HARRISON—PROFESSIONAL PROGRESS—THE FIRST CHILD.

THIS chapter is devoted chiefly to matter of distinctively political concern. It introduces John McLean and William Henry Harrison—a man distinguished chiefly as a legislator and a man distinguished chiefly as a soldier.

Both of them I saw more than once. I never talked with Harrison. I had more than one conversation with McLean. The person, port, and presence of the latter were quite striking. John McLean was a great man in body, and perhaps in mind. He evidently seemed, at one time, a great man to our hero. I confess, I never found in him much evidence of intellectual magnitude, much evidence of moral grandeur. As for Harrison, he neither seemed nor was a man of intellectual or moral massiveness. He was a worthy citizen, an amiable character, a warm-hearted, ready-handed friend and neighbor; but, I own, beyond that, I could never see in him much to point out for special praise.

Here is, in part, the tenor of a letter, written to Hon. Samuel F. Vinton, February 8, 1835, by Mr. Chase:

"DEAR SIR: You are probably fully informed as to the extent and character of the feeling which exists here in favor of Gen. Harrison as a candidate for the Presidency. As it is extremely desirable, however, that there should be no misapprehension on this point, I have concluded to write you a few lines, in which I shall try to state the exact truth. Where the nomination of Gen. H. originated you probably know better than I do. You could tell, I doubt not, whether it proceeded from the spontaneous combustion of Pennsylvania feeling, or whether the torch that ignited the 'fire in the mountains,' was sent from Ohio. It was received in this quarter coldly. The leading papers barely mentioned it—one in terms of direct censure, the other, Mr. Hammond's, as a measure of doubtful expediency. Some individuals, however, appeared to be delighted by the movement.

"Of these the most conspicuous was Judge Hall, the editor of the

Western Monthly Magazine, and a few others, like himself, formerly attached to the Jackson party, and always inimical to Judge McLean."

The expression "the Jackson party" ought to be considered for a moment.

Mr. Chase as a young man admired Calhoun and Clay, and almost hated Jackson. He considered Jackson, as we have already seen, unworthy of the honors given to him by his countrymen. The so-called democratic party was, to Mr. Chase, as a young man, nothing but a Jackson party—the party of the President. I well remember how the Adams men and Clay men of Cincinnati spoke of Jackson and the Jackson party in the years from 1832 to 1836, inclusively. It was with deepest disdain. The "Jackson party" then appeared to me, and to most of my boy acquaintances, the Devil's own party; and in Jackson I saw only the worst man in the best place.

How Chase afterward regarded Jackson I can not precisely say. I know, however, that the former came to look upon the latter as at least not a mere savage, as not quite a moral monster. There came, indeed, a time¹ when Chase could write of himself as a democrat of the Jackson and Benton school!

The letter to Vinton goes on as follows:

"These gentlemen exerted themselves with so much zeal that meetings were held in Delhi and in Miami, in this county, for the purpose of seconding the 'Pennsylvania nomination.' These meetings were tolerably well attended for county meetings, and passed resolutions which have appeared in print. The great body of the Whigs in the county, and the still greater body of the Jacksonians, remained, however, altogether quiet.

"After these preliminary movements in the country, it was thought expedient to try the experiment of a city meeting. A call was accordingly circulated for signatures. It was signed by about two hundred and fifty persons, some of whom are persons of influence, ability, and respectability. How many signed the call as friends of Gen. Harrison, how many as Whigs willing to deliberate as to the fittest nomination to be made—to see, in short, who was the strongest man—it is impossible to say. I know that one argument used to persons, persuaded to attend, was, that the object of the meeting was not to nominate Gen. Harrison, but to ascertain who was the strongest man. I have no doubt that many attended, in consequence of these representations, whose first choice does not seek Gen. H.

¹ Post, Chapter L.

"On the day of the meeting, about two hundred and fifty persons attended—no more—though the *Chronicle*, a paper advocating the General's pretensions, had asserted that a thousand names would be attached to the call. Of the two hundred and fifty, a considerable number, doubtless, attended from motives of curiosity. Resolutions were adopted and a committee appointed, with Judge Wright as chairman, to draft an address to the people of the United States. Judge Wright was not present at the meeting, and afterward, in the *Daily Gazette*, denied the authority to use his name. The whole thing went off badly. I presume, the address to the people will never be drafted.

"I have thought it my duty to make these statements that you may know how far the military fever prevails here. I am aware that those under its influence, like men affected by other fevers, see with an indifferent vision. But I think my statements are correct in the main. I believe that Judge McLean is the choice of the reflecting men of our party in this quarter, and that the whole party will go for him as soon as he is nominated, in other States or at Washington. In union upon him they see a probability of success which they discern in no other quarter. They see also in his election the period of military rule, of corruption, and of executive encroachment.

"Our friends now look anxiously to Washington. I believe the party as a mass will be for the man there nominated. Mr. Webster has been nominated by Massachusetts. Judge McLean has been nominated by Ohio. No other will probably be brought into the field from the ranks of the Whig party. Let our friends at Washington decide between these gentlemen. Gen. H.'s claims have been named by various primary meetings. Let his claims be also fairly weighed.

"As a very humble individual, deeply interested, nevertheless, in the approaching struggle, in common with all Americans, I feel extremely solicitous that a nomination should be made before Congress rises.

"We have been too long without a rallying point. In a country like ours, we can never carry 'measures' without 'men.' Give us a man as an index of measures tending to the restoration of the country to its former healthful condition—a man not obnoxious to popular prejudice on account of past or present party connections—and he can not fail to succeed.

"I remain most respectfully and

"Most truly yours, etc.,

"S. P. CHASE.

"P. S. You will, of course, see much of Judge Burnet in Washington. He can state to you the result of various attempts made in this county to elect Gen. H. to Congress, and so to the State Legislature, at times when other Whig candidates succeeded. I must add, however, in justice to Gen. H., that he only wishes that the opinions and preference of those by whom he has brought forward should be fairly considered, and that he is prepared to second another nomination, should one be made, with all his influence. In

this he acts with the magnanimity which has always characterized him."

At Cincinnati, February 16, 1835, Mr. Chase wrote as follows to Judge McLean himself:

"DEAR SIR: Some few days since a letter was received in town from Mr. Edward Everett, in which it was stated (as I have been informed by Mr. Walker, who received the letter) that you had expressed to your friends at Washington a determination not to permit yourself to be longer considered as a candidate for the Presidency. This report, coming from such a source, is likely to do injury if it be not true. If it be true, I must regard it as a public misfortune. So long as a hope remains of healing the unhappy division in the ranks of the Whig party, and of saving the country by an united effort, it seems to me that no man is at liberty to withdraw himself from the people."

Here is a characteristic sentiment. Here is a clear indication of our hero's fixed idea as to candidature for the Presidency. Let us not forget it as we pass, from point to point of progress, in these pages.

Mr. Chase went on as follows in that memorable letter:

"In my poor judgment, the grand error of those who think that the government needs reform, lies in this, that any man nominated by the Whigs can succeed. Of consequence, the present is regarded as a favorable opportunity of pushing individual pretensions in the hope of securing this nomination, or of thus reaching the 'golden round.' In the din of this contention, the voice of wisdom is unheard. In the smoke of this great controversy, the great questions at issue are lost sight of. The people come to look upon this contest, not as one about vital principles, but as one about men. Numbers retire in disgust from a party destined to defeat in consequence of divisions among its prominent men. And thus misrule and unconstitutional encroachment are encouraged and perpetuated. How much it is to be wished that the magnanimity which seems to actuate Mr. Calhoun might be imparted to the other distinguished men of the Whig party."

Thus it seems that, as late as 1834, John Caldwell Calhoun was rated by the hero of these pages as a Whig. But Mr. Chase proceeded in this fashion:

"I should for myself be better pleased with Mr. C. did his disclaimer of party connections and personal objects spring from a devotion to the interests of the whole country rather than to those of a particular State; but as it is, I can not but look on him with admiration and delight."

As already intimated, it has been my fancy, sometimes, that in Chase one might consider that the country saw the Calhoun of Free Territory. But the fancy is not sound. Of that hereafter. Mr. Chase continues in his letter to Judge McLean, as follows:

"I write thus freely to you because I believe I possess some measure of your regard, and am unwilling that you should be ignorant of what has been written to this point and to others in respect to your intentions. I wrote some days ago to Mr. Vinton at the instance of some of your friends, giving as impartial account as I could of Harrisonism in this quarter. I think I can not be mistaken in the opinion that Gen. H. is not the choice of any considerable party in Ohio. The late meeting here was thinly attended, and no enthusiasm could be excited. The Whigs can not with consistency support a man for the Presidency on the sole ground of military services. But, I presume, at W——, Gen. H. is not thought of. Judge Burnet expected to be at Washington ere this; but had been confined by indisposition. Your son, under my care, has been very punctual to the office for some time past, and, I think, makes good progress. I should be pleased to hear from you if convenience permits—and to know how the cases of *Beers vs. Houghton*, and the *Bank United States vs. Robert Piatt*, have been decided. Please present to Mrs. McLean my own assurances of great respect and regard, and my wife's love, and believe me, etc.,

"S. P. CHASE."

On this interesting letter it is obvious to remark that it shows at least that its writer, in 1835, when he was twenty-seven years of age, discerned no impropriety in a presidential candidature on the part of a judge of the Supreme Court of the United States. We shall see that in 1868, when he was sixty years of age, and in 1872, when his years had numbered four and sixty, he himself, as Chief Justice of the Union, felt at liberty, if well invited, to become a presidential candidate.

I own that, while, as a general rule, it may be wrong for a judge of the Supreme Court of the United States to seek the Presidency, it appears to me that there are circumstances forming exceptions to this rule; and that the case of Judge McLean as well as our hero's case may well be treated as exceptional.

And now I must present a few words more about our hero's bias and his prejudices as a politician during early manhood. The *Cincinnati American*, of whose date notice has been already taken,¹ contains an editorial, headed *Party Violence*. I have no doubt that it was written by Chase. At least, he preserved it in a scrap-book. It reads as follows:

¹ Ante, Chapter XV.

"We do not intend that the *American* shall be a violent party paper; but we desire that our ideas of this matter may be understood. We wish our readers to know what we mean by violence; that they may not accuse us of disregarding a pledge, when we are only acting on principle. We do not then think it violence to call things by their right names; but we do think it violence to apply to any person or thing a harsher name than the strictest truth will warrant. We regard every attack upon personal character for speculative opinions as violent and altogether unjustifiable; but we think it very right and not at all violent, to say of a man who commits a reprehensible deed, whatever the deed deserves. An example or two will make our meaning plainer. We do not scruple to say of the Secretary of War's compositions, that they are manifest transgressions against the peace and dignity of our American Speech; but we should say of these transgressions nothing harsher than that they indicate an ignorance of our language hardly decent in so high an officer. We are unwilling to say of one who holds in theory the nullifying doctrines, that he entertains a treasonable design; but we should not be at all fastidious about calling the man who would himself do, or would excite others to do, an act of nullification, a traitor. Let us not be mistaken. We are in earnest in the cause we have espoused. We hold, with undoubting faith, all the articles of the National Republican creed. We are in favor of the *principle* of Protection, and of the *principle* of Internal Improvement. We think our present national rulers to be hostile to these principles. We think that the Government is not administered by them as a national government, but as a party government. We are of opinion that they have caused the nation to break its faith with the feeble and dependent Indians. We doubt not that they have carelessly wasted large amounts of public money. We are, *therefore*, opposed to the present administration. And believing, as we do, that HENRY CLAY is a man of other principles, and that his administration will be marked by a higher, and nobler, and better, and more national policy, therefore, are we the advocate of Henry Clay.

"We shall, it is likely, use strong expressions, not, we hope, without strong facts to warrant them. We shall, however, be careful to mistake no facts, and to misrepresent no opinions. We hope to overcharge no description, and never to soil our sheet with the filthiness of abuse. Keeping within these limits, our own conscience will acquit us of party violence; and if that reproach us not, we care little what is said of us by friend or foe."

Under date June 12, 1835, is another entry reflecting light on the material prosperity of Mr. Chase. It reads as follows:

"*Resolved*, from and after this date for the period of one year, I will not ask a discount of any note (except renewals, and except as indorser for Mr. Garniss if he request it), either drawn or indorsed by me, unless, in the meantime I shall have sold the St. Clair property."

We come now to domestic matter of great interest. As to some of it I hardly know just what to offer. I now refer particularly to an entry which begins as follows :

"On the evening of Saturday, the 14th of November, 1835, I came home to tea in the evening and found that my dear wife had been extremely busy all day in household affairs."

Most of the remainder of this very interesting entry I have felt at liberty to withhold from readers. There may come a time when false delicacy will no longer be allowed to order the suppression of such revelations ; but, at present, I feel bound to omit the greater part of the entry in question, but to say that the whole of it is full of evidence that he who made it was a fond, devoted husband.

But here is a passage I can not omit :

"At half-past two, or, perhaps, nearer three in the morning, her labor terminated in the safe delivery of a little daughter. When she was informed that it was over, she lay back in the bed and exclaimed, 'Oh, Heavenly Father! I thank thee!'"

CHAPTER XVII.

THE HERO'S GREATEST SORROW—UNEXPECTED DEATH OF THE
FIRST WIFE.

REFERENCE has already been made to the fact that, according to Kennedy and others, Wirt died of a broken heart. How long a broken heart may live, has not been calculated by the cold conclusions of psychologists and physiologists. One can imagine cases in which broken hearts may live on, brokenly, through many years of usefulness, and aspiration, even of ambition.

Sorrow has outwrought the works of joy. It is not when the mouth is filled with laughter and the tongue with singing,¹ that the master-pieces of endeavor and of aspiration, whether in the arts or elsewhere, are accomplished.

Kennedy distinctly says that after the death of Agnes her devoted father lost, never to recover it entirely, the "buoyancy of spirit which, heretofore, even in his gravest moments, was wont to break forth in sudden and irrepressible sallies," and that "this sad event even affected his health, and secretly preyed upon his mind to a degree which is supposed to have hastened the termination of his life."

Was he, then, a mere weakling?

William Wirt may seem to have been vain and weak, because, not being by profession what we call a man of letters, he wrote books and minor compositions of general interest for publication. But this eminent, successful lawyer clearly understood that one is not necessarily trying to "ride two horses" if, in the midst of active, various practice as a lawyer, he writes, now and then, for the general world of readers.

No! this man whose death followed the death of his daughter with so much likeness to the succession of an effect to its cause, was not a weakling; he was no mere trifler.

¹ Psalm cxxvi, 2.

It is healthy to remember lives like that for which he so poetically sorrowed. It is wholesome to remember his devotion, though it was at once too idolatrous and too ideal—though, to many readers, it may seem more woman-like than manly. Would that we had more men of that “unmanly” mold among us! Then we might begin at least to civilize our cultivated savageism.

This man was “only” Agnes’ father; he was not, according to the common sense of words, her lover; why did he so love her, why did her departure hasten his descent into the grave?

According to Kennedy, the letters of Agnes’ father to her prove that he attributed to her precocity of understanding; and his biographer considers that he did not err in that behalf. This lovely girl, it seems, “was her father’s constant companion in his study, arranged and indorsed his papers for him, collected his books of authority when he was studying his cases, made notes for him, and by a thousand affectionate assiduities so associated herself with his happiest hours as to render her presence one of his highest delights, and frequent letters to her when absent almost indispensable to his content.”

We also learn that Alice Wirt “possessed a remarkable intelligence and aptitude of mind, which was developed in a devotion to study very unusual to her years and sex.” Mr. Kennedy has added: “It was not less expressed in her face, which sparkled with physical and intellectual beauty. Her manners won all hearts by their gentleness and grace.”

Wirt himself thus pictures his lost daughter: “Young as she was she seemed to be the seal and connecting bond of the whole family. Her voice, her smile, her animated, graceful, movements, her countless little acts and expressions of kindness and love, those ‘small, sweet courtesies of life’ which she was so continually rendering to all around her with such exquisite grace of manner, had made her necessary to the individual happiness of every member of the household. When she was lost to us, it was as if the key-stone of the arch had been removed. There was a healthfulness in the glow of her fresh and young affections which animated the rigid nerves of age, and a pleasantness and beauty in the play of her innocent thoughts and feelings which could smooth the brow of care and light up a smile even in the face of sorrow. To me she was not only the companion of my studies, but the sweetener of my toils. The painter, it is said, relieved his aching eyes by looking on a curtain of green.

My mind, in its hour of deepest fatigue, required no other refreshment than the one glance at my beloved child as she sat beside me."

Almost infinite seems the divisibility of love, even in the order known as finite. The father of Agnes almost reproached himself for his devotion to her memory when he looked on her surviving mother and his yet "remaining circle of affectionate children." After all, perhaps, what he gave to Agnes was no real robbery of the surviving members of his household, though it seems quite certain that her loss aged him very quickly, even when occurrences might have disposed him to cry out with Hamlet:

"Hold, hold, my heart,
And you, my sinews, grow not instant old,
But bear me stiffly up."

According to "the Burr School" and some other schools, it is weakness to mourn and wisdom to enjoy. But, perhaps, one may find means to justify the doctrine that the author of the poem which relates the ill effects of Helen's beauty, understood true courage quite as well as Aaron Burr. How beautifully Lessing shows that old Greek's fine philosophy of feeling! Having pointed out the tendency of modern European manners to refine away emotion or conceal it, and referred back to the old barbaric days in Europe—how extremes *will* meet!—which were illustrated in the command of Palnatoko to fear nothing and not even to name the word fear, he says: "Not so the Greek! He felt and feared! He gave outward indication of his pains and of his trouble; he was ashamed of none of the human weaknesses, only none of them must keep him back on the way to honor, or from the performance of his duty. When Homer leads the Trojans to battle with wild cries, the Greeks on the contrary, in determined stillness; thereupon, the annotators very well remark that the poet thereby means to paint those as barbarians, these as mannered people. I wonder that they have not remarked in another passage a like characteristic contrast.

"The hostile armies have struck a truce. They are busied with the burning of their dead, which on both parts goes not off without tears. But Priam *forbids* his Trojans to weep. He forbids them to weep, says Dacier, because he apprehends that they may too much weaken themselves, and on the morrow go with less courage to the conflict. Well; but I ask, Why must *Priam* only apprehend this? Why does not Agamemnon also publish to his Greeks the same interdict? The true meaning of the poet goes deeper. He will

teach us that only the civilized Greek can at once weep and be brave, while the uncivilized Trojan, in order to be full of courage, must first smother all humanity."

In vain does Parton's facile but too often superficial pen exert itself to paint the stoicism of his hero as if it had something in it less repugnant than a studiedly ignoble selfishness. Aaron Burr, in spite of antecedents, was a *born* barbarian, and all his education (unintentionally I concede) but tended to make him an *accomplished* and *resolved* barbarian.

I say all these things by way of introduction—let me say of mournful prelude—to the showing that I am about to make of Chase's conduct under the supreme affliction of his private life.

He, like Wirt, abhorred the doctrine—so abhorrent to each Christian heart—that it is weakness to mourn and wisdom to enjoy. He knew that it is often wisdom to mourn and weakness to enjoy. He knew that sorrow can work wonders quite impossible to joy. He knew that life itself is one long sorrow with reliefs of pleasure.

I have quoted a diary especially devoted to the memory of his first great sorrow. Here is another passage that seems fit to be presented here:

"I did not go to court in the morning. I walked down to my office, however, and mentioned the birth of my babe to Mr. Caswell, whom I overtook on the way. At night, about half past nine or ten, Kitty suddenly became delirious. I had gone up stairs to bed; but, hearing something unusual below, I hastened down stairs, and found my dear wife talking incoherently. I ran for the doctor, who soon came, and, having ascertained her condition, requested a consultation. Her father and I objected, fearing to alarm her. The doctor observed that he was satisfied as to the nature of the attack, and as to the course to be prescribed; but that he had proposed a consultation in deference to our feelings. I told him, if he was satisfied, to go on. I was greatly alarmed, and trembled violently. He said he thought he ought to bleed. He went home and procured his lancet, but when he returned the delirium had passed off.

"At this time, or before, I went to the bedside and asked Kitty if she would like to have another physician. She replied, 'No,' saying that she had the greatest confidence in Dr. Colby, and when I urged it farther she said, 'Do n't you talk so, you will hurt his feelings.' Her father then interposed, saying that the doctor had himself proposed it, and I, fearing lest, if she knew that the proposition had emanated from the doctor, that she might be injuriously alarmed, dropped the subject. I followed the doctor out of the room, however, and, as he went down stairs, said to him that, as Kitty did not seem to be alarmed by the idea of having another physician, I would go for Dr. Eberle if he still thought it expedient. He thought it unnee-

essary, and I did not go. After the delirium passed off, the doctor concluded not to bleed her. After charging the nurse to call me if any thing should happen, I went to bed again.

"When I went up stairs, I knelt down and earnestly implored God to spare the life of my dear wife; to give wisdom to the physician, and efficacy to his remedies; and especially to prepare her for all His holy will. Nothing farther occurred that night."

I must omit much other matter, the presentation of which affected delicacy might condemn. The next sentences to which I think proper to invite attention read as follows:

"It was on the evening of this day, I think,¹ that a serious controversy took place about the name of the child. I wished to have it called Catherine Jane, after its mother. Kitty wished to have it called Amelia Catherine or Amelia Janette, after its two grandmothers. Mrs. Garniss wanted to have it named after herself. I felt thoroughly disinclined to this, but was willing that it should be called Catherine Amelia; and this, indeed, was the name we had agreed upon before its birth. Mrs. G. then said that she did n't care how it was called—that she would not take any more notice of it, and a great deal of the same import, and in the same temper. I made no reply, but felt much displeased."

Under date November 19th, are the words:

"I remember very little of Kitty's appearance this day, but she seemed much improved."

The next day, Friday, has this record:

"Kitty seemed to be getting better to-day, also, quite fast; so much, that, in a conversation with the president and cashier of the Lafayette Bank, I expressed a willingness to go to Philadelphia on the business of the bank should there be nothing at home to prevent it. At noon, I went home and suggested the possibility of my being sent to Philadelphia. Kitty seemed pleased with the idea of my going, and, on my remarking that probably I should not get any compensation for going, she observed, 'but you will get reputation by it.'

"Shortly after this she spoke to me about naming the child. I told her that I should leave it entirely to her. She said, 'No, it rested with me. The name should be as I pleased.' 'Well,' I replied, 'it shall be as you have said.' She wished me to have the name of Amelia Janette placed on the child's bracelets. I tried to evade a promise; but she insisted on it, saying that if I promised I should be sure to do it. At length I promised, and, immediately on going out after dinner, went to the jeweler, Mr. McGrew's, and gave him the proper directions. By some accident, however, the jeweler did not execute my order; and my dear Kitty, seeing the bracelets re-

¹ November 18.

turned unmarked, never knew that I had complied with her request. I did not see my Kitty again till I came home to tea, having been engaged all the afternoon, arguing a cause at court."

Under date November 21, I find:

"On going to the bank this morning, the cashier inquired of me if I had concluded to go to Philadelphia. I replied that I had, if it was desired. He said that it was urgently desired. I then went immediately home, and found the doctor in my wife's room. I asked him if it was safe and prudent for me to go. He said that it was. I asked him if there was no danger that something might go wrong in my absence. He said he could not say there was no danger; but there was no probability of any thing amiss. I then turned to Kitty. She did not seem as bright as yesterday. She had taken morphine the previous evening. I had a vague idea that she did not wish me to go. I expressed it. 'Yes,' said she, 'I do want you to go.' 'Kitty do n't want me to go,' said I to her mother. 'Yes, she does,' was the reply. I then concluded to go, but reluctantly. Kitty seemed to take an interest in the preparations for my departure. She told me to clothe myself warm—to take my overshoes—not to ride over the inclined plane, etc. It was near four in the afternoon when I kissed her, and bade her farewell. Little did I dream that it was for the last time!"

Saturday, November 22d, yields this entry:

"Came on the 'Philadelphia' with the intention of going to Philadelphia. The P. is a boat of the middling class, with an upper cabin. A large number of passengers (about forty) were already on board, and I had some difficulty in procuring a berth. I secured one, however, but it was near the wheel. The passengers were nearly all strangers to me, but I was introduced by Mr. Lytle to Mr. Greene, of Richmond, and Mr. Bainbridge, of Louisville. We left the landing at Cincinnati about six o'clock. It was twilight, then, and twilight soon deepened into darkness, relieved by a faint starlight. The weather was cold and cheerless, and I was fain to remain in the cabin and while away the time by reading, and by a game of chequers with Mr. B., of Portsmouth. My antagonist was easily vanquished at the first evng, (?) and did not seem disposed to renew the contest.

"Mr. B. had been visiting Cincinnati, and had been introduced into the family of Mr. Moore. He was pleased with the young ladies. I rallied him on his state of unblest singleness. He confessed that he did not find much pleasure in it, and expressed a firm determination to wed before spring. He said that he had lately journeyed from Cincinnati to Portsmouth with Mrs. A—, of whom he spoke in such terms that I was induced to tell him that I had heard authentically that the fair lady was engaged to Mr. M—, of Cincinnati. He received the intelligence with absolute consternation, and could not be persuaded that the report was correct. He left the boat at Portsmouth.

"About nine, I sought my berth, and, except that the jar of the

wheels and noise of stopping, etc., frequently disturbed me, passed a comfortable night."

The next entry reads as follows:

"Sunday, November 23. I rose early this morning, and, to my surprise, found the guards of the boat and the banks of the river covered with snow. The atmosphere was still charged with mingled rain and snow. I was obliged, with the rest of the passengers, to perform my ablutions in the open air, and to use the common towel. I evaded the disagreeableness of the latter necessity, however, by seizing my opportunity, when the first towel, being completely blackened, was removed and another substituted in its place. Early in the morning I took my Bible and a couple of volumes of Dick's works from my trunk. At first, fear of ridicule had nearly induced me not to take out my Bible. I did not, however, yield to this unworthy feeling, and, in the course of the day, had the pleasure, not only of using my Bible myself, but of seeing it much used by others."

A clean-minded man is apt to be a clean-bodied man. I look upon the revelations of this little entry as quite precious. I should say, however, that the entry itself was made before the entries rehearsing the story of the wife's illness and the birth of the child.

The next of the last-mentioned entries reads as follows:

"Sunday, November 22. There was a violent snow storm to-day. Mr. Garniss wrote to me that Kitty was better, and that the babe was well. She continued to drink the porter."

Thursday, November 24, has this record:

"The nurse says Kitty continued to improve. She was not, however, very lively; nor did she, at any time during her illness, manifest much disposition to have her babe with her, though she expressed the liveliest concern about every thing relating to its welfare. She continued to drink the porter."

Then the record goes on in this fashion:

"Wednesday, November 25. Kitty still continued to mend slowly. She continued to take the porter.

"Thursday, November 26. To-day Kitty complained of a pain in her ear and of deafness, or, rather, of a slight difficulty in hearing. The doctor syringed her ear. Mr. Garniss wrote me that her health continued to improve, but that her spirits were rather low. She continued to take porter.

"Friday, November 27. Kitty commenced taking quinine pills to-day, and kept on drinking porter. She began also to eat the soft parts of oysters as well as to take oyster soup. She took very little, however, of any thing, for her appetite was poor.

"Saturday, November 28. The same course of medical treatment and diet continued to-day. In the evening, she sat up for some time."

The next entry is, in part, unfit, according to received æsthetic views, for presentation to readers; but every word is instinct with the proper feeling on the part of him from whose heavily afflicted pen it emanated. Real delicacy would receive each syllable of it; the canons of true art in biographic writing would completely sanction full presentation of its contents. But the time has not yet come for full respect to those true laws of biographic writing. Here is all I dare to offer:

"Sunday, November 29. This morning Mrs. Garniss came into the room, and wished Kitty to get up, but she did not feel very well, and was disinclined to rise. Her nurse told her if she did not feel as if she wanted to get up to lie still—there was no need of her getting up. About noon she expressed a wish to rise, and the nurse assisted her out of bed into her chair. She leaned back in the chair as usual, and so remained till after dinner. At dinner, two or three oysters and a small piece of boiled turkey was¹ sent up to her. She ate the soft parts of the oysters, and, as the nurse says, a part of the turkey. Two little bits of turkey remained, which the nurse urged her to eat, and she did take them. . . . A little while after this, she was put back into bed, and the nurse observes that she then noticed that she seemed more helpless than she had before—that she did not help herself so well. But all this seems to have passed without farther attention. Toward evening Mrs. McCandless and Mrs. Emerson came in. She said she felt cold—a kind of crawling sensation, and asked that the bed clothes might be put close around her neck. This was done and she seemed comfortable and conversed with them. In the evening she was up again and was sitting up, reclining back in the chair."

The remainder of the record goes on in part as follows:

"Monday, November 30. . . . It was now morning, and Eliza, one of the servants, came into the room. She told her to call her mother. When her mother came she told her to send her father for the doctor, for she was very sick. Her mother did so immediately and then asked her why she had not sent for her. She answered, 'She would n't let me.' The doctor soon came. . . . About eleven o'clock the doctor came in again. The nurse said that Kitty was doing very well, and, as she had not slept any during the night, the doctor did not disturb her. About two o'clock in the afternoon Mrs. Garniss, who had been very much alarmed by Kitty's unusual manner of breathing, sent for Mrs. Colby, notwithstanding the assur-

¹ So in the original.

ances of the nurse that all was well. As soon as Mrs. Colby came she said that Kitty was very sick, and went home and sent the doctor over. When he came he also pronounced her to be very ill, and requested a consultation. Her father proposed to send for Dr. Drake, who was accordingly summoned immediately. Before he had arrived, Dr. Colby had made preparations for bleeding her, thinking immediate bloodletting necessary, and that a high state of peritoneal inflammation existed. Dr. Drake concurred, and they proceeded to bleed. When six or eight ounces of blood had been abstracted, Dr. Colby, thinking that she had been bled as much as her constitution would bear, and becoming satisfied also, from the effects of the bleeding, that the high state of inflammation supposed did not exist, arrested the flow of blood. Dr. Drake was much dissatisfied, and insisted on a more copious bleeding. The bandage was accordingly removed, and more blood was taken. It was then replaced. Dr. Drake still remained dissatisfied, urging that it was necessary to bleed to fainting. He represented the difference of opinion to Mr. and Mrs. Garniss, and spoke of leaving the house. Mr. Garniss entreated him not to do so. He then suggested that another physician should be sent for, and suggested Dr. Marshall. Mr. Garniss objected to him. He then proposed Dr. Richards. This was acceded to, and Dr. Drake went for Dr. Richards himself. When they came, both soon agreed as to the necessity of bleeding, and she was again bled, contrary to Dr. Colby's opinion and wish. Forty grains of calomel were then administered. Thirty ounces of blood had been taken. Still Drs. Drake and Richards were not satisfied; they thought further bleeding necessary, but postponed it till morning. While this bleeding was going on, Drs. Drake and Colby each counted Kitty's pulse—the latter repeatedly. Dr. Drake affirmed that the pulse was diminished in frequency from one hundred and forty-five to one hundred and twenty, and Dr. Colby was equally confident that it was accelerated from one hundred and forty-five to one hundred and seventy. Drs. Drake and Colby remained in the house all night, and Dr. Colby, fearing the result of the bleeding, and, still more, the consequence of a repetition of it, exerted himself to prevent any opinion of its necessity. Warm fomentations and warm drinks were copiously used. Kitty was thrown into a profuse perspiration, which continued through the night, and in the morning all her symptoms were better. . . .

"Tuesday, December 1. Such was her condition on the morning of this unhappy day. There was a fair prospect of recovery. All the symptoms boded well. But Drs. Drake and Richards were of opinion that she had not been bled sufficiently, and that the disease was not subdued. They, accordingly recommended further bleeding. Dr. Colby opposed it, saying that all her symptoms were improved, and they ought to watch the result. The other physicians insisted, however. Dr. Colby then urgently recommended that Dr. Eberle¹ should be sent for. Mr. Garniss went for him, and returned with him. On the way, he told him that Kitty was suffering from

¹One of the most eminent obstetricians in the city.

a violent inflammation. Dr. Eberle remarked that such inflammation rarely, if ever, occurred so late after confinement. When he arrived, Drs. Drake and Richards stated their view to him, and Dr. Colby stated his. He concurred with the majority, and further bleeding was, consequently, resolved upon. It was anticipated that the effect would be to reduce the frequency of the pulse and augment its volume. Kitty was told that the doctors thought of bleeding her again, and was asked if she was willing. She said 'Yes, any thing.' She was then raised up in the bed, and twenty ounces of blood were taken from her. The effect upon the pulse was the exact contrary of what was anticipated. It became more frequent and more feeble. But, in other respects, she seemed somewhat easier. The physicians seemed to entertain some hope of her recovery, and agreed upon a course of treatment to be adopted.

"Her father came into the room, exclaiming, 'Thank God! my child! the doctors say there is hope.' She said nothing. All hope soon vanished. Her difficulty of respiration returned. It was not painful, but tiresome and wearying. It was plain that she was dying.

"Her father came to her bedside and said :

"'My daughter, do you know your father?'

"'Oh! yes,' she said, 'I know my father.'

"'My daughter, do you know that you are dying?'

"To this, her father says, she answered 'yes.' Mrs. Cope, who was also at the bedside, thinks she answered 'no.'

"'My daughter, have you thought of God?'

"'Oh! yes,' she answered, 'long and seriously.'

"'Are you willing to die, my daughter?'

"She faintly answered in the affirmative, and seemed to sink, to sink,¹ to sleep. Dr. Drake felt her pulse, and said that she was dead.

"'My daughter!' exclaimed her father. She partly opened her eyes, and then closed them again, forever. Those who were near her during those two last awful days, say that her whole demeanor was inexpressibly sweet and gentle. Her faculties were unclouded. Her complexion was clear. Her eyes were larger and more lustrous than usual, and her whole countenance was illumined by an almost celestial radiance. She passed away almost insensibly—without a struggle—without even a sigh.

"I was far away. At the moment of her death, I was in Philadelphia, thinking of her, I believe, but little dreaming of her situation. The next morning I left Philadelphia on my return home; arrived in Baltimore the same day. Visited several of my friends in the evening, and, early, on the following morning, Wednesday, continued my journey homeward. My whole soul was occupied by the idea of reaching home, and receiving the welcome embrace of my dear wife. From Baltimore we traveled day and night, and reached Wheeling about midnight between Saturday and Sunday.

"Sunday morning, the 'Leonidas' came down from Pittsburg, and

¹So in the original.

I, fearing the river would be frozen over, resolved to proceed in her without delay. Before leaving the hotel, however, I sent a servant to the post-office, who brought me three letters—one from her father, dated Thursday, the 26th November, stating that Kitty's health was improving, but that her spirits were low; another from Mr. McCandless, dated Monday, 11 o'clock, P. M., stating the sudden and alarming accession of disease; and another, dated the next day, announcing the fatal termination.

"My cup of anticipated enjoyment was thus dashed suddenly from my lips, and I was made to drink the dregs of sorrow.

"I went immediately on board the steamboat. On Tuesday night, about twelve o'clock, we arrived at Cincinnati. I hurried up to the house, hoping, even against hope. The black crape at the door announced that death was within. I felt afraid to disturb her parents, and determined to return to the boat. I walked several squares through the silent streets. I returned, passed the house, and went to Dr. Colby's. I roused them, and went in, and made some inquiries about Kitty and about the family. I then went over to the house. After some time, Mr. Garniss was awakened, and opened the door.

"I shall not attempt to describe my meeting with him, or with the broken-hearted mother. I went up stairs. There, in our nuptial chamber, in her coffin, lay my sweet wife. 'Lovely in death the beauteous ruin lay.' She was but little changed in features—but, oh! the look of life was gone. The sweet smile, the glance of affection, the expression, the mind, was gone. Nothing was left but clay.

"I kneeled before her, and implored God to restore her to me. My prayer was not heard. I kissed her cold lips. They returned no pressure as they were wont. I pressed her cold, but still noble, forehead. She was dead.

"From this time till Thursday I was almost continually by her dead body. It was a mournful satisfaction even thus to have her near me; but it was soon to end. On Thursday we committed her body to the tomb. Since then I have visited her grave every day except twice, when circumstances which I could not control, prevented. She lies, for the present, in the family vault of Geo. W. Jones, Esq., but we shall build one for her (and for ourselves when we may be summoned to join her) in the spring."

Lessing paints a work of ancient art, figuring a winged youth, who stands, in deeply pensive attitude, the left foot thrown across the right, beside a corpse, with his right hand and his head resting upon a reversed torch, which is supported upon the breast of the dead, and in his left hand, which reaches round the torch, holds a wreath with a butterfly. This figure, says Belleri,¹ must be Love, who extinguishes the torch—that is, the Affections—upon the breast

¹ *Admirandia*, tab. lxxix.

of the dead man. "And I," says Lessing, "I say, this figure is Death!"¹

But it is hard to figure Death as Love. And we shall find that all the piety of our hero—all his deep and dark religiousness, if I may so express myself—did not enable him to stifle sorrow. He inordinately grieved under the terrible affliction shown in the preceding narrative. Indeed, we shall find something very morbid for a time in his mourning—so morbid that, if I could escape the duty now to be performed, I would be more relieved than I can intimate.

This is not a poem—it is not a play. It is a Life. The views of Schlegel² and others, touching the artistic handling of harsh effects in tragedy can not govern a biography. I must show the life related as it was; the character portrayed must be represented truly. Not, indeed, severely—not at all.

Before proceeding farther, let me call attention to one of the vain efforts made to console this heavy mourner.

The following letter was mailed at the place named in the date-line, on the day of the date:

"PHILADELPHIA, *December 12, 1835.*

"MY DEAR, DEAR FRIEND:—I have this moment taken a letter from my brother George, who announces with great feeling and affection for you, the heavy hand of God that has been laid upon you. With my whole soul, my dear friend, do I sympathize with you at this most afflicting dispensation. Blessed be God that you have made your peace with him—and can go to his throne of grace, and there pour out all the deep feelings of your soul. Blessed be God that you feel that his declarations are true and faithful—that troubles do not spring from the dust nor afflictions from the ground—but that they are sent from him for all-wise purposes—to wean our hearts more and more from the vain things of this world—and to make us build for heaven. What is wealth—what is fame—what are all the honors of this world? The grave, with superhuman eloquence, answers—nothing, nothing.

"But, my dear, dear friend, I can offer you no consolation. But, blessed be God, that we have an advocate with the Father—even Jesus Christ the Righteous—Him who was touched with the feelings of our infirmities. My most fervent prayer to God is, that he would sustain you at this most trying hour; that he may give the consolations of His holy word, which are neither few nor small.

"Do not, I entreat you, reflect upon yourself, for leaving your dear wife. You would not have done it, unless to all *human* appearances there was *perfect safety* in doing so. You came at the call of

¹ *Wie die Alten den Tod gebildet.* Lessing's gesammelte Werke, Erster Band, 401.

² In his *Vorlesungen ueber dramatische Kunst und Literatur.*

duty. But God seeth not as man seeth. And oh! what a voice issues even from the very grave of a dearest friend. Our light afflictions, which are but for a moment, will work out for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory.

"My dear Alison joins with me in the deepest sympathy. Your loss is our only theme. But 'be still, and know that it is God.' The struggles of this delusive world will soon be over with us all; then, if we have made our peace with God, we shall join our dear Christian friends, who have gone before us, and be forever together, where friends no more go out, and foes no more come in.

"With feelings of deepest sympathy I am, dear friend, yours in the bonds of friendship, and the bonds of the Gospel of Peace.

"CHARLES D. CLEVELAND."

The next entry in the register so often cited reads as follows:

"December 25, [1835.] I rose at my usual hour this morning. One thought filled my mind, one emotion occupied my whole soul: my great, my irreparable loss; my wife, my dear wife, gone, never to return. Oh! how I accused myself of folly and weakness in leaving her when yet sick; how I mourned that the prospect of a little addition to my reputation, a little pecuniary compensation, should have tempted me away from her at a time of such interest. Yet every one told me that there was no danger, the doctor and the nurse. She and her father and mother seemed desirous that I should go; I went, alas! I took my last leave of my precious wife, I imprinted my last kiss on her conscious lips; she was dead ere I returned.

"After dressing and offering my morning devotions, I went down stairs to breakfast. Before breakfast, I prayed with my father and mother-in-law. We three breakfasted. After breakfast, I read awhile, then went to my office, where I saw Mr. Wiggins, and held some conversation with him on business—about Hey's bill to foreclose mortgage on the leasehold interest of Dawson, in premises belonging to G. & W., on Water Street, about debts due from Williams' estate, and about payment for stock lately purchased by him for G. and myself, in New York. After Mr. W. left the office, I went home, and from thence to church.

"While in the house of God, I endeavored to fix my thoughts on the solemn service, and prayed for strength so to do; but I was sitting in the same place, joining in the same service, and listening to the same hymns as a year ago, when my dear wife was with me. I saw the wife of the clergyman, who was not a professor of religion, go forward to receive the sacraments, and I thought how I had anticipated the pleasure of seeing my dear wife do the same. How mysterious are his ways who ordereth all things after the counsel of his own will! My wife was cut off without the opportunity of publicly testifying her faith in Christ, though not, I trust, without such faith.

"I kneeled at the Lord's table, and renewed my vows of love and obedience. Oh! for grace to enable me to keep them.

"After the communion, I returned home to weep and mourn. I went to my chamber, whither, a year ago, I had returned with the partner of my bosom, and could not restrain my feelings.

"After awhile, I went down to dinner. I then came up again, and again surrendered myself to grief. At length, I calmed myself and walked out. I went to the vault which contains the mortal part of my dear departed one. I prayed for grace to sustain me under my bereavement. I came home. I had hardly exchanged my boots for my slippers when Mr. Read, the Prosecuting Attorney, came in. He informed me that Maguire, a man who was shot on the 21st by a man named Geduey, who, having been committed for the crime of shooting with intent to kill, was let to bail in \$1,000—that Maguire was dying, and suggested a new warrant for the apprehension of G. I advised against this course until the event in regard to Maguire should be ascertained, and proposed to go and see. He assented, and we went together. We found that Maguire was dead, and immediately sent for a magistrate. Two, Wing and Wiseman, refused to issue a new warrant. Harrison, however, issued it, and committed him to prison. I conceived a higher estimate of Read's character this evening than I had previously held. He talked to me of the loss of his two children last summer, and of the dangerous illness of his wife, and seemed to entertain very correct and even religious views. After leaving the magistrate's office, I came home, and after prayer with the family came to my lonely room. I have now no wife to whom I can narrate any incident that concerns or interests me."

Then we have this record:

"December 26. I rose this morning at my usual hour with the one engrossing thought in possession of my soul—my loneliness, my utter desolation. After reading the Bible, the 3d chapter first epistle of John, and praying in my room, I went down stairs and read the Bible, and prayed with the family. I then breakfasted, and went to my office. I spent the morning in preparing an answer in Chancery for Messrs. G. & W., and in fruitless attempts to prepare an argument for the Supreme Court of the United States. Mr. G. handed me Mr. Wiggins' receipts for \$10,050. I came home to dinner, returned to my office; accomplished nothing; visited the resting-place of my dear wife; every thing was still, except the clamors of two or three dogs. Came home, took tea, had a very long conversation with my mother-in-law about Kitty. Mrs. G. thinks that Dr. C. did not act with sufficient efficacy; that he was not explicit enough with the family; that he was negligent of her the morning before she died. I think her death was occasioned by excessive bleeding—a measure which was advised by Dr. Drake, and adopted against Dr. Colby's wishes. Went to my office, did nothing; returned home. Alarm of fire; went to the spot, Ninth Street, between Sycamore and Main; some frame buildings on fire; two brick buildings and some frames in danger. Returned home, joined in family worship; came to my room and wrote these lines; heard David read; he makes slow progress.

"December 27. I rose this morning with a heavy heart. I had been dreaming of accompanying my dear wife to church, and I awoke to the mournful conviction that never more should we walk

to the house of God in company, or take sweet counsel together. The day was very fine, and it pained my heart to think that never more would my dear wife be gladdened by the brightness of the sun. At length I endeavored to seek God in prayer. I read the last chapter in the first epistle of John, in which he sets forth so strongly the preëminent necessity and excellence of Christian love, and went down stairs, where I was soon joined by my mother-in-law and father-in-law, and we united in family prayer. Oh! that God would give me a deeper sense of my own sinfulness and destitution, that I might pray with more earnestness and humility; greater love for others, that I might pray for them more heartily. After breakfast I took my little daughter in my arms, and held her for some time. Dear remembrancer of thy departed mother! may I supply to thee a mother's care and watchfulness. And may God be to thee better than father and mother. The natural pilot of thy life's bark God hath taken from thee at the very commencement of thy voyage. May he himself be the pilot and the Savior. I spent the morning until church time chiefly in thinking of my loss, and mourning that it was irreparable. What grieves me most is, that I was not, while my dear wife lived, so faithful with her on the subject of religion as I should have been; and I have now no certain assurance that she died in the faith. I am not, blessed be God, without strong hope; but I have not that clear evidence of her salvation, which might reasonably have been expected to result from more faithful and diligent efforts on my part for her conversion. Oh! if I had not contented myself with a few conversations on the subject of religion, with a few recommendations of religious books, with faint prayers; if I had incessantly followed her with kind and earnest persuasion; if I had ceaselessly besought God's blessing on my efforts; if I had ever exhibited before [her] an example of the Christian life, she might have been, before her death, enrolled among the professed followers of the Lamb. But I procrastinated, and now she is gone.

"I attended church in the morning at St. Paul's. Mr. Howell conducted the service and preached. My thoughts wandered much; and once during the sermon I fell asleep. May God pardon these sins. When I returned home, I went to my home [room], and read various passages, chiefly such as were calculated to bring my dear wife to remembrance. In the afternoon, I went over to my sister's, to see my cousin, James Dennison, who is sick; found him convalescent. I then went to the grave-yard, where my Kitty's remains were deposited. Oh! how I wished that I could once more see even her lifeless corpse. There are a multitude of graves in the two contiguous yards; most of those who lie there are younger than I am, few much older; may I feel the warning. My afflicted father-in-law joined me at the grave of my dear wife, who is laid, for the present, in the family vault of George W. Jones. We returned home together. In the evening we all went to church. Mr. Brooke preached a sermon on the folly of the common maxim, that it is no matter what a man thinks, provided he be sincere. My thoughts wandered less than in the morning. After church I attempted to learn David the Lord's prayer, but made little progress; I shall persevere, however. I then wrote the foregoing journal of the day.

"December 28. Before going to bed last night, I told David that I would allow him a cent every morning if he would make my fires by daylight, to be laid out in books for him; and this morning I had a fire very early. I rose earlier than usual in consequence. I had been dreaming that my beloved wife was dangerously ill, and I rose, with my mind full of her. After dressing and private prayer, I went down stairs, and joined in family prayers. Oh! how I mourn that my dear wife can not join us in our devotions, but I trust she is joining in a purer and more acceptable service than can be rendered on earth, even in that offered by the glorious company of angels and by the spirits of just men made perfect.

"After breakfast, I went down to my office. . . . Mrs Bigelow came in. We conversed about my dear wife, and she seemed to sympathize sincerely with me. How much almost any person may become endeared to us by sympathy! I gave her some deeds and leases belonging to her, and she went away. Mr. Wm. Maguire came in to know if he ought to retain additional counsel in the prosecution of Gedney. I told him I thought it unnecessary. I advised him to send Joiner and Brummel, two of his witnesses, to me, that I might ascertain the exact purport of their testimony. . . . After I had got through with my morning visitors, I applied myself to the preparation of an argument in the case of *Bank United States vs. Longworth and others*, in the Supreme Court of the United States, and continued engaged upon it until dinner time; after dinner I returned to my work, and continued at it till I went to visit the grave of my Kitty. It was twilight—a solemn hour, in a solemn place. I stood at her silent resting-place, and prayed for strength to perform the will of God and to suffer it. As I came [away] I thought—and oh! how terrible was the thought—of meeting my dear wife as an accusing spirit at the bar of God; that she might reproach me for my unfaithfulness to her in spiritual things as the cause of her misery. But I hope for better things. . . . I spent some time in dipping into Dr. Dewee's book on Midwifery. I feel extremely sorry that I did not study this subject before the sickness of my wife. It might have prevented me from leaving her. At nine o'clock I came home, bringing Dewee's and Good's Study of Medicine with me.

"After family prayer, came to my room, and attempted to teach David the Lord's prayer, and heard him read. The child certainly makes some progress. May the Lord enable me to be a blessing to him. I shall spend, by the permission of God, the remainder of this night, until I go to bed, in reading Dewees, my Bible, and in prayer.

"December 29. The sun had hardly risen when I left my bed this morning, full, as usual, of sad and mournful recollections. How can I become reconciled to the loss of my chief earthly treasure? After reading the Scripture, the epistle of John, and prayer, I went down stairs and joined in family devotion. After awhile, the nurse came down stairs with my dear little motherless child. I ought to be, and I hope I am, thankful, that I have been able to obtain such good nursing for the child, and that her health is good.

"After breakfast, I went to my office. . . . After dinner, I

went to work again, and continued so employed until evening, when I again visited the resting-place of my dear wife. Several young wives of about her own age sleep very near her.

"I returned home, but, after tea, again went to my office, where I stayed until near nine o'clock, when I came home bringing with me Dewees on Females, and Eberle on Children, in which books I read with little profit until the approach of midnight summoned me to devotion.

"December 30. David came into my room this morning, just after daylight. I made a fire; but I did not rise till some time after. When risen, I endeavored to offer my morning prayer and praise to God, but my heart was heavy, and I felt that I did not pray aright. Oh, for a closer walk with God—for greater degrees of conformity to his will! After prayer, I went down stairs. After breakfast, I went to my office. . . .

"I have this day been engaged nearly the whole time in preparing the argument already mentioned. It is heavy work now with me. I have no longer a wife at home interested in all that I do, and gratified by all my success. I am no longer stimulated by a wish to please one whom I love far better than myself. But I have duties to perform, and I ought to exert myself from love to God and my fellow-men. Would that I could feel so devoted to God that I might do every thing with all my might for the sake of pleasing him. . . .

"Toward evening, I went to the grave-yard. The rain and snow were falling fast and the north-west wind blew chill. It was a melancholy evening, but it harmonized well with my feelings. I felt a sad pleasure in standing once more at the spot where her mortal remains were deposited. I offered up a silent prayer to God for more conformity to his will, and reluctantly turned my steps homeward.

"After writing the above, I went to a prayer-meeting at Mr. Brooke's church with my father and mother-in-law. It was held in a room in the basement story. Not many were present. The exercises were to me very solemn and interesting. Short addresses were delivered both by Mr. Howell and Mr. Brooke—by the former on bringing all our sorrows and sins and laying them at the foot of the cross—by the latter on the joy of believing and the inconsistency of Christians in living so far away from God. Deeply and bitterly did I regret that my poor wife could not hear the messages which I heard, and join in the solemn services; but I do hope she needs no message now to tell of her Savior, and that she constantly joins in a better service. Oh! could I but be sure of this how gladly would I embrace my lot!

"This day, Gen. Findlay was borne to his tomb—Gen. James Findlay. . . . He was a kind-hearted and most amiable man, and had many friends. He has left a widow but no children."

The next day affords this record:

"Dec. 31, [1835.] The last day of the old year! The old year—strange name for a portion of time so lately begun—so speedily ter-

minated. The old year; but yesterday as it seems it was ushered in as the New Year. How little did I then anticipate what has come to pass. This year found me a husband; it has left me wifeless; it found me childless, it has left me charged with a solemn trust—the welfare of the sole pledge of my departed wife's affection; it found me rejoicing in the hope of worldly advancement, it has left me with all such wishes annihilated; it found me receding from God, it has left me, I trust, drawing nigh to him; it found me laying up treasures on earth, it leaves me convinced of the vanity of such occupations, and anxious, chiefly, to lay up treasures in heaven. In professional attainment and reputation, it found me nearly as it leaves me. I have, during this year, completed the edition of the *Statutes of Ohio*, on which I have been so long engaged, by publishing the third volume. This book my beloved wife used to say she would keep for her oldest son. Alas! she never saw the third volume."

The first day of the New Year is thus recorded :

"This day, the first of the new year, usually with me a day of gladness, has been a day of gloom. My dear wife, who shared the joys of the last new year's, has gone. Every thing reminds me of her. Just so gloriously did the unclouded sun ascend the sky last year, just so did he magnificently sink to rest. Just so mild was the temperature of the air, just so serene the expanse of heaven. Here she sat at the breakfast table, bidding me admire her New Year's gift to her father, and when I remarked that every one in the house had a gift but me, she said nothing. When I wanted to go out and attempted to draw on my boots, I found a difficulty in the way. Something had got into my boot! Half fretfully and half expectingly, I drew it out. It was a gold pencil-case. On it was inscribed: '*Pensez à moi.*' It was my wife's New Year's gift.

"Delightful gift, yet not half so delightful as the kiss which accompanied it. How often has she adverted since to this little circumstance, and said: 'How bad I should have felt had there indeed been nothing for you! When you complained, I could hardly help from telling you to look in your boot!' Dear, dear Kitty, life of my life, is it possible that thou art gone? That I shall no more hear that kind and gentle voice—no more receive that kind, affectionate caress. I can, at times, hardly realize it, yet I know it is so. '*Pensez à moi.*' Yes, I will think of thee as long as I live.

"We all went to church this morning; but Mr. Haight, the rector, being indisposed, there was no service. After leaving the church, I walked up to the grave-yard where my Kitty lies, with her mother. We talked of her all the way, going and returning home. When we got home, I told her what I thought, respecting the management of her disorder by the physicians.

"Mrs. Anderson, with her little baby, and Mrs. McCandless, with her little children, came to see me this morning. They passed through childbirth safely, but my Kitty died.

"This afternoon, I went down to my office with the intention of

finishing my argument in the ejectment case, but I did not write a line. Toward evening, I walked up to the vault where lies the mortal part of all that was most dear to me on earth. Here I lingered for some time—until the twilight was rapidly merging in darkness.

"This evening I went again to my office, where I began to copy my argument for the press. Before I went, Mr. G., at table, told a story about Gov. Root, and Elisha Williams, and Thomas J. Oakley. How discordantly it struck upon my ears.

"Jan. 2, [1836.] The same subject continues to occupy my nightly dreams and daily thoughts—my great and irreparable loss. Oh! that I could live over again the last two months, how different would be my conduct! Let this make me inquire: May not [something] happen within two months which would make me wish that the conduct of to-day had been different? My wife is indeed gone. She can no longer be the object of care and kindness. But duties remain; are they fulfilled?

"The day has been very different from yesterday. I has rained nearly all day, and the clouds have completely shut out the sun. Every thing has looked gloomy.

"I have attended to little business to-day. I intended to complete my argument, but I have hardly touched it. I have settled a few claims on Thorp's estate—little else. I received a notification to attend a meeting of the Committee on the Dividend of the Lafayette Bank; but forgot the duty at the hour.

"I have repeated my visit to my wife's grave. It was nearly dark, and it was raining fast; but I like to go there. I have lately become accustomed to grave-yard walks. Oh! that the solemn voices which seem to issue from all those tombs might humble and sober every high thought in me.

"I walked over to Mrs. Colby's after tea, and conversed with her a long time about my dear wife. Mrs. C. thinks it probable she would not have recovered, even had not the treatment of Dr. C. been departed from. I think otherwise, and am agonized by the thought that had I been at home she would have recovered; but I was far from her.

"I have had some talk with David this evening since prayers. His conduct has been quite bad of late. He has been remiss in getting his lessons—insolent and abusive toward the other servants, and extremely dirty in his personal appearance. I have warned him that unless he mends his ways I shall be compelled to punish him."

In conversation with the Chief Justice about David, he told me that the boy had been, perhaps, too severely governed, and that at length he went off, none knew whither. But it must be quite apparent that the severity in question, if, indeed, there was a real severity, was conscientious. It was not the dictate of an unloving heart, the act of an un pitying hand. It had been well for David,

doubtless, had he stayed with Mr. Chase, as Mr. Chase had stayed with his almost despotic uncle, as we have already seen.

For it is well to be with such men as he whose life is here related. More and more I feel that as we go forward.

Yet there are some things in this sad record which require most delicate treatment. Let me point out an example in this memorandum :

"I have been reading lately on medicine. The barbarous jargon makes my progress slow. It is like reading Greek. I am compelled to have a dictionary by and use it constantly."

Such is the entry, made in most painful mood, in the diary under date January 2, 1836.

I have long acted on the conviction that I ought, from time to time, to study medicine and hygiene almost as if I had intended to devote myself to the practice of the healing art. While composing this work I have had more than one occasion to review and extend my medical and hygienic reading and reflection. It is not, however, my design to vindicate the healing art, or, on the other hand, to question that it is, in some respects, of real service to the world. Undoubtedly, the practice of it is not such as it should be ; but to say that it is wholly worthless, in all cases, would be going very far. Nor am I disposed to make too much of the exception to medical writings, taken in the last extract from our hero's diary. An art has always its distinctive technical terms. Perhaps, much of the so-called jargon of medical books is inevitable. And we ought to bear in mind the mood in which our hero wrote the words last quoted.

As for the fault found by the bereaved husband with Dr. Drake, it seems to me at once quite natural and quite unjust, if I may so express a thought not easy of expression.

I have studied the life and character of Daniel Drake, in his writings and elsewhere, almost as thoroughly as I have studied the life and character of Salmon Portland Chase. Let any one compare the autobiographic letters of these two men as I have compared them. Let their other writings be compared with due discrimination. Let the life of Drake, by Mansfield, be compared with the present work. No man can then doubt that Daniel Drake was as true and high a worthy as the hero of these pages, or as any other man that has appeared in this new world.

Daniel Drake was a man of strong convictions and deep sense of duty. What he did, after that decision, he did far from ignorantly, and according to his best judgment. Simple justice to the memory of a great, good man demands this judgment; and I who knew that man, am certain that no more than justice is involved in the conclusion so expressed.

We must not forget the facts. Dr. Drake differed with Dr. Colby. Dr. Richards being called in, agreed with Dr. Drake. But even that is not all. Dr. Drake was farther supported by Dr. Eberle, one of the most distinguished obstetricians of the West.

January 5th affords this entry :

"Yesterday was a wet and cheerless day—only that now and then for a little while the sun would shine out from behind the clouds with cheering beams. To-day the weather has been delightful. To-day, had my dear wife lived, she would have called for me at my office, and we would have been walking, arm in arm and heart in heart, beneath the pleasant sun. But she—where is she? Rejoicing, I hope, beneath the far brighter beams of the sun of righteousness.

"My little babe continues to improve. She enjoys the most perfect health, and now takes considerable notice of many things. She smiles and laughs, now and then, awake and in dreams. The servant girl of our next neighbor says that when she smiles in dreams it is because she sees an angel passing. She begins to endeavor to make her wants known by sounds; at least, so I think. She is quite fat, or rather plump. Her eyes are blue; her forehead is slightly depressed just above the eyes. Her hair is brown. Her eye-lashes are long and her eye-brows, I think, will be heavy. Her cheeks are now full. Her mouth is not very pretty. Her lips are too thick and the upper overhangs the lower too much. Her chin sometimes looks a little too pointed, then again it is quite round. She is very gentle and mild—seldom crying or fretting. Everybody says she is a sweet and very pretty child. Her grandmother, grandfather, and I think so. May God, of his infinite mercy, make her his child."

The next entry I think fit to offer has this tenor :

"January 9. For three or four days past I have written nothing in this journal, because nothing unusual has occurred. The returning hours have brought with them their appropriate duties, which I have attempted to perform in the strength of one mighty to support and save. Far short, indeed, have I come of the standard of purity and zeal exhibited in the gospel. When shall I learn to subdue all hastiness of temper, all petulance, all selfishness? When shall I be thoroughly imbued with a humble, self-denying, holy spirit? O Lord, my Savior, do thou assist and teach me. I have been diligently engaged for two weeks on an argument for the Supreme Court of the United States, which I have finished to-night, the

case of the *Bank of the United States vs. Longworth and others*. My object has been to establish a title, made under an order of sale in the course of certain proceedings in attachment. The proceedings were extremely irregular and defective; but I attempted to sustain the title on the ground that the order of sale was made by a court of competent jurisdiction, and could not in this suit be collaterally questioned. I think I shall succeed.

"I argued this same case a year ago, last July, at Columbus in the Circuit Court. My dear wife was with me then. We roomed at Mrs. Robinson's, where Judge McLean and his lady also boarded. I remember expressing some anxiety to my wife about this case, telling her that a fee of \$150 depended on my success, and that the next day she said playfully to the Judge that he must decide this case for me at any rate, that I might get the fee."

Thus we see how the almost tragic death of the first woman who became wife to Salmon Portland Chase affected that strong man. Yet no! God alone saw that completely—God alone can see it fully now.

The mourner was to love again. The object of that second love was to prove fully worthy of it, and, when she, too, too early passed away, he was to mourn her far from lightly. But he was yet again to love, again to marry, and again to mourn the death of a well-beloved wife. True, there is but one first love, but one first wife. Even when a first love is turned to hatred, or, still worse, to mere disgust, the truth remains, that it affects the lover as no other love can possibly affect him: even when a first wife is to become an object of disgust or detestation, she remains the first wife forever.

It is not for me to constitute anew the human heart, or to create, for the readers of this work, a new world of intellections and affections. We must take our hearts and lives as God has ordered us to take them.

But the other day, I read these words in a newspaper:

"When we come to the separation of Mr. Dickens from his wife, we can not but admire the delicacy and reserve with which Mr. Forster treats it. This is the one event in the life of the illustrious novelist which darkens his fame. We do not sympathize with that morbid and unhealthy sentiment which gloats over the frailties of men of genius—the unhappiness of a Byron, a Shakspeare, or a Milton. Men like these, supremely gifted and richly endowed, have lives apart from the doings and adventures of the mere body. However Byron may have sinned, to us he is and always must be 'Childe Harold.' But Dickens, during his own life, called attention to his sorrows, and, after dismissing his wife and the mother of his children from a home in which she had lived for a quarter of a century, publicly entreated the world to justify him in the act."

The paragraph is full of affectation and injustice. It is false in sentiment and false in pretense. But God knows how ardently I have desired, throughout, at once to keep away from real indelicacy and to avoid false delicacy.

Surely, this work has had a singular history. That history, however, it does not propose to tell in full. Elsewhere, its author, though no longer young, and, therefore, not concerned as young men are about the bubble, reputation, may, with more or less minuteness, tell so much of that strange story as a due regard for certain very sacred interests may seem to order or at least to allow. Then, it will appear that if, in advance of publication, this work was assailed with unprecedented defamation, on account of its alleged indelicacy, that was not because its author had not taken equally unprecedented pains to avoid even the appearance of indelicacy.

We shall find that when the second marriage took place there was a perfectly angelic little child yet living—daughter of the first wife, whose name she bore. The second mother of this lovely, eminently spiritual child was perfectly devoted to it—as devoted as a second mother can be.

When the second wife, in turn, departed, she, too, left a daughter—not the little child just mentioned—that had apparently illustrated the lines of Montgomery, which I quote from memory :

"In some rude spot where vulgar herbage grows,
If chance a violet rear its purple head,
The careful gard'ner moves it, ere it blows,
To thrive and flourish in a nobler bed.

"Such was thy fate, dear child! thy opening such;
Preëminence in early bloom was shown,
For earth too good, perhaps, and loved too much:
Heaven saw and early marked thee for its own."

That daughter of the second marriage, named either after the child so early taken, or after the mother of that child, is now living, one of the most beautiful, accomplished, and distinguished women of her day. Perhaps the third wife was to her devoted as was the second wife to the surviving issue of the first marriage; but of that I had no information when the hero of this work descended to the tomb. He had not, directly, furnished me with special memorials of the third wife.

Mrs. Hoyt, the sole surviving child of the third marriage, I have never met since she was quite a child. She writes delightful letters,

and she is, I have no doubt, as accomplished and as well endowed with genius as her reputation indicates; but, for certain reasons, I do not feel free as I could wish to write of either Mrs. Hoyt or Mrs. Sprague. This is, I know, anticipation, but it seems to me but proper, in the circumstances.

Let me add, in this connection, that it was not to wound any one's feelings, that, after much consideration, *while Chief Justice Chase still lived*, it was resolved to include in this work the foregoing extracts, relating to the first great grief of him whose life engages our attention. On the contrary, the sole object of presenting those extracts always has been to make proper use of the means at my command of making readers well acquainted with the inner life of the man so often named throughout this work.

It may be thought questionable whether it was well to furnish such material. I do not say it is; I say only that it may be. My opinion, after much reflection, is, that to furnish that material was well; and, after much consideration, I resolved, as just stated, to use it as it has been actually used thus far. For, even if the furnishing of that material had seemed to me of doubtful discretion, I could not have felt at liberty, as a biographer, to suppress the revelations here in question.

I may make at once a similar remark respecting certain diaries, markedly showing the martial aspects of the life before us. As to them I was greatly perplexed; and, in spite of my resolution not to submit any part of this work to the suppression or to the dictation of its hero, I acquainted him with the nature of the doubt to which I now refer. He was unwilling to decide for me; but he intimated that, whatever doubt I might have on that subject ought to be resolved in favor of insertion rather than of supervision. He, he said, was interested. He had left all to my discretion, which was wholly disinterested; and to that discretion he must still leave the whole matter.

Take into consideration, how this man, even since his death, has been maligned. How important it is to show the depth of feeling in him—how important to make use of all the means at my command of showing him just as he was! Had I suppressed the foregoing extracts, would not my offense have been almost unpardonable?

The motto of this work will bear deep study. Let it be remembered here. To interpret the enigma in the life of Salmon Portland Chase, without the aid afforded by the matter here in question, would have been impossible.

CHAPTER XVIII.

SORROWING AND TOILING—PRIVATE LIFE AND LIFE IN PUBLIC.

THE conclusion of the entry under date January 9, 1835, is as follows:

"I have attended this evening a meeting of a committee on the subject of obtaining the public school-houses for the use of the Sabbath schools. I was appointed one of a committee to ascertain to whom application for this privilege should be made."

The record then goes forward in this manner :

"January 17. My little babe was vaccinated yesterday by Dr. Drake.

"To-day I have attended church with little profit. My mind has wandered exceedingly. The incident of yesterday has been suffered to occupy too much of my attention, and I have made little or no progress in the divine life. I have attended church three times—twice at Dr. Haight's and once at Mr. Brooke's. I have visited, as usual, the vault where lies the mortal part of her who was to me the life of life. It was misty and rained a little. Oh ! how ardently I wished, as I stood by the silent tomb, that the door might open, and that she, who slept within, might be restored to me ; but it might not be. And not my will, but thine, O God ! be done. I feel that the stroke is just. I feel that I have deserved far more evil than has fallen to my lot. I desire humbly to submit myself to the Divine Will, and magnify the name of the Lord. Yet could I be assured of her salvation, much of the bitterness of the cup would be removed. I strongly hope that she is safe—but the evidence is not clear and full.

"Jan. 18. I had a conversation this morning with my mother-in-law, in regard to the employment of a physician for the child, and I am grieved to say that I allowed myself to exhibit an improper spirit. It is my duty to be firm and decided in that course which my conscience approved ; but I should remember how much older than I she is ; I should remember that she is the mother of my dear departed wife, and in every way entitled to respect and deference from me. I do hope and pray that I may not thus offend any more. After this conversation I went to my sister's and told her that I thought I should be obliged to employ another physician, and that I should select Dr. Eberle. She said that she should be satisfied to have Dr.

Eberle attend the baby. She then conversed much on the circumstances of Kitty's last illness. These conversations unfitted me entirely for the business of the morning. I went down to the office. . . . In the afternoon, I wrote to Helen, inviting and urging her to come out here, should a suitable opportunity present. This evening I have attended a meeting of our vestry.

"Jan. 22. For the last two or three days I have been engaged in conducting, in aid of the prosecuting attorney, a criminal trial. Charles F. Gedney, lately one of the city watch, was indicted for maliciously and purposely shooting Isaac Maguire. The charge was for murder in the second degree. The examination of witnesses commenced on Wednesday, and was continued until about five o'clock last night, when I addressed the jury. The examination of the witnesses was extremely fatiguing. The evidence related to a transaction which took place in three or four minutes and was witnessed, from different points in the room, by different persons. There was, of course, a great deal of discrepancy in the testimony, and a great deal of testimony was introduced in relation to a previous difficulty between M— and G—, when the former was arrested by the latter and taken to the watch-house. I spoke about an hour and a half, and was listened to with great attention by a crowded audience. I have reason to think that in the judgment of my hearers I acquitted myself well."

I well remember that case. And I have not forgotten the bad verses in which Gedney made some of his appeals to public sympathy.

Mr. Chase continues :

"To-day, Mr. Fox and Mr. Benham have addressed the jury in behalf of the prisoner. I heard but little of Mr. F's speech. He is earnest and some times ingenious; he is vehement in manner and boisterous in enunciation. His main defect is want of logical consecutiveness."

Judge Fox himself will recognize that character as a well-drawn pen-portrait, as far as it goes. Mr. Chase goes on as follows :

"Mr. Benham has a high reputation as a speaker. He is a very portly man—somewhat obese, indeed—with a full, long, and broad face, surmounted by a forehead high but narrow and pyramidal. He has a good voice, but was, to-day, affected by a severe cold. His manner is good. He is perfectly self-possessed—understands his subject well—is slow and deliberate in his enunciation. He is verbose, however, and, to use a word which I to-day heard for the first time, very repetitionary. He expands, dilates, and repeats a great deal too much, and is, of course, excessively prolix. He spoke to-day over five hours. It was his first speech since his return from Louisville, and he put forth all his powers. He commenced by a very unwarrantable attack upon me in regard to my appearance there for the State. He said that I reversed the chivalry of my profession by appearing in the prosecution rather than the defense of criminals.

I had, he said, remarked that I could not conscientiously refuse my services when required. He did not envy me such a conscience. This language was highly improper, especially as coming from one so much my senior."

Of this portraiture I can not speak with certainty. I never heard Mr. Benham, though I very often heard of him, at the time in question.

The entry of the 22d also contains the following:

"I have been quite unwell to-day, and oh! how much do I miss the endearing attentions of my dear wife. How much do I regret that I can not tell her of my speech, and impart to her all my feelings. I made my way out of the Court-house while Mr. B. was speaking, and went to her grave, and ejaculated a brief prayer to God for strength and patience to do and suffer his will.

"I have spent this evening at my office, reading two articles in the *London Quarterly Review*—one reviewing brief¹ *Reed and Macheson's Tour*, Latrobe's *Rambles in America*'² *Abel's Tour*, etc., and another reviewing, with some severity, Willis' *Pencilings by the Way*."

The next entry reads as follows:

"January 26. I dreamed last night—as I do almost every night—of my dear departed wife; but I can not now recollect my dream. It has passed from me like the vision of Nebuchadnezzar. I rose later than usual this morning, for it was intensely cold. After prayer in my room alone I went down stairs and joined in family prayer. Oh! how my heart aches when I think that my dear wife is not permitted to join in these delightful exercises, but I do hope that she is worshiping the same God, in a better society. I remember her saying frequently that sin was the only cause of unhappiness in our family; and I am sure it would have gladdened her heart to kneel at the family altar with her father, mother, and husband.

"After breakfast, in conversation, her mother remarked that, about two hours before her death, she asked the doctor if her milk would not return when she should get well, saying that she could not bear the idea of not nursing her own babe. From this it seems that she was not at all aware of her immediate danger, or of her approaching dissolution. Surely, this was very wrong.

"After breakfast, I went to my office, where I have spent the greater part of the day in arranging my papers, which have been, for some time past, much deranged.

"This morning, conversing about a proposed amendment of our charter, Mr. George W. Neff remarked that they must send me to the Senate, next year, and get it through. I observed that I would have it done if they would send me. 'Well,' said Mr. Neff, 'if you will say you will accept the nomination I will assure you of my efforts in your behalf.' 'Why,' said I, 'I should like to go there

¹ So in the original.

² A delightful book.

one winter very well, if I could make it comport with my business. 'Well,' said he, 'I shall probably have some influence next year, and I will remember you.' *Nous verrons*, as Mr. Ritchie says. Who can tell what may happen ere another year rolls around? I have heard within a few hours that Mr. Garrard, one of the candidates for the legislature at the last election, lies even now in the grasp of death; and I have just returned from my evening visit to the tomb of my dear wife who was then in full health. Let me study to be ready for the coming of the Lord."

Here is a precious record :

"January 27. To-day I have been engaged in arranging my letters and in bringing up the arrears of my correspondence. I opened some old letters and read them. Among them are three from my dear and now sainted mother, written while I was at college. How precious are these remembrances of her now. How painfully pleasant to read over her good advice, her lessons of thrift and economy; lessons which she rigidly practiced from an earnest desire to have her children well educated, but which I, alas! too little regarded. How delighted she was to hear that her children had done well; but how much more she was anxious that they might win the favor of God! 'I hope they will be good, and that will be great to me.' How willing she was to spend, and be spent for us all! Oh! how little I deserved such a mother and such a wife as I have had and lost! Would that they could have been spared to me a little while longer, that I could have given more proofs of my affection to them. But God has seen fit to order otherwise, and I submit."¹

The next memorandum offered is as follows :

"February 10, 1836. I received a letter this evening from Mrs. Wirt. It was full of kind sympathy for a loss which seems to me greater and greater every day."

This letter is a fair specimen in exterior of the missives then despatched by mail by condoling friends. There yet clings to the paper the black sealing wax with which the enclosure was completed and made sacred. The whole letter, which is without envelope, being simply folded, as was then the fashion, bears upon its face these characters, the "25," like the post-mark, being in red ink :

25.

Salmon P. Chase, Esq.,

Cincinnati,

Ohio.



But no ordinary hand could have penned the contents of that folded, sealed paper. Reverently, I present this copy of them :

"RICHMOND, February 3, 1836.

"Could I alleviate one pang of the agony under which you are now suffering, my very dear friend, what is there that I would not do? But alas! in the dark season of distress and desolation, which has so suddenly overwhelmed you, crushing the heart almost to extinguishment, what can be offered by the truest friendship but *sympathy*? Hearts steeped in affliction as ours have been, know full well the impossibility of receiving other solace.

"The soothing Christian views of *such separations*, which you have so beautifully presented under similar trials and bereavements, can never be erased from my heart's memory; and could I do justice to the deep feeling of sorrow, with which we have heard of your affliction, and, like you, with heavenly eloquence draw off the suffering heart from the corroding *present* to the hopeful and blissful future, when there will be no more parting, no more sorrow, my pen should not soon be laid aside.

"The first intimation of your bereavement we received a few days since from Judge Randall, who was hastening to Washington on urgent business, partly connected with the alarming disturbances in Florida. We tried to hope that it might not be true, but were obliged to yield to the sad conviction of its reality, the judge having seen the announcement [in the *N. Intelligencer*] of the departure of the gifted and lovely partner of your bosom's joys and griefs to her congenial skies.

"May the Almighty hand that has wounded impart the healing balm which can alone flow from heavenly sources! May He, whose wisdom directeth all things in mercy, allay the storm of grief which now rends your heart, and bestow that peace, resignation, and submission, which He alone hath power to give!

"My children unite with me in expressions of deep sympathy and love. You are indeed, and always have been, one of our most cherished and valued friends. Your sorrows find a responding chord in each bosom, and our prayer is, that you may be supported and comforted in this your heavy and great trial.

"Affectionately and respectfully your deeply sympathizing friend,
"E. W. WIRT.

"To Salmon P. Chase, Esq."

But the sorrow so addressed was too deep for even such consolation. It was most alleviated, I doubt not, by such exercises of the pen as this :

"February 17. Rose this morning at my usual hour; washed, dressed, and breakfasted as usual. My dear little babe grows finely; but I can discover little or no resemblance to her departed mother. She takes a great deal of notice of many things—attends to sounds. Yesterday, she observed a picture very attentively. She has been

twice vaccinated, without effect. She is very good tempered, cries very little, and gives, so far as I have observed, very little trouble. She was three months old yesterday. To-day completes eleven weeks since her mother died. Oh! could she have been spared to witness the growth and improvement of our dear babe, how delighted she would have been! How often should I have been called upon to note one and another little feat of infancy! How happy we should have been! And it seems so strange that she should have been taken away. There was no cause for her death in the disease itself, had it not been aided by injudicious treatment."

Another part of the same is, excepting two omissions, as follows:

"Going to the Court this morning, I met Mr. ———, on the sidewalk. This individual has manifested a singular feeling of malevolence toward me ever since He avoids meeting my eye, and shuns speaking to me. I do not regret this in itself, because his character is such as to render association with him undesirable; but *I am unwilling to be on bad terms with any one*. I cherish no malevolent feelings toward him. On the contrary, I sincerely forgive his assault upon me, and was willing to speak to him to-day, but he looked the other way as he passed me, and we did not speak."

I must omit many things which I would like to present. The next document to which I ask attention is this letter to Mr. Trowbridge:

"WASHINGTON, *March, 16, 1864.*

"MY DEAR MR. TROWBRIDGE: In March, 1837, some anti-slavery men called at my office in Cincinnati, and said that a woman, named Matilda, had been seized, and was about to be carried out of the State under the Fugitive Slave Act of 1793, though, in reality, a free woman. I inquired into the circumstances, and found that she had been a slave in Virginia, and that her master, taking her with him to Missouri, had stopped at Cincinnati on the boat, which was fastened to the shore, at the public landing, in the usual way. From this boat Matilda had come up into the city with, or without, the knowledge and consent of her master, and found employment, and was now a servant in the house of James G. Birney. Under these circumstances she was claimed as a fugitive slave; while, in her behalf, it was insisted that, having come to the landing with the consent of her master, and, being thus within the territorial limits of the State of Ohio, she could not be taken from them without her own consent. I had no doubt of the correctness of this position, and readily consented to do what I could to protect her. With this view, I obtained a writ of *habeas corpus*, under which she was taken from those who held her under the writ issued by the Justice of the Peace,

and brought before Judge Este, the President Judge of the Court of Common Pleas.

"The cause was heard by him with courtesy and fairness, but, like almost all lawyers, and, indeed, almost all other men at that time, he looked upon claims to slaves as more entitled to favor than claims to liberty. He heard me asserting what I believed to be the true principles of constitutional construction, and legal as well as natural right, with very much the same sort of indulgence and indifference with which a kind-hearted professor of the Aristotelian philosophy may be supposed to have listened to a youthful disciple of the doctrine of the earth's motion around the sun. On the other side, the appeals of the counsel for the slave claimants were vehement and passionate, and were supported by the prejudices and sympathies of nearly the entire community. The Judge decided against the claim of Matilda, and she was remanded into slavery. My argument in her case was printed and quite widely circulated, and, perhaps, contributed something toward the formation of juster opinions.

"Nor was this case without some effect upon my future fortunes. It so happened that, in the audience, there was a young student of medicine, then, and for many years afterward, a stranger to me, full of generous sympathy with the oppressed, who listened to my argument with great satisfaction. This young student went to Europe and pursued his studies in the schools of Paris and other cities of the continent. When he returned to the United States, he established himself in one of the towns of northern Ohio, where he practiced his profession with great reputation and success. He retained his early principles, and enjoyed the confidence not only of those who agreed with him in opinion, but of the whole community in which he lived.

"In 1848, this young physician was elected to the Ohio Legislature, and was one of the small number who, independent of both parties, and willing to act with either for the advancement of their principles, secured, through the co-operation of the old line Democrats, the repeal of the odious code of oppressive enactments against the colored people, known as the 'Black Laws,' and my election to the Senate of the United States. It was the argument in the Matilda case which secured the confidence and attachment of Dr. Norton F. Townshend, and his earnest advocacy of my election.

"The Matilda case had another connection of another character. Mr. Birney, who had employed Matilda as a servant, was indicted upon the charge of having harbored her; for harboring a slave in Ohio was then an offense under the existing laws of the State. The case was tried before the same Judge who had heard the argument for Matilda. I defended Mr. Birney, but he was found guilty and sentenced to pay a fine of fifty dollars. From this decision I took an appeal to the Supreme Court, and the case was again heard before that tribunal. There was a manifest defect in the allegations of the indictment, to which I had not even invoked the attention of the Court of Common Pleas. In the Supreme Court I purposely avoided directing attention to this defect, because I was anxious to have a

decision upon the main question, whether Matilda, having been brought within the State by her master, remained a slave. If not a slave, Mr. Birney, of course, did not harbor a slave.

"At this time, a rule of the Supreme Court existed, prohibiting the publication of any reports of the arguments of counsel, except upon the special discretion of the court. The report of the case of the State against Birney, shows that the court reversed the judgment of the Common Pleas upon the technical ground to which their attention had not been directed, and directed the publication of the argument, though not in the slightest degree touching the point decided. The truth was, doubtless, that the court was satisfied that the judgment ought to be reversed, and yet was unwilling to meet the question presented by the argument; and yet not only willing, but desirous, to have the argument itself brought to the notice of the profession through the reports.

"I think it is not too much to say that this argument as well as that upon the *habeas corpus* for Matilda, had some influence upon professional and general opinions.

"Yours, truly,

"S. P. CHASE."

The only *entry* for 1837 begins as follows :

"August 24. It was just after daybreak when I awoke this morning. My little daughter was wide awake, and urgent to be taken up. I gratified her wish, and she was soon willing to return to bed. Not long, however, was she quiet. She wanted to go to grandma, and I took her to the door and let her go in. I then washed and dressed myself, and attended to my morning devotions — I trust, not without profit. I then walked down to my office, but did nothing there before breakfast. Found Helen waiting to see me, and urged her to be sure and consult the doctor about her symptoms, coughing, etc."

The remainder of the entry reads as follows :

"On returning to the office, saw and conversed with several persons; with E. Bailly, the carpenter, to whom I gave several copies of my speech in Matilda's case; with Mr. Morgan, the bookseller, with whom I advised as to the best mode of collecting a debt from —; Dr. Waldo, who consulted me as to the expediency of obtaining insurance on his life, which I rather discouraged. I, also, in the course of the morning, prepared a mortgage to be executed by Mr. S. E. Foote to the Lafayette Bank. After dinner, I went to the court-house and filed several declarations, and searched the appearance docket. After returning to my office, settled some business with Mr. Owens, the shoemaker, and, with the assistance of Truman Thorp, arranged my book-cases and books. Since then, I have taken supper; heard Freeman's verses out of the titles of Christ; read the *Philanthropist* and *Ohio Political Register*, and written the above. I shall now go home and to bed. Ten o'clock."

The *Cincinnati Gazette*, in February, 1838, thus introduced an article communicated by our hero : " The author is one of the most distinguished lawyers of the State, and is not an abolitionist." The article so introduced reviewed a report of the judiciary committee of the Senate of Ohio against the granting, by the State, of trial by jury to alleged fugitives from service.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE SECOND WIFE—DEATH OF THE FIRST DAUGHTER—BIRTH OF THE
SECOND DAUGHTER—OTHER MATTERS.

IN one of the books furnished me by the man whom we follow through the course of his remarkable career, was one which, under the head of *Family Memoranda*, contains this entry :

"S. P. Chase and Eliza Ann Smith (who [was] born in Cincinnati, November 12, 1821, and daughter of Edmund C. Smith and Mary Smith) married September 26, 1839. Rev. Henry Van Slyke Johns."

For many reasons, I deeply regret that I am not able to furnish a more complete account of the lady who became the second wife of Mr. Chase, and who seems to have been so worthy of her place in his heart and at his hearth. But we shall see, ere long, more than a little of her unpretending love and sacrifice.

Here are several extracts from the registry so often quoted :

"May 2, [1846]. After a long interval, I resume this journal. What a change, since the last entry was made, has a single circumstance wrought. My dear little daughter's death! What sorrow, and yet, blessed be God! what consolation. My most cherished hope blasted! but she safe forever.

"This day I have done little, almost nothing. Read but little Scripture this morning, and have read nothing else of consequence during the whole day. Rode out to Edgeforest with wife, Eliza, and Mr. Gallagher; gathered wild flowers. Mr. Gallagher at supper. After supper wrote to Mrs. Garniss. I go now to prayer, and then to bed.

"May 4, 8 o'clock, A. M. Yesterday I was greatly troubled with wandering thoughts, and my mind was far too little affected by the sacredness of the day. Was dull at Sunday school and in church. Young Mr. Gassaway preached, and well. Read, at home, two Nos. *Journal Christian Education*. Many valuable ideas suggested worth reflecting on—especially, how, in common schools, can gospel motives be substituted for worldly motives to gain knowledge and perform duty. Read, also, from Cowper, to wife, his glowing description of the coming millennium—the Sabbath of the world."

Under date July 1, 1840, is the entry :

"As I was going to my office after dinner, was joined by Mr. Whiteman, who wished to secure my vote in council for James F. Irwin, an old school-fellow of mine, who desires the appointment of Secretary of the Waterworks. I told him that I had already determined to cast my vote for Mr. Richards, if no other candidate of superior qualifications presented himself, and I thought Mr. Irwin's not superior. If, however, Mr. Richards should decline, and I could do so consistently with my public duty, I should be happy to further Mr. I's views."

Not much of the politician there! I can imagine Chase's manner: kind, yet almost frosty. He continues, introducing an anecdote of a very interesting personage :

"While we were talking, Gen. Harrison came from the opposite direction. We met and exchanged the usual greetings. I saw that something disturbed the General, and was not long left to guess the cause. 'Do you know a person named Bailey?' said he, addressing me. 'Very well,' I replied. He then requested me to call on him with Mr. Greene, or alone, and inquire of him what foundation he had for the charges published against him yesterday morning in the *Philanthropist*. I said I was willing to go alone, but would prefer not to be associated in a mission of that sort with Mr. Greene. Mr. Owen, near whose door we stood, said, 'Let Mr. C. go alone,' and the General assented. The General, at the same time said he had never called on Dr. Bailey but once, and had said nothing which could give color to the charges against him, unless it might be a remark he had made that he would as soon appoint an abolitionist to office as anybody else if qualified. He said he particularly wanted to know if, in any conversations with Dr. B., he had ever been understood to retract any of the sentiments expressed in the Vincennes or Cheviot speeches. Soon afterward I called on Dr. B. I told him what I wanted, and made the particular inquiries which the General suggested. He said the speeches were not definitely named or referred to in the conversation. I remarked that I thought he had dealt with unwarranted harshness by Gen. H. He said that I was not more sorry for it than he was that the occasion had arisen."

Here is an important record, under date July 12, 1840 :

"Formed no definite plan for the employment of the day. Rose about 6; went to the library; recommitted 16 verses of the 109th Psalm, and read the 2d chapter of Matt., Gr. Text; private devotion; ate moderately; attended Sunday school—about 80 present. Two young gentlemen from Texas called to see the school, and afterward sat with me in church. They were teachers, they said, in a Sunday school in Austin, in Texas. *It is said that the Episcopal Church is more favorably regarded than any other church in Texas. Can this be*

owing to the fact that the Episcopal Church has taken no ground against Slavery, but, on the contrary, has a slave-holding ministry?"

Under date July 14, 1840, is the record :

"Miss Carneal gives a fashionable party to-night. A political meeting is held in the 3d Ward. Mr. Benham, once a rising star, bright and brightening, distinguished for talent, for oratory, and for personal advantages, afterward a bankrupt in fortune and fame, both sacrificed to appetite, lies at a public hotel, the victim of disease, near the termination of his mortal career. In an obscure street, nursed by a mother, herself rude and uneducated, if not intemperate, lies a young man, suffering the last agonies of long-protracted disease, but cheerful, grateful, supported by a hope that never fails—at least I so judge. What contrasts of fact, and of opinion, and of emotion are here!"

On the 15th, the death of Mr. Benham is thus noticed :

"Mr. Benham had died and his body had been committed to the tomb."

July 15, 1840, has the record :

"Until half-past seven, I recommitted 24 verses of the 119th Psalm; attended family prayers, breakfasted, and read the *Gazette*; the only article of permanent interest was that the Sultan had given a Constitution to the Ottoman Empire—a striking event in the history of the age, and probably the herald of events more striking still. Another article was an elaborate vindication, by the affidavits of old citizens, of Gen. Harrison, the Whig candidate for the Chief Magistracy of the Republic, from the charge of ancient Federalism—from the sin of having agreed with Washington, with Hamilton, with Jay!"

Was that the sentiment of an independent Whig with Democratic ideas? Let us not too rashly answer. Nice discriminations must be made in this behalf, or none.

July 16, Mr. Chase made this record :

"Formed no plan this day; attended to business as usual; read about 35 pages Conf. Laws; Mr. Clay's speech—a masterly effort. Went into the country in the evening five miles to see my wife, who returned with me. *A gentleman handed me the call for an anti-slavery convention, wishing me to sign it. I declined, and reasoned with him on the impropriety of the step at the present time; but, I think, without much effect.*

July 26, 1840, has this, in part, pathetic record :

"For more than a week I have neglected to frame any plan, and

though I have continued to read with some diligence, I have omitted several duties, through forgetfulness, which I think I should have remembered had I looked forward through each day, and assigned to each hour its appropriate employment.

"This morning I did not rise till past seven o'clock, and had time only for family prayer and breakfast, after dressing, before the bell rang for the Sunday school, which I attended. The number present exceeded seventy; I purposed addressing them, but did not. After Sunday school I returned home, not being willing to be absent longer from my wife in her present state of health; found her, on my return, asleep. Spent the morning chiefly in reading various articles of a religious character, in the *New York Evangelist*; was interested particularly by a condensed sketch of the results of missionary enterprise. How few are at any pains to inform themselves on this subject, the most deeply interesting, except one's personal salvation, to every true Christian.

"After dinner had a most interesting conversation with my dear wife. It was made up of reflections on the providential dealings of our heavenly Father with us, and especially in relation to our dear little departed one. From every subject of reflection my mind constantly reverts to my little one in heaven.

"Lizzy said that one day, as she was sitting on her grandfather's knee, he used some harsh expressions in relation to an absent individual. She looked up, and said, 'Grandpa, is that right? only wicked people call folks such names.' Her grandfather's eyes filled with tears, and she added, 'Grandpa won't do so any more; will you, grandpa?'

"When playing with little children, if asked to play any part, as pretending to visit, etc., she would ask if that was right to say what was not the truth. Not long before her death, her grandfather, coming into the parlor, found her kneeling before her mother's picture, and asked her what she was doing. She answered, he told me, that she was praying her mother to take her to heaven. I hardly think this was so, for she was always taught to pray only to God, and she was much in the habit of praying to him when in any little affliction. She probably said that she had been praying to God to take her to heaven to her dear mother. This was a wish she often expressed. On one occasion, she came and told me that a meal was ready, and I asked some one to see if it was; she seemed hurt, and said, 'Pa! don't you think I tell the truth?'

"Whenever I denied any thing to her she invariably acquiesced, saying, 'Pa knows what is best for his little daughter,' and never fretted or cried on account of it.

"After the conversation which revived these reminiscences, I reviewed the latter part of the 119th Psalm. This is the third time I have gone over the whole of this Psalm in addition to my other Bible reading. I mean to continue to do so, until I can repeat it with facility from beginning to end."

The next day we have:

"Rose at half-past five. Took a bath, and, while doing so, repeated

nearly 40 verses of 119th Psalm; dressed, and at a quarter past six had family prayer. Called Warren, and told him to hire a carriage for me to go to Lawrenceburg. It is now half-past six. My plan for the day must be short: from half-past six to eight, Bible, private devotions, breakfast, etc.; eight to twelve, ride to L.; twelve to four, dinner, conversation with brother, etc.; four to eight, ride home; eight to nine, tea, etc.; half an hour, Fr. Rev.;¹ till ten, review, plan, devotion, and bed."

Perhaps, no man of genius in the ordinary sense of that expression, could have lived, or resolved to live as, we see, did the hero of this work. But it is hard to define genius. Much that bears the name of genius might well bear the name fatuity. But, whether Chase was, or was not, a genius, he was certainly a man who knew the preciousness of time.

Here are farther extracts:

"August 4. How rapidly time fleets; already the fourth day of the last month of summer, and but yesterday the summer begun.

"August 12. When I came home, this evening, I found my dear wife suffering a good deal of pain, but sitting up, and, apparently, otherwise well. Her suffering increased, however, and, after tea, I insisted on sending for the physician and her mother. The latter came first, and it soon became apparent that Lizzie was about to be confined. The servant was sent again, to hasten the doctor, and I sent for Mrs. Ball, a kind friend, deservedly dear to us all. She came as soon as she could, but, before she arrived, I had sent for the nurse, and the doctor (Dr. Rives) had come. . . . I went apart, and, kneeling down, prayed God to support and comfort my dear wife, to preserve the life of the child, and save both from sin. I endeavored to give up the child, and all into his hands. I went, once or twice, into the room where my suffering wife lay, and, occasionally, whispered to her words of consolation. She bore her pains with great fortitude, and, I believe, was strengthened by her heavenly Father to endure. At length, after full trial of her patience, by a protracted labor of four hours, a little daughter was born. Mrs. Ball came to announce the tidings to me. But, lying in the next room, I had heard the pleased exclamation of the kind physician, after all was safely over. After awhile, I went into the room. The birth had taken place at two o'clock, A. M., on the 13th. After I had seen my wife and child, I went into the library, and read a few pages in Eberle's book on children—a judicious treatise. At last, I became tired, and, though it was now day, lay down, and slept awhile. *The babe is pronounced pretty. I think it quite otherwise.*"

The father was mistaken. He had been mistaken, at first, as to the beauty of his first wife. He was mistaken, at first, no doubt, as to the beauty of the child whose birth he recorded in this fashion:

¹ Thiers' *French Revolution*.

"Catherine Jane Chase, second daughter of S. P. C., and E. A. C. born August 13, 1840.

That daughter is the celebrated Mrs. Sprague, whose beauty, accomplishments, and distinction, were mentioned in a former chapter. The delighted father, and fond husband, proceeds as follows :

"It is, however, well formed, and I am thankful. May God give the child a good understanding, that she may keep his commandments. I have done little this day, besides reading a few pages in Story's *Conflict of Laws*. Saw Mr. Piatt about ——'s debt to me. Wrote to Mr. —— about his debt to me.—My wife has been very comfortable, to-day, and has slept well. The child has been restless and uneasy. . . . Since I came home this evening, I have repeated the whole of the 119th Psalm, being obliged still, however, frequently to refer to the book."

The register, so often called a diary, contains, under date August 13, 1840, this additional record :

"I have also written to Mr. Neil on the subject of property offered me by Mr. Piatt.

"I now lay down this plan for to-morrow :

"Rise at half past five to six; dress; to seven, repeat Psalm—devotions; to eight, family prayer, breakfast, etc.; to nine, Story on *Conflict and Accidentals*¹; to one P. M., court-house, office business, especially preparation of causes; bank, and business again; to two, dinner; to six, office business; private business; to eight, tea, etc.; to ten, *History of French Revolution*; to half-past eleven, journal, etc."

But the next entry is dated August 20. It is very suggestive, I consider. Here it is :

"I have omitted to form any regular plans for each day, as it seems impossible for me to do more than sketch the outline of each day's action as it takes place, whether planned or no.

"This morning, I rose about half past six o'clock—was interrupted in dressing, and did not get ready for family prayers until about half-past seven. Then attended family prayers, but was cold and formal. Neither my thoughts nor my affections seemed free. Repeated, as usual, while dressing, a considerable part of the 119th Psalm, and afterward, during the day, the whole of the residue. I do hope the word thus hid in my heart will keep me from sinning against God. Nothing saves me from absolute despair, in the contemplation of the perverseness and guilt of my heart, but the certainty that the atonement is infinite, and that the Holy Spirit is pledged to those who ask."

¹ So I make out the word.

That is a true photograph of a true spirit. Faults there were and great faults in this earnest, rather dark-minded man ; but he was true at heart, and to the heart's core, when he wrote those words.

Sunday, August 29th, affords the following hardly less important indication :

"After breakfast, we went to church, where I superintended the Sunday school as usual, and addressed the children, briefly, on topics suggested by the hymn for to-day. Must pay more attention to these addresses, and try to make them more interesting and instructive. Attended church. A strange sermon, sound, but badly composed and delivered. *Why can not clergymen speak to their fellow-citizens in a frank, kind, and natural manner—as a man would speak to a friend whom he was warning against evil habits and dangerous courses?*"

"Why, indeed? The pulpit and the press—how powerful they might be—nay, they are—yet how much more powerful for good might they become, could the preacher and the printer only be brought to comprehend the possibilities alluded to!

The entry last quoted concludes as follows :

"In the afternoon, committed part of 137th Psalm, and read *Life of Chrysostom*. In evening, attended church ; Mr. Johns preached ; text, God be merciful to me, a sinner ; walked to near home with Col. Dudley ; found Mrs. Garniss with wife ; went home with her ; wrote the foregoing, and now to bed."

Under date December 25, 1840, appear the words :

"When I ceased writing in this journal, last August, I intended only to omit it for a day or two. The day or two, by procrastination, has been extended to near four months. Yet idleness has not been the cause of the omission. I have allowed other things, of less real importance, to engross the time.

"During the interval, I have been at Lockport, in New York, and at Chicago, in Illinois. Went to Chicago from Cleveland, in steamboat of that name. Encountered storm on Lake Huron. Read *History of Michigan* and Cobbett on *Paper Money*, on board the boat.

"Since my return, have been almost constantly occupied in professional duties and public engagements. Have, nevertheless, continued to read Thiers, and have commenced De Tocqueville *de la Démocratie des États Unis*.

"To-day I rose too late ; attended to private and family prayer ; afterward read several chapters in Leviticus ; having again began to read the Scriptures in course, intending to read the Old Testament in private and the New with the family ; the 19th chapter ; analyzed and compared its precepts with the ten commandments, which it expands and enforces in a most admirable manner. It is my deliberate opinion that all the writings of all moral and politi-

cal philosophers do not contain so much practical wisdom, whether applicable to States or persons. While analyzing this chapter, my wife came in, ready to go to church. We went; an excellent sermon from Mr. Johns, on the Divinity of our Savior, from Mal., 'The Lord whom ye seek,' etc. After sermon, communion. Before church received a letter from several clergymen in reply to a note signed by myself and others as a committee of Young Men's Bible Society, in answer to a remonstrance on their part against the election of Unitarians as officers, or the selection of such as speakers for the Society. Thought the letter weak as an argument.

"After church, read a few pages in *French Revolution*, and then went to Mr. Ball's to dine. A small and not very interesting party. Might have made it more interesting and profitable had I taken the proper course.

"Coming home, called at Mrs. Smith's, where we had left our baby, who has now grown finely, and is very healthy. After coming home, went to Mr. Garniss', where we sat talking some time; then home again to tea; then to my office, whence returned immediately without doing any thing. Read Thiers' *Geography of Switzerland*, and wrote. Wife unwell from cold, and retired early.

"Wife made Christmas presents—Margaret, dress; Nancy, shawl; Betsey, half dollar; me, suspenders. I gave Warren a silver pencil case."

Does it not seem strange to any one who is old enough to remember 1840 clearly—does it not seem strange to any such reader that these words should have been written during that year by Salmon Portland Chase?

Was this man a politician at that time? Was he ambitious then? Did he contemplate presidential possibilities?

CHAPTER XX.

FROM 1840 TO 1845—THE VANZANDT CASE—POLITICS AND PROFESSIONAL OCCUPATIONS—DEATH OF THE SECOND WIFE.

THE mad fashion of 1840 was little to the liking of the man whose character we more and more perceive assuming grand proportions. Chase, indeed, supported Harrison ; but the support was not markedly enthusiastic. Its character may be somewhat indicated by this entry, under date February 13, 1841 :

"Wrote to Gen. Harrison by Maj. Clarkson, recommending appointment of C. to post-office in Cincinnati, E. to consulate in Europe, or some other suitable port, and G. to consulate in Europe, and advising the General to make no allusion to the subject of slavery in his inaugural address."

Gen. Harrison did not heed this counsel. He followed the examples of his predecessors, Van Buren and Jackson. Slavery was strong, and Harrison was weak.

The death of Harrison, however, was an event which very naturally interested Chase.

I can not find room for a very pleasant account of a river trip, on which our hero went with his wife and their little daughter, who were on the way to New Orleans, as far as Louisville. We must go forward rapidly ; and much that I would like to offer must be un-presented.

Very marked was the course of Mr. Chase in Council as a foe to King Alcohol. One entry in the register so often quoted contains the sentences :

"On Wednesday evening, at the Council, I openly declared my resolution to vote for no more licenses to sell intoxicating drinks, whether to taverns or other houses, and I took some pains to prevent the grant of a license to a new house proposed to be established on Main Street, in which I succeeded. I don't know what

the effect may be on me personally, but I believe that I have done right."

That is not the language of a politician. It is not the language of a man preferring popularity to self-esteem and self-approval.

It is pleasant to encounter such paragraphs as this:

"Greatly disappointed getting no letter from my wife, Miss Hewson having received one from Mr. Hewson, who went in the same boat, dated on the 12th, the boat having arrived on the 10th. Wrote to wife; sent one letter by New Orleans steamboat, the other by mail. Went to Miss Hewson's in the evening, hoping to hear something of her—in vain."

On the next day, Sunday, Mr. Chase, "after church, read on the subject of Temperance with a view to oppose farther licensing of houses for sale of liquor by City Council."

The following Sunday he marked with an entry, opening as follows:

"This is Sunday—always a welcome day to me, though, in one sense, it can hardly be called a day of rest."

The same entry concludes:

"Afterwards, read Dymond's Essays, Temperance Documents, and Bible; reading desultory, and, of course, comparatively unprofitable."

On the 23d of May, 1841, is the record:

"Conversed with my dear wife. She said that if she should die she should have great pain in parting with little Kate, but did not doubt that the Lord would take care of her. 'You don't know,' said she, 'how delighted I was when you kneeled down with me after we were married. I thought I should be inexcusable if I did not become pious—all difficulties seemed to be taken out of the way.' My dear wife is not well, though, I trust, not in great danger. It is delightful to feel that she sympathizes with me in religious views and feelings, and to believe that she is indeed a¹ child of God. How much sanctity, how much tenderness, does this thought add to the marriage relation."

In November, 1841, the *Cincinnati Gazette* contained the first call for a State Liberty Convention in Ohio, as follows:

"It is desirable that the friends of Constitutional Liberty should meet in convention at Columbus for the purpose of nominating a

¹ I can not make out the adjective.

candidate for Governor at the ensuing election, and for mutual conference with a view to efficient political organization and the public declaration of their political principles by a suitable address and resolutions."

It is said this call was "originated" by Mr. Chase. Perhaps that statement is not quite correct. But, however that may turn out, the call was signed by our hero, with Samuel Lewis, Thomas Morris, John Joliffe, and W. Reys. It named Columbus, and December 29, 1841, for time and place.

Accordingly, delegates from thirty-six counties repaired to Columbus on that day. Some of the delegates were opposed to nominations and to action as a party. But Hon. Leicester King, of Trumbull County, was nominated for Governor, Mr. Chase actively working for that result, and for an efficient organization in the world of party politics. The address, unanimously adopted by the convention, was drawn up by him. And he harangued the people at various places, in favor of the action so taken by the convention. Mr. King received between five and six thousand votes.

Here is an entry under the head, "Family Memoranda:—"

"Lizzie Chase, daughter of S. P. C. and E. A. C., born May 30, 1842; died August 30, 1842."

The next matter to which I invite attention is a letter of great interest. It reads as follows:

"March 18th.

"DEAR SIR:—John Vanzandt, who is the original of the famous John Van Trompe in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, was an old man who had emigrated from Kentucky, and owned and occupied a small farm in Hamilton County. His means were slender and his education limited, but his heart was rich in benevolence, and his honesty was doubted by none. He was an abolitionist from principle and from sympathy. He believed that slave-holding was wrong, and his kindly nature was prompt to succor the distressed, and found especial gratification in aiding fugitives from the oppression of slavery.

"On the night of Friday, 22d of April, 1842, a number of slaves from Kentucky escaped into Ohio. Their escape was probably voluntary. There are very few cases, I believe, in which persons other than slaves themselves, have had any thing to do in prompting, or even assisting, their original flight. This party of slaves consisted of nine persons.

"On reaching the Ohio, they, doubtless, found friends who conducted them to Walnut Hills, in the vicinity of Lane Seminary. There Vanzandt, returning from the Cincinnati market, where he had been selling the products of his farm, found them, and, moved by sympathy, undertook to convey them, in his wagon, to Lebanon or Springfield. One of the slaves, Andrew, acted as driver. They

were met, some fifteen miles north of Cincinnati, by some ruffians, who, suspecting them to be fugitive slaves, undertook to seize them. They succeeded, except as to Andrew, the driver, who jumped from his seat and escaped.

"Such was the temper of the times, and such the countenance given, by the decisions of the Supreme Court, to such practices, that this abduction of persons from this jurisdiction of Ohio into Kentucky could not be punished. A prosecution was commenced against them, and there was a sort of trial as to some of them. The prosecuting attorney, however, evinced little zeal, while they were defended by Thomas Corwin and John B. Weller, both men of marked ability. They were acquitted, more by the public sentiment than by the jury, who rendered the verdict of acquittal.

"Vanzandt was sued by Jones, from whom the slaves had escaped, for harboring and concealing them. I was called upon to defend Vanzandt, and very willingly undertook the cause. It came to trial before Judge McLean, at Cincinnati, in July, 1842. The evidence having been submitted on the part of the plaintiff, a motion was made by Thomas Morris, who was associated with me in the defense, to overrule the evidence, on the ground that, admitting all the facts proved, they established no case of unlawful harboring or concealment, and no notice to the defendant that the alleged fugitives had escaped from Kentucky into Ohio. These propositions were fully discussed by Mr. Morris and myself, on the one side, and by Messrs. Fox and Southgate, on the other. My argument occupied nearly three hours, and I really thought I had established, to the satisfaction of the court, that, in order to charge a citizen of Ohio with the penalties denounced by the Fugitive Slave Act against harboring and concealing persons escaping from slavery, there must be proof of actual notice, to the person charged, that the objects of his charity had escaped from a slave State into the State where he received them. The words of the Fugitive Slave Act itself were express, that, to create a liability to penalty, the acts charged must be 'after notice,' and I insisted that the words 'after notice' must be taken to mean notice by the claimant of the fact of escape, or, at least, actual notice given by somebody of that fact with a view to charge the party notified. I think the general impression in the large audience of intelligent gentlemen who listened to my argument, was, that these points, at least, were established. Indeed, such was the impression made upon the mind of the plaintiff, Jones, that he came to me, after the adjournment of the court upon the close of the argument, and said he was sorry that he had brought the suit, and should not have done so if he had not been badly advised. The next morning, however, scattered my anticipations. The judge came into the court and overruled the motion.

"Upon this, the cause went to the jury, and was again fully argued; but, under the law, as stated from the bench, there was no possible hope of a favorable verdict. It was against the defendant, with damages to the amount of \$1200.

"I then made a motion for a new trial, and another for an arrest of judgment. They were argued together. The judge did not decide the motion in arrest, but, in the course of his opinion upon the other

motion, stated principles which would necessarily decide that motion in favor of the defendant. I did not press the motion in arrest farther at that time, nor did I take the new trial.

"Besides this suit for damages, an action had been prosecuted against Vanzandt to recover the penalty of \$500, given by the act of 1793. In this action, as in the other, the verdict was for the plaintiff. Several questions, however, which arose during the prosecution, and several questions which arose upon the motion to arrest the judgment in this case, were carried to the Supreme Court of the United States for final decision. I preferred to await the decision upon these questions before determining what course I should pursue in relation to the verdict for damages.

"At the December term, 1841, the cause was argued upon certified questions before the Supreme Court of the United States. Mr. Senator Moorhead appeared for Jones, while Gov. Seward and I represented Vanzandt. The case was reached upon the docket sooner than, through information from one of the judges, I had been led to expect, and, at my instance, a postponement was asked. The court denied it, but consented to receive written arguments if presented within fifteen days. The time was short, but the arguments were submitted, and the case decided, upon all points, adversely to Vanzandt. When the certificates of these decisions were presented in the Circuit Court, final judgment for the penalty was, of course, entered.

"I then moved in arrest of the judgment in the suit for damages, but the judge had changed his opinion on the controlling points, and the decision was again adverse. I then proposed to accept the new trial upon the terms of the order already made; but the court had changed its opinion upon this question also, and denied the motion, and judgment was entered against Vanzandt for the \$1200 damages as well as for the penalty. The character of the eminent judge who made these decisions forbids the supposition that he was controlled by any other than upright purposes; but I could never help thinking that, in the absence of the universal bias created by the dread of the slave power, the decisions would have been very different.

"My connection with these cases necessarily terminated with the judgments. Both Mr. Seward and myself gave our services without compensation. A small sum was contributed by friends for the actual expenses of the defense, but it was not sufficient even for that purpose. The loss Vanzandt suffered embarrassed him seriously, and, I believe, he never recovered from its damaging effects. He has long since gone where the Supreme Judge of all certainly holds humanity no crime. Vanzandt's best monument is in Mrs. Stowe's immortal book. Yours, truly,

"S. P. CHASE."

December, 1842, was marked by the action, at Columbus, of a State convention of the Liberty Party. Mr. Chase was chairman of the committee on resolutions and address. He also spoke to the convention in a set speech.

This remarkable discourse insisted that slavery could not, constitutionally, exist within the jurisdiction of Congress, whether in the Territories, in the District of Columbia, or in vessels on the high seas. It set forth the importance of international negotiations for the free admission of the agricultural products of the West into the markets of Europe. It declared against a mere paper money system of currency, and against the frauds and undue expansions of banks and their suspensions of payment on their issues and deposits. The speaker confessed his faith in favor of free trade, yet so as that, while the expenses of government should continue to be derived from duties as imports, those duties should be so arranged as to encourage any branch of production or fabrication which would thereby, in a reasonable time, become so established as no longer to require protection.

Mr. Chase was never a no-party man. The address drafted by him for the convention, under notice, ably and spiritedly argues the necessity of the new party.

Under date June 1, 1843, is an entry which contains the sentences :

"About a quarter before one, a little stranger was ushered into the world; another daughter. I can not be sufficiently thankful that my dear wife has passed through the crisis so well."

Under date June 20th, we have :

"I have concluded not to attend Anti-Slavery Convention at Bloomingsburg. Lizzy still improves; baby opens her eyes a little. Dr. lets Lizzy have some strawberries."

June 23d witnessed the memorandum of a visit, to which this note was added :

"Came home and called at Dr. Bailey's, just returned from Bloomingsburg Convention; the best yet held in the State; 1500 people; excellent speeches; King, Lewis, Morris, Hudson, and others; enthusiastic and resolute. Lizzy and baby still doing finely; Lizzy sitting up most of day."

The entry dated June 26th, reads, in part, as follows :

"Rose late; in private and family prayer cold; alas! when shall I overcome wandering thoughts and worldly imaginations. Breakfast late; obliged to send for bread. Mr. Buchler and Mr. Hendry (last introduced by Mr. B. F. Wade), called at office. Discussed

with him (H.) principles of Liberty men as distinguished from abolitionists."

In the entry dated July 2d, appear the sentences :

"Mr. Cleveland, in prayer, asked for the deliverance of the land from slavery, among other sins and evils, and in his sermon spoke of the imprisonment of Butler and Worcester in Georgia Penitentiary. Coming out of church, Mr. Ewing asked me how I liked their stranger. On my expressing the gratification I felt, he said his anti-slavery feelings stuck out too much for that congregation—that his allusion to the imprisonment in the Georgia Penitentiary was evidence of it. 'Why, I replied, 'that was no allusion to slavery! Butler and Worcester were the missionaries, imprisoned by the Georgia authorities, for whom Wirt made his great speech.' It seemed that he supposed they were abolitionists imprisoned for some aggression on slavery—and this gent. is one of the most intelligent members of the church."

The Buffalo Convention of 1843 was a most important body, and the *role* of our hero in it was not second to that of any other member. He prepared the platform. But he did not propose or approve the resolution in favor of treating a clause of the Constitution, whenever applied in the case of a fugitive slave as utterly null and void, and consequently as forming no part of the supreme law of the land, "whenever called upon or sworn to support it."

The truth in this respect was made known by Senator Chase in reply to Mr. Butler, of South Carolina. Said Mr. Chase:

"I have only to say, I never proposed the resolution; I never would propose or vote for such a resolution. I hold no doctrine of mental reservation. Every man, in my judgment, should say precisely what he means—keeping nothing back, here or elsewhere."

Rev. John Pierpont, of Massachusetts, was the real father of the fanatical folly in question. It was submitted to the Committee on resolutions. Mr. Chase opposed it, and the committee rejected it. But Mr. Pierpont was not vanquished. He proposed his resolution in open convention, when Mr. Chase was not present, and it was adopted without discussion, in a blaze of enthusiasm.

Mr. Chase, in 1844, supported James G. Birney.

At a meeting of the Loyal National Repeal Association of Ireland, held May 10, 1843, Daniel O'Connell said some things, in his fashion, far from favorable to the Irish-American supporters of the then "peculiar institution of the South." Such eminent Irish-American

repealers as David T. Disney were greatly concerned about that utterance of the great Irish leader. They responded to the liberator. Mr. Disney was thought to have surpassed himself in that response. But Mr. O'Connell, in a letter, dated October 11, 1843, replied, *more suo*.

Whereupon such eminent Irish-Americans as Salmon Portland Chase took up the tale. "The Friends of Liberty, Ireland, and Repeal," assembled in Cincinnati, and Mr. Chase as one of a committee, prepared an address, reviewing the relations of the Federal Government to slavery at the period of its organization, setting forth the original anti-slavery policy and the subsequent growth of the opposite policy, and vindicating the Liberty Party.

It was surprising to find how much Irish blood and Irish extraction showed themselves in born Americans at that time.

I knew Mr. Disney well. He was a very able man. I have no doubt that he was just as conscientious as were Chase and the other "Liberator;" conscientiousness does not always enable one to discern truth; and, alas! it does not always make one just toward his fellow-men. Mr. Disney believed that Mr. Chase was keeping back the day of deliverance for the slave by agitating so excitedly in favor of emancipation and against what Mr. Disney deemed the constitutional *status* of the slaveholder. *Status* did not seem to Mr. Disney presently necessary to the slave. For a century or so, he could content himself with the assurance that by and by something might turn up to induce the slaveholder to give up his human chattel.

I would not be understood that abolitionists did *not* keep back the day of freedom. That is a theme of which I speak not now. Hereafter I may say a word about the subject, notwithstanding its great delicacy.

Here is another entry under the head, "Family Memoranda:"

"Lizzie Chase, 2nd daughter of S. P. Chase and E. Chase, born June 1, 1843; died July 24, 1844."

From July 3, 1843, to April 22, 1849, there is no entry in the register so often quoted.¹ I have found, however, another book of

¹ The entry under date July 3, 1843, is as follows: "Read, after dressing, a Psalm, the 50th, and the four first chapters of Matt. Some earnestness in prayer. Was obliged to correct my dear little Kate. Prayed with her. Brought up the journal from June 26."

entries, which contains the following mournful record, under date Nov. 24, 1845:

"I resume my journal after a long intermission, during which the saddest affliction has fallen upon me. I have recorded its details in separate sheets which, with other intervening events I may yet note in this book.¹ If so the preceding page will exhibit a reference to them."

In another book, under the head "Family Memoranda," we have the entry:

"Eliza Ann Smith, born Nov. 12, 1821; married S. P. Chase, Sep. 26, 1839; died Mon. 24, P. M., Sep. 29, 1845; 23 y. 10 m. 17 d."

The entry under date Nov. 24th, goes on as follows:

"This day has been marked by no extraordinary event; rose, as usual, of late, before sunrise; breakfasted with sister Alice and little Kate. Read Scriptures (Job) to little Kate, who listened and seemed to be pleased, probably with the solemn rhythm—for she certainly can understand very little; then prayed with her; then to town in omnibus; unshaven, for want of time."

It concludes as follows:

"Home in omnibus. Read newspapers; read *Landscape Gardening*. Heard little Kate read a little poem; also in Bible; and wrote above. A little more time now on Vanzandt case, and then to bed."

Under date Nov. 25th, is an entry, from which I draw these words:

"Supper. Prayers. Heard Kate read Bible. Before coming down called on Whitney, railroad king—he full of enthusiasm, which he has breathed into Cist, who now admits himself mistaken as to the destiny of Cincinnati to be the greatest city in the world, which preëminence is, in his opinion, reserved for the city to be at the Pacific termination of the railroad."

Dec. 2d, has the entry:

"I wrote nothing on Sunday or Monday night because I felt too much indisposed. On Sunday, however, I was at church in the morning, and in the afternoon attended funeral services of Sam. Lewis' child, at his house on Broadway. He is said to have been a very bright child, just turned of 4 years—only two months younger than my dear little Kate,² and destroyed by the same dreadful disease—the scarlet fever. During the night, Sunday, I was quite ill, and much alarmed by my symptoms—sinking faintness, palpitation, violent shaking. Dear sister Alice wrapped me up warm—made a fire in my room and gave me hot drink, and, after a while, I got better.

¹ Not done.

² The first daughter.

Monday I was in town, and devoted most of my time to stating an account of my debts, which were more than I expected. I thought I had reduced them to about \$9,000, but found them to exceed \$11,000. Abstained from dinner in hope of benefit from it. To bed soon after prayers, and rather restless night. Very cold this morning. Rather restless night. Thermometer this morning 8° above zero. To town in sleigh omnibus. Busied chiefly as yesterday, but a good deal interrupted. Dined temperately at Mrs. Capt. Smith's. Home about 5. Much better than for several days. Heard dear little Kate read verses and Bible, and pray; talked to her. Read conclusion of Job, and wrote foregoing before family prayers."

Part of the next entry reads as follows:

"Saturday, Dec. 6. Up this morning betimes. Prayers. Breakfast. Heard Kate read a little. To town in omnibus. Morning somewhat interrupted by callers, and a good deal frittered away. Read President's message—able, clear, and firm; erroneous, I think, as to Texas and postage, but creditable to the author as a whole."

In a previous entry (under date Nov. 26th), occurs the sentence:

"Mr. Lewis called. Talk about his being candidate for Governor of Liberty men. He coyly willing."

Samuel Lewis was a very able man, and as an orator he had few equals. But he seemed to me not without jealousy. Perhaps he never felt quite at ease with our hero—one of the least jealous men I ever knew.

It is necessary henceforth to give our chief attention to the public life of Salmon Portland Chase. In studying his private life so closely up to this time, our chief object has been to ascertain his character and tendencies as a public man.

Thus far we have had reason to regard him with esteem and admiration. He appears to have been in 1845 an eminently conscientious man. The type of his religiousness is not the type that I most love; but it is true and noble. Public virtue appears in him associated with private virtue.

In Chase, it seems to me that public virtue shone most lustrously in combination with most precious private virtue, down to the days when he was busy toward assembling the so-called Southern and Western Liberty Convention. That convention was actually held at Cincinnati, June 11 and 12, 1845. It was early in the spring of that year that Mr. Chase, with Samuel Lewis, Dr. Wm. H. Brisbane, of Ohio, and Judge Stevens, of Indiana, began to obtain signatures to the call, which contains the words:

"It is not designed that the convention shall be composed exclusively of the Liberty party, but of all who, believing that whatever is worth preserving in republicanism can be maintained only by eternal and uncompromising war against the criminal usurpations of the slave power, are resolved to use all constitutional and honorable and just means to effect the extinction of slavery in the respective States, and its reduction to its constitutional limits in the United States. We therefore earnestly invite all who desire to coöperate for the deliverance of our beloved and otherwise glorious country from its greatest curse and most appalling danger, by speech, by the pen, by the press, and by the ballot, to give to the convention the sanction of their personal presence and to aid in its proceedings by their counsels. Our fellow-citizens also, of all parties, slaveholders and non-slaveholders, who desire to acquaint themselves with the true nature and probable results of the Liberty movement in the United States, are cordially invited to come and see and hear. And may God's blessing help the good cause."

I do not wish to exaggerate the distinctions of the address drawn up by Mr. Chase for the convention, actually held as already hinted. I hold in my hand a little volume, published at London, in 1867, on the title-page of which appear the words, "*Anti-Slavery Addresses of 1844 and 1845*. By Salmon Portland Chase and Charles Dexter Cleveland." In a note, Prof. Cleveland says:

"Of the two addresses I place the Philadelphia first, simply because it was the first in the order of time. Had I placed them according to their merits, the Cincinnati address would, of course, come first; and the other next, indeed, but in the expressive language of Milton, 'long after next.'"

I can imagine Mr. Chase according the palm to the address to which beyond all question that prepared by him was under so much obligation. It was at a convention of delegates of the Liberty party of the eastern section of Pennsylvania, held in Philadelphia, February 22, 1844, that Prof. Cleveland was made the chairman of a committee to prepare the address which he afterward actually, so ably, did prepare. In some respects this paper is inferior to that of Chase, by which it was followed. On the whole, the one is quite equal to the other, in my judgment.

In the Chase address are these words:

"What, then, is the position of the political parties of the country in relation to this subject? One of these parties professes to be guided by the most liberal principles. 'Equal and exact justice to all men;' 'equal rights for all men;' 'inflexible opposition to oppression,' are its favorite mottoes. It claims to be the true friend of

popular government, and assumes the name of Democratic. Among its members are, doubtless, many who cherish its professions as sacred principles, and believe that the great cause of freedom and progress is to be served by promoting its ascendancy. But when we compare the maxims of the so-called Democratic party with its acts, its hypocrisy is plainly revealed. Among its leading members we find the principal slaveholders the chiefs of the oligarchy. It has never scrupled to sacrifice the rights of the free States, or of the people, to the demands of the slave power. Like Sir Pertinax McSycophant, its northern leaders believe that the great secret of advancement lies in 'bowing well.' No servility seems too gross, no self-degradation too great to be submitted to. They think themselves well rewarded if the unity of the party be preserved and the spoils of victory secured. If, in the distribution of these spoils, they receive only the jackal's share, they content themselves with the reflection that little is better than nothing. They declaim loudly against all monopolies, all special privileges, all encroachments on personal rights, all distinctions founded upon birth; and compensate themselves for these efforts of virtue, by practicing the vilest oppression upon all their countrymen, in whose complexions the slightest trace of African derivation can be detected.

"Profoundly do we revere the maxims of true Democracy; they are identical with those of true Christianity, in relation to the rights and duties of men as citizens. And our reverence for Democratic principles is the precise measure of our detestation of the policy of those who are permitted to shape the action of the Democratic party. Political concert with that party, under its present leadership, is, therefore, plainly impossible. Nor do we entertain the hope, which many, no doubt, honestly cherish, that the professed principles of the party will, at length, bring it right upon the question of slavery. Its professed principles have been the same for nearly half a century, and yet the subjection of the party to the slave power is, at this moment, as complete as ever. There is no prospect of any change for the better, until those Democrats whose hearts are really possessed by a generous love of liberty for all, and by an honest hatred of oppression, shall manfully assert their individual independence, and refuse their support to the panders of slavery."

"There is another party which boasts that it is conservative in its character. Its watchwords are, 'a tariff,' 'a banking system,' 'the Union as it is.' Among its members, also, are many sincere opponents of slavery; and the party itself, seeking aid in the attainment of power, and anxious to carry its favorite measures, and bound together by no such professed principles as secure the unity of the Democratic party, often concedes much to their anti-slavery views. It is not unwilling, in those States and parts of States where anti-slavery sentiment prevails, to assume an anti-slavery attitude, and claims to be an anti-slavery party. Like the Democratic party, however, the Whig party maintains alliances with the slaveholder. It proposes, in its national conventions, no action against slavery. It has no anti-slavery article in its national creed. Among its leaders and champions, in Congress and out of Congress, none are so honored and trusted as slaveholders in practice and in principle.

Whatever the Whig party, therefore, concedes to anti-slavery, must be reluctantly conceded. Its natural position is conservative. Its natural line of action is to maintain things as they are. Its natural bond of union is regard for interests rather than for rights. There are, doubtless, zealous opponents of slavery, who are also zealous Whigs; but they have not the general confidence of their party; they are under the ban of the slaveholders; and in any practical anti-slavery movement, as, for example, the repeal of the laws which sanction slaveholding in the District of Columbia, would meet the determined opposition of a large and most influential section of the party, not because the people of the free States would be opposed to the measure, but because it would be displeasing to the oligarchy and fatal to party unity. We are constrained to think, therefore, that all expectation of efficient anti-slavery action from the Whig party, as now organized, will prove delusive. Nor do we perceive any probability of a change in its organization, separating its anti-slavery from its pro-slavery constituents, and leaving the former in possession of the name and influence of the party. With the Whig party, therefore, as at present organized, it is as impossible for us, whose mottoes are 'Equal rights and fair wages for all,' and 'the Union as it should be,' to act in alliance and concert, as it is for us so to act with the so-called Democratic party. We can not choose between these parties for the sake of any local or partial advantage, without sacrificing consistency, self-respect, and mutual confidence. While we say this, we are bound to add, that were either of these parties to disappoint our expectations, and to adopt into its NATIONAL CREED AS ITS LEADING ARTICLES, the principles which we regard as fundamental, and enter upon a course of unfeigned and earnest action against the system of slavery, we should not hesitate, regarding, as we do, the question of slavery as the paramount question of our day and nation, to give to it our cordial and vigorous support, until slavery should be no more."

The last of the foregoing sentences opens the way to understanding of the following extract :

"With what party, then, shall we act? Or shall we act with none? Act, in some way, we must; for the possession of the right of suffrage, the right of electing our own law-makers and rulers, imposes upon us the corresponding duty of voting for men who will carry out the views which we deem of paramount importance and obligation. Act together we must, for upon the questions which we regard as the most vital we are fully agreed. We must act then; act together; and act against slavery and oppression. *Acting thus, we necessarily act as a party; for what is a party, but a body of citizens, acting together politically, in good faith, upon common principles, for a common object?* And if there be a party already in existence, animated by the same motives and aiming at the same results as ourselves, we must act with and in that party.

"That there is such a party is well known. It is the Liberty party of the United States. Its principles, measures, and objects we cordially

approve. *It founds itself upon the great cardinal principle of true Democracy and of true Christianity, the brotherhood of the Human Family. It avows its purpose to wage war against slaveholding as the direst form of oppression, and then against every other species of tyranny and injustice.* Its views on the subject of slavery in this country are, in the main, the same as those which we have set forth in this address. Its members agree to regard the extinction of slavery as the most important end which can, at this time, be proposed to political action; and they agree to differ as to other questions of minor importance, such as those of trade and currency, believing that these can be satisfactorily disposed of, when the question of slavery shall be settled, and that, until then, they can not be satisfactorily disposed of at all.

"The rise of such a party as this was anticipated long before its actual organization, by the single-hearted and patriotic Charles Follen, a German by birth, but a true American by adoption and in spirit. 'If there ever is to be in this country,' he said, in 1836, 'a party that shall take its name and character, not from particular liberal measures or popular men, but from its uncompromising and consistent adherence to freedom—a truly liberal and thoroughly republican party, it must direct its first decided effort against the grossest form, the most complete manifestation of oppression; and, having taken anti-slavery ground, it must carry out the principle of liberty in all its consequences. It must support every measure conducive to the greatest possible individual, and social, moral, intellectual, religious, and political freedom, whether that measure be brought forward by inconsistent slaveholders or consistent free-men. It must embrace the whole sphere of human action, watching and opposing the slightest illiberal and anti-republican tendency, and concentrating its whole force and influence against slavery itself, in comparison with which every other species of tyranny is tolerable, and by which every other is strengthened and justified.'

"Thus wrote Charles Follen in 1836. It is impossible to express better the want which enlightened lovers of liberty felt of a real Democratic party in the country—Democratic, not in name only, but in deed and in truth. In this want, thus felt, the Liberty party had its origin, and so long as this want remains otherwise unsatisfied, the Liberal party must exist, not as a mere abolition party, but as a truly Democratic party, which aims at the extinction of slavery, because slaveholding is inconsistent with Democratic principles; aims at it, not as an ultimate end, but as the most important present object; as a great and necessary step in the work of reform; as an illustrious era in the advancement of society, to be wrought out by its action and instrumentality. *The Liberty party of 1845 is, in truth, the Liberty party of 1776 revived. It is more: it is the party of Advancement and Freedom, which has, in every age, and with varying success, fought the battles of Human Liberty, against the party of False Conservatism and Slavery.*"

We hear and read that the man who could so express himself in 1845,

when he was thirty-seven years of age, was inordinately ambitious. I can not believe it.

I have not forgotten that it was his pen that wrote these words in 1845 :

"No question half so important as that of slavery engages the attention of the American people. All others, in fact, dwindle into insignificance in comparison with it. The question of slavery is, and until it shall be settled, must be, the paramount moral and political question of the day. We, at least, so regard it, and, so regarding it, must subordinate every other question to it.

"It follows, as a necessary consequence, that we can not yield our political support to any party which does not take our ground upon the question."

So said Mr. Chase as the author of the "Cincinnati Address," before referred to. Was he faithful to the doctrine which we have just seen? I answer that I confidently expect to show that he always wished and endeavored to be faithful to that view of action, in and with the parties of his day.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE WATSON CASE—THE THIRD MARRIAGE—POLITICS.

BEFORE one of the ablest judges ever commissioned in Ohio—before Judge Read—of whom we have already seen a little in our notice of the *Gedney Case*¹—our hero argued the well-known *Watson Case*, in 1845.

I heard that argument. I heard the judgment it called out. Never were Bench and Bar more finely illustrated.

In that case, as in the *Matilda Case*,² Mr. Chase argued, among other propositions, that a slave, by being brought, by the master, within the limits of free soil, was, *ipso facto*, set at liberty.

Here is a very interesting letter on the subject:

“March 19.

“MY DEAR SIR:—The case of Watson is so fully stated in the pamphlet annexed to this, that I do not think it worth while to re-write its history. You will observe that the logic of Judge Read’s position, namely, that a slave taken beyond the influence of the laws which create the relation of slavery, must be free, led, inevitably, to the conclusion that Watson was a free man, and entitled to be discharged from restraint. But the judge avoided this conclusion by declaring that the Ohio River was, for the purposes of navigation, under the slave laws of Kentucky as much as under the free laws of Ohio, and overlooked the fact that Watson, when arrested, was not upon the boat, but upon the landing, and was not seeking to escape. Had the general public opinion favored as decidedly the rights of men as it did the claims of masters, Watson would have been, probably, discharged. The fact that during the pendency of his case, Mr. Polk, then recently elected President, passed through Cincinnati, and was welcomed by Judge Read, who was a prominent member of the same party, had, also, it is likely, some influence on the result.

“Ten years afterward, I was myself a candidate for the office of Governor of Ohio. The part which I took in the Watson case, and the speech I made on receiving the testimonial presented to me by the colored people, were used as potent electioneering arguments against me. The editor of one of the leading presses advocating my election, but far from sympathizing with my anti-slavery views, was

¹ Ante, Chapter XVII.

² Ante, Chapter XVII.

a good deal exercised about the effect of these appeals to prejudices. I wrote him to tell the leading paper making these attacks that I valued the gratitude of an oppressed people, manifested by the testimonial presented to me, more than I did any office, even that of Governor of Ohio, and to bid him put that in his pipe and smoke it. The result showed that prejudice was not so powerful as it had been.

"After my election, I took a great interest in the organization of the military system of the State, thinking it wise to be prepared for all contingencies, though I little dreamed of the contingencies which have since arisen. The military men of the State took my efforts in good part. They held a convention at Columbus, to aid in obtaining such legislation as was essential. During its sitting, the members called upon me. Among the refreshments of the occasion, the pitcher was kept filled with lemonade for such as chose to partake of it. Most of them had been opposed to my election, and recognized the pitcher from the prints of it which had been circulated. Generally they took this quiet declaration of adhesion to my principles in good part, but some refused to drink any thing from that — pitcher, characterizing it in terms more emphatic than polite. This I heard afterward, for nobody indulged in any expressions of that sort when I was present. Yours, very truly,

"S. P. CHASE.

"J. T. Trowbridge, Esq., Somerville, Mass."

Here is another letter, relating to the life of our hero, agitating, as a legist, against "the slave power:"

"March 19.

"DEAR SIR:—Francis D. Parish was a lawyer of Sandusky, Erie County, Ohio, of unblemished character and good abilities, and well informed in his profession. He enjoyed, in an unusual degree, the respect and esteem of the community in which he resided.

"In February, 1845, a woman named Jane Garrison was living in his house as a servant, and with her her little boy, Harrison, about five years old. In the latter part of that month, a man, named Mitchell, made his appearance in Sandusky, claiming the woman and her child as fugitive slaves. He went to the house of Mr. Parish, and, meeting that gentleman near his residence, inquired if Jane Garrison and her son, Harrison, were at his house. He replied that they were, and, returning with Mitchell, went into the house and brought Jane out. After some conversation, Mitchell, with Driskell, son of the claimant, went away. Suit was subsequently brought against Mr. Parish for obstructing the arrest of the woman and her child, and, also, for harboring and concealing them. Upon the trial, I, with Mr. J. W. Andrews, of Columbus, defended Mr. Parish. Mr. Henry Stanbery and J. H. Thompson appeared against him. There was no evidence in the case against Mr. Parish except that of Mitchell and Driskell, and the whole of it related to the transaction at Mr. Parish's house. Mitchell stated that he attempted to arrest Jane and the child in virtue of a power of attorney, which Parish said he did not wish to see, for he wanted judicial authority for such an act. Mitchell insisted upon arresting them, but Parish said he could not

arrest them there, and pushed the woman and child into the house, and went in himself. Several gentlemen, who were present during some proceedings growing out of the arrest of other children in which Mr. Parish was called as a witness, stated that, in his testimony then given, Mr. Parish said that at the interview between himself and Mitchell, he had only claimed for the alleged slaves that they should have a fair trial, after which, if Mitchell should establish his legal right to do so, he could take them; to which Mitchell said that he did not wish to take them otherwise; and that, after some conversation with the woman, Mitchell and Driskell went away without taking, or attempting to take, the alleged fugitives. These witnesses also stated that Mitchell, on this occasion, made a statement in which he agreed substantially with Mr. Parish, saying nothing about any attempt or claim to arrest, or any pushing or ordering the slaves into the house, and nothing even of any refusal by Mr. Parish to give them up without judicial authority. Upon this evidence, after argument and charge by the court, the case went to the jury, who found Mr. Parish guilty of harboring and concealing the alleged fugitives, and obstructing their arrest, and assessed against him two penalties of \$500 each. It seems incredible now that such a verdict upon such evidence could ever have been rendered, but it was rendered, and the court refused to set it aside, and the money and costs were actually collected from Mr. Parish.

"I can not help feeling great mortification when I reflect how little my services, in this and other like cases, availed the defendants. My consolation is, that they contributed something toward the preparation of a better state of opinion and feeling concerning the whole subject of slavery. Very truly yours,

"S. P. CHASE.

"J. T. Trowbridge, Esq., Somerville, Mass."

It was in October, 1845, that Mr. Chase addressed to the Liberty Convention, which was then in session at Boston, a characteristic letter. Here we find him stating the object of the Liberty party to be the denationalization of slavery; pointing out the means by which it may be accomplished, and exhibiting the hostility of the slaveholding interest to Democracy and all liberal measures.

Under the head, "Family Memoranda," a document already more than once referred to has this entry:

"S. P. Chase married, November 6, 1846, Sarah Bella Dunlop Ludlow, daughter of James C. Ludlow, and granddaughter of Israel Ludlow, one of the founders of Cincinnati; born April 20, 1820; married, at Mr. Justice McLean's, Fourth Street, Cincinnati, by Rt. Rev. C. P. McIlvaine."

Here is another entry in the same document, under the same head:

"Sarah Bella D. L. Chase, died at Clifton, near Cincinnati, where she was then residing, January 13, 1852."

And here is another of happier tenor :

"Janette Ralston Chase, born September 19, 1847."

The last entry records the birth of the present Mrs. Hoyt—a lady whose delightful letters and whose genius have been already mentioned.

But there is another little entry which is not to be overlooked. It reads :

"Josephine Ludlow Chase, born July 3, 1849; died at Morristown, New Jersey, July 28, 1850."

" Ah! no ye lovelie blossoms, ye
Telle us how soone things have
Their ende though sweete and brave," ¹

Is the sum of all that one can say about such death, and yet to parents—but the theme is difficult as well as delicate. Let us pass to others.

To Hon. John P. Hale, of New Hampshire, Mr. Chase, on the 12th of May, 1847, wrote as follows :

"You will no doubt think it somewhat strange that I have so long delayed an acknowledgment of your very kind letter of the 2d ult.; but I am not so much to blame as I seem to be. I wrote you a long letter within three or four days after receiving yours, and supposed, until recently, that it was duly mailed; but within the last few days I found it, mislaid, among the papers.

"You received, I suppose, numbers of the morning *Herald*, containing some extracts from your letter. I took the liberty of handing to the printer your letter with the extracts marked, but with instructions to omit all the rest. By a blunder, partly of his, and partly of mine, in not being quite so explicit as I might have been, the data of letter, 'Dover, New Hampshire, April 2,' went into print. This, of course, revealed the writer, which was contrary to my intention, and vexed me not a little. I explained the whole matter in a letter which was mislaid, fearing you might think I had taken an unwarrantable liberty with your letter, though there was nothing in the extract which you would not publicly say, or which is not in my judgment fully vindicated by the facts. I hope, however, you may not have been as much chagrined by the circumstance as I was.

"I am very much gratified by the very kind and favorable notice which my argument for poor old Vanzandt was received. I hail it as an auspicious augury of approaching deliverance from the despotism of the slave power and of pro-slavery construction. Among the friendly letters I have received none has given me more satis-

¹ Quoted from memory. Perhaps wrong.

faction than yours, unless I make an exception in favor of Seward's, which was kind, cordial, and generous beyond measure.

"It is strange that the pro-slavery construction of the constitution, so utterly indefensible upon history or by reason, should be so tamely acquiesced in by the courts, and I agree with you, that at the bar, and elsewhere, we should be open, bold, indignant, and emphatic in our denunciation of it. It can not stand exposure and rebuke. If it finds sanctuary in courts of justice it must be dragged out and denounced before the people. In the result it must fall. If courts will not overthrow it, the people will, even if it be necessary to overthrow the courts also.

"Your remark on the policy of the slave power, that when 'they want any thing peculiarly infamous done in favor of the peculiar institution, to put it on some suppliant and servile northerner to do it, rather than do it directly themselves,' only expresses a sentiment common to many in all parties. I received, a day or too since only, a letter from a leading Democrat in the south-eastern part of the State, which contained this passage: 'The task of delivering an opinion against law and right fell upon fitting shoulders. The dirty work of the South has always found northern hands to perform it, and I can well imagine the deep scorn and contempt swelling in the bosoms of the southern judges, as they behold Levi on his belly crawling through that opinion.' There are a great many in this State would say *amen* to this. I regretted very much to learn that in my native State the pro-slavery democracy was permitted to triumph. I should regret it less, however, if the returns did not show a diminution of the independent vote. It affords me some consolation, however, to know that the pro-slavery folks themselves were compelled to come so far upon the right ground as to assume the defense of the Wilmot proviso.

"I notice, what can not fail to have attracted your own attention, that a great diversity of sentiment exists among anti-slavery men as to the best course to be pursued hereafter. Upon this subject I should be very glad to have your views; and, by way of example, will candidly give you my own impressions. I have acted with the Liberty party in the State for more than six years. We nominated our first candidate for Governor in December, 1841, and issued a declaration of principles and measures. Our candidate, Judge King, was one of the ablest, and, as a Whig, one of the most popular men in the State. He received, in a vote exceeding 250,000, 5,000 votes. Our candidate last year was Mr. Lewis, formerly Superintendent of our Common Schools for the State, a man able, indefatigable, and universally respected. He received less than 11,000 votes. I see no prospect of greater future progress, but rather of less. As fast as we can bring public sentiment right, the other parties will approach our ground, and keep sufficiently close to it to prevent any great accession to our numbers. If this be so, the Liberty party can never hope to accomplish any thing as such, but only through it, an indirect action upon the other parties. In other words, it takes the position of an expounder of a theory, which others are to reduce to practice. Now, it seems to me, we can do a better work than this. If an anti-slavery league can be organized

nationally, with divisions in each State, and county, so far as the States are prepared, the fundamental principle of which shall be to vote for no man who is not reliably known to be opposed to the extension of slavery, and in favor of expelling it from the grounds which it now unconstitutionally holds, and of discouraging and discountenancing it by example and recommendation, where constitutional power will not reach, and where no such man is nominated by existing parties, to nominate candidates of their own on independent grounds, but not permanent party grounds, it seems to me that we shall be able to carry forward the anti-slavery work much more vigorously and efficiently than we now do. To build up a new party is by no means so easy as to compel old parties to do a particular work. It is quite true, that if the anti-slavery Whigs and anti-slavery Democrats had come boldly out upon a common platform of opposition to slavery, at the date of the organization of the Liberty movements, properly so-called, in 1841, a great, powerful, and victorious party could have been created. But they did not choose to do so, and I see nothing in the past to warrant the expectation that they will act differently in future. These things being so, it seems to me that an anti-slavery league, operating upon both parties from without, aided by the anti-slavery men already in the ranks of the two parties, and who would come in from the Liberty party, would, in the best manner, and in the shortest time, accomplish the great work of overthrowing slavery. Many anti-slavery men look with most hope to the Whig party. I do not. At the present moment there are, doubtless, more abolitionists in the Whig party than in the Democratic party; but I fear that the Whig party will always look upon the overthrow of slavery as a work to be taken up or laid aside, like other *measures*, as expediency may suggest; whereas, if we can once get the Democratic party in *motion* regarding the overthrow of slavery as a legitimate and necessary result of principles, I would have no apprehension at all of the work being laid aside until accomplished. The approaching presidential contest will, probably, involve the slave question to an unprecedented extent. The South, or rather the dominant slaveholding faction in the South, is preparing to do battle against the Wilmot Proviso. This had its origin among the Democrats, and is looked upon with no favorable eye by many leading Whigs, who, while they dare not openly take ground against it, are willing to have it smothered by the cry of no territory, which is the merest delusion, and the most palpable delusion in the world.

"The Whigs and the entire South will probably unite on General Taylor, though some of the northern Whigs may make a stand for Scott. General Taylor, in my humble judgment, will have the nomination if he will take it. Now what is the obvious policy of the Democrats? Is it not to bring out some man—on Wilmot Proviso, or constitutional opposition to slavery ground (and what man more fit than Silas Wright?) and rally the anti-slavery sentiment against the hero-sentiment? Mr. Schenck, remonstrating with a leading editor here, against the nomination of Taylor, said that should he be nominated, the Democrats would unite on Silas Wright and carry every free State.

"I had some conversation with Robert Dale Owen, the other day, who seems to be much impressed with this view.

"I shall be very glad to have your views upon it and the other topics of this letter. How would it do to issue a call for a national convention to form a national anti-slavery league? A call might be prepared here or with you, and sent to all the leading anti-slavery men in all parties for signatures, and then issued simultaneously in different parts of the Union. I inclose such a call as I would like to see issued. Can you not visit us in the West this summer? Our railroad is now so far completed to Sandusky that there are but 32 miles land travel. You can come in four days from Dover. You would be most cordially welcomed.

"Very truly your friend,

"S. P. CHASE.

"Do you know Preston King and Silas Wright, or either? If so, can you not learn their views?"

The biographic sketch furnished me, as elsewhere stated, and for, which I suppose Mr. Chase himself to be responsible, contains this language:

"In the autumn of 1847, Mr. Chase attended the National Convention of the Liberty party at Buffalo, of which he acted as presiding officer. In view of the agitation of the prohibition by Congress of slavery in the territories, in the shape of the Wilmot Proviso, created by the proposed organization of the territory of Oregon, and the contemplated acquisition of territory from Mexico, as part of the treaty of peace, Mr. Chase anticipated, as close at hand, a new and more general anti-slavery movement, which would attract large numbers who had hitherto acted with the Whig and Democratic parties. No calm observer of political events could reasonably expect that either of those parties would, in their coming National Conventions, proclaim themselves in favor of the constitutional prohibition of slavery in the national Territories; on the contrary, it was more probable that they would be induced by their southern wing, to place themselves in hostility to it, either in their platforms or their nominations. Such a policy was not likely to be acquiesced in by thousands, in the free States, who clung with fast affection to the illustrious ordinance of 1787, which shielded the north-west territory from the curse of slavery, and nurtured to unshackled manhood five mighty commonwealths. Mr. Chase, desirous of promoting the free action of such new movements, opposed the presentation of any candidate for the Presidency. In his opinion, the position of John P. Hale, on whom all eyes were centered as the standard-bearer of the Liberty party, during the coming campaign, would be injuriously affected before a convention which combined these large and fresh accessions, by a nomination at that time. They were likely to out-number the Liberty party, and would naturally desire candidates whose recent political relations had a nearer resemblance to their own.

"The action of the Buffalo Convention of 1848 justified these views of Mr. Chase. If Mr. Hale had not been presented by the

Liberty Convention, and if his party relations had not been thus distinctly declared, he would have commanded a fuller support from those members, who had hitherto acted with the Whig party—enough, probably, to have secured his nomination.

"The agitation of the Wilmot Proviso, instead of subsiding, increased till, in the spring of 1848, it appeared destined to be the controlling issue of the next presidential election. It had absorbed the deliberations of Congress, then occupied in discussing territorial governments for Oregon and the vast regions to be acquired from Mexico. By no political casuistry, and by no partisan diplomacy, could it be excluded from the contest. Mr. Chase was desirous that the anti-slavery sentiment, to which the rejection of the Wilmot Proviso by the Whig and Democratic Conventions would give new force, should have means already provided for organizing it into vigorous action.

"Accordingly, in the spring of 1848, he originated a call for a convention of the people of Ohio, to be held at Columbus on the 20th and 21st days of June. Its declared purpose was to consider the political condition of the country, and in case candidates for the Presidency, who were unworthy of the confidence of the free States, either on account of their active coöperation with the slave power, or silent acquiescence in its designs, extend slavery over the territories to be acquired from Mexico, should be nominated at the approaching conventions—take such action as the exigency should require. The call was signed by three thousand voters, Whigs, Democrats, and Liberty Party men, in almost every county in the State."

On the 8th of January, 1848, was held at Columbus in Ohio, one of the most important State Conventions ever assembled by the Democracy of Ohio in its best days. How proud one could then be of adherence to that party!

Hon. David T. Disney, of whom we have already seen a little, was permanent president of that convention. My friend and partner, Henry Roedter, also of Cincinnati, was first vice-president.

Mr. Disney said that the convention was composed of the best material in Ohio; and, if the remark be read with application to the Democrats alone, he spoke the simple truth in that behalf.

Mr. Thurman, of Ross, (now Senator Thurman—what a marked illustration of the saying, *tempora mutantur et nos mutamur in illis!*) was chairman of the committee on resolutions. He has not changed more with the times than some of the rest of us have changed; but it is curious to read of him as offering, among other resolutions, these:

"Resolved, That the people of Ohio, now, as they always have done, look upon the institution of slavery, in any part of the Union, as an

evil and unfavorable to the full development of the spirit and practical benefits of free institutions; and that entertaining these sentiments, they will, at all times, feel it to be their duty to use all power, clearly given by the terms of the national compact, to prevent its increase, to mitigate, and, finally, to eradicate the evil. And be it further

“Resolved, That the Democracy of Ohio do, at the same time, fully recognize the doctrine held by the early fathers of the Republic,¹ and still maintained by the Democratic party in all the States, that to each State belongs the right to adopt and modify its own municipal laws; to regulate its own internal affairs; to hold and maintain an equal and independent sovereignty with each and every other State; and that, upon these rights, the National Legislature can neither legislate nor encroach.”

However intended, these resolutions were received with something quite like rapture by young Democrats throughout Ohio. I have heard Judge Spaulding publicly narrate the inner history of these resolutions. According to him, they were intended, from the beginning, to serve the Good-Lord-Good-Devil policy. Perhaps, in some measure, he was mistaken as to that—indeed, I am quite sure he must have been somewhat in error in that statement. Certainly, however, these resolutions and their reception by the better sort of Democrats, throughout Ohio, had much to do with the subsequent career of Salmon Portland Chase.

The National Whig Convention of that year would have none of the Wilmot Provisio; and they nominated good old Rough-and-Ready—brave, but, in the matter of ideas, rather bald—a born thrall, moreover, to the interests of slavery. And the national convention of the Democratic party did, at Baltimore, a work even worse than that of the Whigs at Philadelphia. The former nominated General Cass, a northern dough-face—one of those men who remind one of the verses equally intolerable to the gods and unpleasing to men. The Nicholson letter of this curiously constituted phenomenon of politics had, in the *crepusculum*-like action of its author's intellections, argued, (almost as learnedly as the grave-digger in Hamlet argued questions of crowner's quest law,) that the congressional prohibition of slavery in the Territories was invalid on account of its repugnance to the constitution.

Turn we now to a convention of another mold. This body met at Buffalo, August 9, 1848. It continued in session through that and the next day. Mr. Chase was a delegate. He was a member

¹ Early fathers is a good phrase—as good as the “mobled queen.”

of the committee to report a plan for permanent organization. He was the president of the convention of delegates. Many urged his nomination for the vice-presidency. He was also a member of the platform committee; and it is related that the platform adopted was substantially drawn by him.

Here is part of a letter relating to the subject:

"March 21.

"DEAR SIR: The New York Convention, which was in session at the same time, adopted resolutions in favor of the exclusion of slavery from the Territories, and nominated Mr. Van Buren for President and Gen. Dodge, of Wisconsin, for Vice-President. A resolution was also adopted authorizing the delegates of the New York Democracy to the convention at Baltimore to attend and take part in any convention of the free States which might be called for the purpose of collecting and concentrating the popular will in relation to the Presidency.

"When the convention of the 9th of August met, the New York delegates, under this resolution, took their seats as members. The attendance was very large. Eighteen States were represented by four hundred and sixty-five delegates, and there was, moreover, an immense mass convention, numbered by tens of thousands. Gen. Dodge had declined, or rather rejected the nomination for the Vice-Presidency tendered him by the New York Convention, and Mr. Van Buren had not accepted the nomination for the Presidency. The whole subject of national nominations was, therefore, considered as open, Mr. Hale having placed his name at the disposal of the convention. It was the pleasure of the Ohio delegation that I should take a very active part in the proceedings of both the mass convention and the convention of delegates. At an informal meeting, which preceded the organization of the former, there were indications of a division as to platforms. Knowing Mr. Preston King's sentiments, I took the liberty of calling upon him for a speech, and at its conclusion moved that he be requested to reduce its leading propositions to writing, and that his speech should be considered as the platform recommended by the meeting. This motion seemed to allay all jealousies on the part of the New York Democrats, and was unanimously agreed to. The next day the mass convention assembled, and Mr. King reported resolutions embodying the propositions of his speech. They declared, 1st, that it was the duty of the Federal Government to relieve itself of all responsibility for the extension or continuance of slavery wherever it had constitutional authority to do so, and was responsible for its existence; 2d, that it had neither responsibility nor constitutional authority to interfere with slavery within the States; and, 3d, that it had authority and should promptly exercise it to prevent the extension of slavery into free territory, and to prohibit its existence in such territory by an act of Congress. These resolutions were received with universal approbation. Mr. Adams presided over the mass convention. A committee on resolutions were appointed, consisting of three persons from each

State represented. I was one of the members of this committee from Ohio, and the resolutions reported were almost entirely drafted by me. They were, however, very carefully considered by the committee, and very fully discussed before they received its sanction. The resolution on the tariff was adopted at the instance of Mr. White, of New York.

"The delegate convention for the nomination of candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency, met in a church near the square on which the mass convention was assembled. I had the honor to preside over this convention. To ascertain the views of members in respect to the Presidency an informal ballot was taken, the result of which showed a clear majority for Mr. Van Buren over all others. Mr. Hale received nearly the whole vote not given to Mr. Van Buren. After the preference of the convention had thus been shown, Mr. Lavitt, of Massachusetts, moved the unanimous nomination of Mr. Van Buren, and was earnestly seconded by Mr. Lewis, of Ohio. As these two gentlemen had been the most active and able as well as the most zealous friends of Mr. Hale, the motion was adopted without hesitation and by acclamation. Mr. Adams was nominated also by acclamation for Vice-President. The nominations thus made were announced by me, as President of the convention of delegates, to the mass convention, and were received with the most enthusiastic demonstrations.

"Thus ended the work of this great convention, to the assembling and acting of which is attributed, and I think justly, the passage of the bill organizing the Territory of Oregon with the prohibition of slavery, which was then pending in the Senate of the United States.

"In the canvass which followed I took a very active part, but confined my labors almost wholly to Ohio. The election showed both the power of party and the power of principles. Except in Ohio and Massachusetts, the Whig party almost every-where supported the nominees of the Philadelphia Convention, and, except in New York, the Democratic party almost every-where supported the nominations of the Baltimore Convention. In New York, the recognized organization of the Democratic party was in the hands of the friends of Mr. Van Buren. His vote, therefore, in that State was very large. In Massachusetts and in the northern counties of Ohio, the profound anti-slavery convictions of the people made it impossible for them to support national nominees without any declaration against the extension of slavery. Mr. Van Buren received in all 291,678 votes out of 2,882,121, the whole number given. Of these votes, 120,000 were given in New York, 38,133 in Massachusetts, and 35,494 in Ohio. Gen. Taylor was elected."

CHAPTER XXII.

SENATOR CHASE—EXCITING STRUGGLES—TESTS AND TRIALS.

ON the 18th of February, 1848, the Whig legislature of Ohio passed a supposed law, which Democrats generally regarded as a nullity, by reason of its repugnance to the constitution of the State. It was entitled, "An Act to fix and apportion the representation of the General Assembly of the State of Ohio." It purported to divide the county in which Mr. Chase then lived—Hamilton County—into two election districts. Such division of a county, Democrats maintained, was not within the constitutional discretion of the legislature. The distinguished George E. Pugh and Mr. Alexander N. Pierce received from Edward C. Roll, Esq., Clerk of the Court of Common Pleas for Hamilton County, certificates of election, which treated the supposed legislation as invalid. After most exciting scenes in the House to which they were elected, that House decided that the certificates were well given; that the supposed law was an infraction of the constitution, and that Messrs. Pugh and Pierce were entitled to the seats they claimed. One consequence of all this was the sending of Mr. Chase to the Senate of the United States.

The action of Mr. Roll, to which attention has been called, took place under the advice of counsel, and I was (in spite of my age) at that time his chief professional adviser. Afterward, I appeared with Judge Read¹ and Hon. William S. Groesbeck, as his counsel in a case,² in which that decision of the House of Representatives was drawn into discussion.

It is not my purpose, to set forth the whole deeply interesting history of that discussion. But, with reference to the *merits* of it, and to its particular relation to the course and character of Chase, I wish to call attention to a letter, in which, referring to the facts and law involved in that discussion, the new Senator expressed himself as follows:

¹ Ante, Chapter XVII.

² *State of Ohio, ex rel., etc. vs. Edward C. Roll*, 7 *Western Law Journal*, p. 121.

"CINCINNATI, August 15, 1849.

"COL. JOHN F. MORSE, Painesville, O.

"MY DEAR FRIEND: I read your letter with a great deal of interest, and shall look for your letter giving the results of the convention with anxiety. I hope it may reach me before I leave home, which I shall do to-morrow, and be absent for some weeks on professional business.

"I still adhere to the opinion I expressed long ago, that the true policy as well as duty of the Freesoilers of the Reserve on the adjournment of the Legislature, was, to take the grounds on the questions in relation to the apportionment law, and the Hamilton County question, which you, and Townshend, and Swift, and Smart took in the Legislature. I feel so entirely confident that the apportionment law was fraudulently and unconstitutionally placed on the Statute Book, and that, even if regularly passed and valid, it could not, constitutionally, have the effect of dividing a county, that I would not be afraid to risk our hopes of success upon an investigation of these questions before any body of men who have no interest in deciding them in favor of the Whigs; and the Free Democracy have certainly no such interest. Fearless advocacy of what we believe to be right, and the open expression of opinions on all questions which the representatives of the people must be called on to decide, is, always, it seems to me, the safest as well as the most honorable course. It may cost some supporters—but they can be spared, and their places filled by better and more reliable men.

"Of course, if I were upon the Reserve, I should have been perfectly willing to meet the Hamilton County and apportionment questions, and should have been far from willing to allow these questions or differences in regard to them to be made grounds for asking men, through whose self-sacrificing spirit all was gained for Freesoil that was gained, to stand aside at the coming election.

"I admire the spirit you manifest in your letter. I know right well that you, who made far greater sacrifices of feeling last winter than this, would never urge your claims as a candidate, if the cause of Free Democracy required you to forbear. It may be that, under the existing circumstances, you ought to decline being a candidate. I doubt it, however, and I feel quite sure that no circumstances should exist which should so operate upon you.

"I shall hope to hear that you are a candidate—nominated as such and supported by the entire body of our friends. If, however, you are not brought forward now, I am sure that Mr. Giddings' prediction that you will not be forgotten hereafter will be fulfilled. The people hardly ever fail to discriminate between those who are faithful to a great cause and those who are only faithful to themselves.

In haste, yours most truly,

"S. P. CHASE."

Another letter of great interest relating to the same affair, reads thus :

"CINCINNATI, *October 15, 1849.*

"JOHN HUTCHINGS, Warren, Trumbull Co., O.

"MY DEAR SIR: I am glad to hear of the election of yourself and friend Riddle by such decided majorities.

"Here, the Democrats who voted for me and for the repeal of the Black Laws have been nobly sustained. The Free Democracy met just before the election, and resolved to nominate no ticket under the existing apportionment law (so called), but to give their support to the Democrats who had voted for the repeal of the Black Laws, and were nominated. These gentlemen were opposed by those ultra-negro, who issued the most disgusting appeals to the lowest prejudices against the blacks, and were adopted by the Whigs as their candidates. Neither Whig adoption nor anti-niggerism availed them any thing, however. They were defeated by overwhelming majorities. The Free Democracy have, almost with one mind, denounced the apportionment law as a fraud and as unconstitutional; and this conviction, together with the course of the Whigs, will account for the course they pursued. I was absent for near two months until the night before the election, and saw none of our friends until the next morning. I mention this that the course of our friends may not be ascribed to me. I had nothing to do with it further than to write a little letter to a young friend advising against the nomination of a ticket, and in favor of adopting resolutions expressing the sense of the Free Democracy in relation to the apportionment scheme.

"I understand that the judges of election and the clerk have decided in favor of giving certificates of election to the Senator and Representative having a majority of the votes cast in the entire county. I suppose the representatives will be allowed to take their seats without question, and that no serious contest will be made afterward. The Old Line Democrats will have, if not a majority, so near a majority in the House, that their votes with those of Spellman and Thompson will render opposition unavailing. Under these circumstances I trust that our friends will unanimously agree to respect the decision of the last House, which, in my judgment, was clearly right, and admit the certificated members to seats. Such action as this will strengthen us every way.

"The only serious question will be that which will arise in the Senate in respect to the admission of Johnson. He will present himself with a certificate showing him entitled as duly elected from Hamilton County. The law, admitting its validity and constitutionality, apportions two Senators to Hamilton County, and although it proceeds to provide that they shall be elected by distinct districts of the county, yet treats them, when elected, as Senators from the county. The certificate will therefore be valid on its face. It will be just such a certificate as Senator Dubbs was admitted under last winter. I do not, therefore, see how Mr. Johnson can be excluded in the first instance.

"The question as to his final right to the seat in contest involves other considerations.

"1st. As to the validity of the apportionment law. Upon this

point I have, ever since I examined this subject, been of opinion that the apportionment law has no validity except as a rule adopted by common consent, in the absence of a constitutionally enacted statute. Not having been adopted by any such consent as to the clauses dividing Hamilton County, it is not valid.

"2d. As to the constitutionality of the division. I was at first induced to think that although counties could not be divided into smaller election districts for representatives, yet they might be so divided into senatorial districts. On more reflection, the better opinion seems to me to be that the Legislature can not divide counties into senatorial or representative districts. Senatorial districts spoken of by the constitution, are districts composed of more counties than one, not of a part or parts of a county or of several counties.

"3rd. As to the true construction of the law itself. It is maintained, with much force of reasoning, that the law having apportioned two Senators to the entire county, the subsequent clauses providing for the election by districts, must be disregarded as inconsistent with the apportionment. I express no opinion as to this, having formed none.

"I shall be glad to learn your views of these matters, and Riddle's. What course will Randall take now? Did Brown support you and Riddle, or the Whig ticket? Where does he stand now, and what are his views and sentiments? Give my best regards to Judge King, Hoffman, our friends the Sutliffs, R. Asher, Parker, and my other acquaintances, and believe me

"Cordially your friend,
"S. P. CHASE."

At a meeting of the Cincinnati Bar, held on the occasion of our hero's death, Judge Whitman thus expressed himself:

"It would be ill-fitting and entirely out of place, of course, in the presence of so many gentlemen who were the early companions of Judge Chase in youth, in manhood, and in his later life, for me, a comparative stranger here, to undertake at all at length to discuss the character or attainments or position of the Chief Justice. I rise to a single point, and had it not been, sir, that charges have been made and repeated over and over again throughout this State and elsewhere, and, I am very sorry to say, that they have been repeated within a recent period—charges which imputed to Mr. Chase in his political struggle, dishonor, want of principle, meanness, and trickery—I say, sir, had it not been for these charges, I would in this presence have remained silent. It happened to me many years ago to be a member of the Legislature which elected Mr. Chase to the Senate, and to have the honor and the pleasure of voting for him. In consequence of that election, which happened under very peculiar circumstances, charges were made, and have been continued to be made, that Mr. Chase, in making then his first step, for that was his first prominent step in public life, acted in an underhand, and in a mean and tricky way to secure his election. I

was intimate with Mr. Chase, and I have here to say, sir, that not one word of truth is contained in any such charge. There are other gentlemen sitting around me—I see several who were as familiar with the facts as I am—who I know will bear me out in the remark, that in that extraordinary conjuncture of public affairs, when an ordinary man, the ordinary demagogue, the third-rate politician of this day and generation, the miserable charlatan of public affairs, who lives upon intrigue, upon chicanery, upon management devoid of principle, would have resorted to all the well known arts of low and despicable character; when, if there ever was a case, the temptation to use low means was strong; when, if ever there was a case, outside pressure was heavy and strong, and it was at such a time Mr. Chase was brought forward as a candidate. The contest lasted an entire winter, or nearly so. From first to last, in every thing that was said, in every thing that was done, in every thing that was counseled by Mr. Chase, whether to his immediate friends and representatives, Dr. Townshend, of Loraine, and his colleague, Mr. Morse, or any of the thirteen Freesoilers holding the balance of power, or in his conferences and communications with and to the Democrats and Whigs, there is not a man that can, with truth, say that Mr. Chase either sank the gentleman or the man of honor in the slightest degree. And I can say here, what I know to be true, that if Mr. Chase had been the kind of man he has been charged to have been, upon that and other occasions, he never could have been elected, for there were gentlemen in that body who would have been utterly disgusted at the ordinary arts of a trickster. Standing as Mr. Chase there did, as the representative of thirteen delegates of a small portion of the people of the State, representing as he did neither the Democracy nor the Whigs, neither party liking him, neither party particularly desiring him, if it had not been for his manly course from beginning to end, not only in his personal intercourse with the members of that Legislature, but in the counsels that he gave, in the acts he did, and had not all been of that high, honorable, frank, and manly character that won upon the confidence and respect of his opponents, he never would have been elected; and I say here, stating what I know to be the case, that these very elevated qualities which my friend, Judge Hoadly, has so eloquently and so beautifully depicted (together with other gentlemen) those innate qualities, honor as a gentleman, attachment to principles, firmness in what he believed to be the right; if it had not been for those qualities, he never could have been elected; and it was these which had more to do with giving him that step forward in public life than all the other curious circumstances attending that strange election. It may be out of place here to say what I have said, but I like to hear the truth spoken at all times, and particularly of the dead. Be the individual high, or be he low, the truth should be told, and I have no doubt, sir, that there are yet in our State, judging from what I have seen lately, many good men and true who have been misled by those charges, and who, however much otherwise they may admire and revere the character of the late Chief Justice, still have hanging about them the remnants of old prejudices and of old partial or complete beliefs in his

want of honor and principle in that matter. And it is, if possible, that, speaking here from personal knowledge, I may, in some faint degree, if such partial beliefs and prejudices still exist, aid in dispelling them, that I have ventured to make these few remarks. I should apologize, also, perhaps, for saying them, for the reason that no defense of Mr. Chase absolutely is necessary; and yet if there be the faintest stain or discoloration on a beautiful bust, or a speck of dust that by accident has lodged upon a portrait or petal of a flower, that is drooping through accident, it is surely pleasant and proper to brush away the dust, smooth off the spot or raise the petal. The bust remains, the portrait is there, of course, with all the grand and imposing lineaments not permanently defaced by such a spot, yet perhaps more perfect if it be fully understood that a man who was maligned for a long time for a supposed want of principle in starting into public affairs, was unjustly maligned than if otherwise."

On the same occasion, Mr. Pugh was reported, in part, as follows :

"I had really not intended to have said any thing on this occasion, although I knew Mr. Chase from the time when I was a student at law. I was a tenant of his while he was engaged in the practice of law, before we had a law library, and when we often resorted to each other's offices to borrow books. I was associated with him in the trial of cases, and appeared in opposition to him. If the vile charge to which Judge Whitman referred has been revived, I have never seen such an article. I thought Mr. Chase had lived it down years ago. I unite with my friend as one of those who voted for Mr. Chase to the Senate of the United States, in pronouncing the charge utterly false. What more shall I say? He was the Governor of our State for two terms, and discharged the duties of the office in such a manner as to give an increase to his own great reputation. He entered the office of the Treasury at Washington, and I really did begin to suppose that he had reached the limit of his ability; he who had been a lawyer and a statesman having risen to the height of financial skill with which he conducted that great office in such troublous times. I am glad, sir, that he never was President. I would rather that he should have been where he was on the day of his death. I think his fame will be greater in the future, and that when the disappointment of his friends has passed away, and they look along the record of his life, it will be prouder for them and prouder for his family that he died, not only in the great office of Chief Justice, but he died with his harness on."

It must be evident enough that, very close attention should be given to the question whether he, whose life we study, made his way to the Senate by a crime only less appalling than the crime of John Wilkes Booth, when he made his way to the "box of state," in Ford's Theater, and slew the unsuspecting President of the United States.

How I would scorn the memory of Chase, had I, with the already indicated knowledge of the facts, the slightest reason to suspect him of a willingness to slay the law in order to advance his lust of place and power, I will not attempt to intimate in this place or elsewhere. But, thank Heaven! no man living knows more about the designs and the desires, the aspiration and ambition of Salmon Portland Chase, at the time referred to, than is known to the composer of these pages. Of the transactions in question, also, I knew more than a little at the time. As already stated, I was the confidential counsel of Edward C. Roll, in taking the course recited in the case of *State of Ohio ex rel. Broadwell and others vs. Roll*, reported in the *Western Law Journal*;¹ and Mr. Roll, in giving the certificates to Pugh and Pierce, without the giving of which Mr. Chase would not have gone to the Senate, acted as advised by me, at once his friend and his legal adviser.

I do not conceal that there were timid Democrats who reasoned in this fashion: Though, in their opinion, the pretended law was clearly no law at all, yet Mr. Roll, in spite of his oath—in spite of his clear duty as a citizen—would, as a ministerial officer, be *safer* in treating it as valid till its invalidity should be judicially declared.

I do not intimate that Mr. Roll had *reason* to have great regard for my opinions, but I do declare that he actually *had* it; and I have reason to believe that, had I judged as did the timid Democrats just referred to, he would not have pursued the course that he at last considered as required by his official duties as well as by his obligations as a private citizen toward the State constitution. I believe he had no consultation, direct or indirect, with Mr. Chase. I believe that, *had* he consulted Mr. Chase, the latter would have advised him against taking the responsibility that I advised.

But, in any view, did Chase and his associates, on the occasion referred to by those letters—did Judge Read and others—undertake to *nullify* an act of legislation?

That which is already null can not be nullified. That which is void from the beginning is not voidable merely.

So I had the honor to suggest, by propounding to Judge Walker, in the course of the discussion of *State of Ohio ex rel. Broadwell et al. vs. Roll*, already cited, a question with which he suffered me to interrupt his argument.

¹ Vol. 7, p. 121.

He was arguing that, even if the court should come to the conclusion that the legislative act in question was, as Roll alleged, a violation of the constitution, the court must still find him guilty of official misconduct. Why? Because he was merely a ministerial officer, and as to him the act in question was a law, no matter how repugnant to the constitution.

The distinguished advocate who so insisted, had (as I have already stated) been my legal teacher, after Judge Read ceased to take direction of my legal studies. I was very certain that he would receive kindly the scrap of paper which I handed him, having first written on the same the words, as now remembered :

"Will Judge Walker suffer me to interrupt him with a question, which I promise shall be brief and pertinent?"

Judge Walker courteously allowed the desired interruption. Then I handed him, on another slip of paper, the question :

"Is an unconstitutional act of the Legislature voidable only when ascertained, by judicial decision, to be in repugnance to the constitution, or is it void *ab initio*?"

That was all the argument I wished to make; for I knew how Judge Walker would be *forced* to answer. He responded, promptly that a legislative act in clear violation of the constitution was always held to be absolutely void, from the beginning, on account of its repugnance to the fundamental law; but still he argued, that the clerk had misbehaved, in any view, in presuming to decide a question of constitutional law for himself!

Mr. Chase, on looking thoroughly into the matter, came to a different conclusion. He considered at that time, that a legislative act in clear, certain violation of the fundamental law, could have no legal sanction as to any citizen in or out of office.

That he understood the dread responsibility, in or out of office, of refusing to obey a pretended law on account of its clear unconstitutionality, I need not say. He always understood that it is only where there is no reasonable doubt of the unconstitutionality of a pretended legislative act, that that act can be disregarded, even by a court of justice. But his mind was quite too clear and strong to suffer him to say, that an act of the legislature, in clear, certain repugnance to the constitution, could have legal force for any purpose, as to any person.

True, there came a time when he seemed to distinguish between a construction of the constitution in the face of civil war, and the construction of the same instrument in time of peace. I think he erred in that respect, and I do not feel free to turn away from the indications of his real or apparent inconsistency in that particular.

Of that, however, I propose to speak hereafter. Here I wish to keep attention fixed, for a few moments longer, on the subject of the course pursued in 1848-1849 by Mr. Chase, with reference to the attempted division of Hamilton County.

Under date November 22, 1848, in a register of Mr. Chase, appear these words—words which a fraudulent biographer would carefully conceal :

“Saw number of lawyers, some of whom mentioned my probable election as Senator. Might believe it myself if it did not seem so absolutely out of the question whenever I seriously think of it. *Saw Donn Piatt, of Logan, who says he will be at Columbus at opening of session.* He reports that Judge Read says the Freesoilers may have the Senator if they will give the Democrats the other offices. Told him I hoped the *Freesoilers* would act with conscientious regard to right, and let consequences take care of themselves.”

Who “Donn Piatt, of Logan” was and is, I need not tell the average American reader. He is known to the whole country as the editor-in-chief of the *Capital*, having first attained national distinction as the Washington correspondent of the *Cincinnati Commercial*.

In the last letter written to the author of this volume, by its hero, evidence appears that Col. Donn Piatt was intimate with Salmon Portland Chase down to the time of the latter's last days. He was in co-operation with our hero in 1848, but not in 1852. Again in 1856 they were together.

Now, a word about Judge Read. He seemed to me the greatest legist in Ohio, even while our hero seemed to me a very learned jurist and an able advocate. In Read, one did not see the stately presence, the commanding manner, the peculiar tone of Chase; but Read, also, was a man of noble mien when he was most himself; and certainly no man whom I have ever met was, all things considered, equal to him as a legist, and *on the bench*.

Now, this Judge Read was a brother-in-law of “Donn Piatt, of Logan,” whom, as we have just seen, Chase set down, on the 22d of November, 1848, as “reporting” that Judge Read had said that the Freesoilers might have the Senator if they would give the Demo-

crats the other offices! I think, my friend Donn is also "an enigma;"¹ but Judge Read was clearly an enigma, if Donn had rightly understood him, as early as the 22d of November, 1848, to say that he was willing to give the Freesoilers the Senator, on any terms. I think Donn Piatt must have misunderstood Judge Read or been misunderstood by Chase.

I was quite intimate with Read. He always *Roberted* me; always talked to me without reserve. He talked with me most freely, at the time referred to. He had set his heart on going to the Senate. Afterward, at all times, he excepted to the course of Chase in joining in the arrangement by which the Senator was given to the Freesoilers. Once, not long afterward, having come up to "Billy McDowell" (afterward Judge McDowell, of Kansas) and myself, at the corner of Walnut and Fifth Streets, Cincinnati, just as we were left by Senator Chase, he "opened up" in this fashion:

"Boys! I see you have been talking with Chase. He is courting you young men. Avoid him. He is a political vampire. No! He's a sort of moral bull-bitch."

Then followed a few words which, not on account of Chase, nor on account of Read, but on account of other persons, I will not repeat, though I have often repeated them in private.

I defended Chase as I defend him now. I told Judge Read then as I tell my readers now, that what I knew about the facts connected with the senatorial candidature of Mr. Chase would not allow me to believe that he had yielded to ambition rather than observed a due regard to public obligations, in participating in the movement that had made him Senator.

Let me now invite attention to these entries:

"January 1, [1849]. Began the new year at Columbus. Engaged on argument in Lane Seminary case, but subject to a good many interruptions. The argument of the disputed seats from Hamilton County in the Ohio House of Representatives commences to-day: Geo. E. Pugh for himself and Pierce; O. M. Spencer for himself and Runyan.

"January 2. Went over to the House to-day to hear Spencer and Pugh. At noon, wrote out proposition, or rather engagement, to be signed by such gentlemen of the Democratic party as might see fit, to the effect, that, in case Pugh and Pierce should be admitted, no attempt should be made to keep in Sheldon, a Democratic member from Portage, having the clerk's certificate given to him in consequence of a mere mistake, through which a number of votes, making a

¹ See motto of this volume.

majority for his opponent, were not counted. Saw Judge Smart, of Highland, in company with Dr. Townshend. He assured us that he would give no countenance to any attempt to keep Sheldon in, but would unite with the Freesoilers against the Democratic candidate for Speaker, unless he would pledge himself to make a fair committee on elections. This interview was before the House met in the morning. Handed the paper written, at noon, to Dr. T., just before the P. M. sitting. Pugh concluded his argument, which was both able and eloquent. Dr. T. moved an adjournment. It was lost. *I told Disney, who was near me, that if the question on the right to seats should be taken now, Pugh and Pierce would be excluded. He went over to speak to the Democrats. Breslin consulted Dr. T. He, thinking Van Doren would vote for P. and P., said adjournment unnecessary. Question then taken on P. and P.'s right. Ayes 35; nays 35—only Townshend voting with Democrats, Van Doren voting against them. Next, on Spencer and Runyan's right: ayes 32, nays 38. Among the latter, Townshend, Morse, Van Doren, Riddle, Smart. The Democrats were much excited—charged bad faith on Freesoilers. Several came to see me. Told them to keep cool. Many threatened to go home and break up Legislature, but finally concluded to take another day for consideration, if enough Freesoilers would vote with them to adjourn next day without electing a Speaker, etc., which they agreed to do.*

"January 3. There was a good deal of consultation to-day. The Democrats still much excited and inclined to break up the Legislature. The adjournment took place as agreed. Starr came up to-night, arriving about one, A. M.

"January 4. *This morning it was finally understood that the Democratic candidate for Speaker should be elected, Stanley Matthews, Freesoiler, Clerk; and that a Committee on Priv. and Election should be constituted of one Freesoiler, two Democrats, and two Whigs. The House met at ten. Breslin, Democrat, was elected Speaker; Matthews, Clerk; and House, after several ballots for Sergeant-at-arms, adjourned. I was not present at either morning or afternoon session, but busy at my argument, except when interrupted by callers. Monfort and Long called in the evening to ask if it was desired to elect Purdy, Freesoil nominee, by Democratic votes. I could not tell.*"

Enough appears, I think, to satisfy every fair-minded reader that the course of Chase at this time was governed, not by low ambition, not by lust of power, but by his devotion to the cause of constitutional agitation against slavery.

I did not then regard that devotion as well guarded and restrained. As I review it even *now*, it seems to me much as it then appeared to me. But even then it seemed to me, at least, sincere and conscientious, and it seems to me, after so many years—after so many sorrows—after so many trials—not less conscientious, not less earnest, not less patriotic, than it seemed to me in 1848-1849.

But I do not fancy that I have disposed of all the difficulties in the way of simple justice to the memory of Chase, as affected by

the part he took with the Democratic party in 1848-1849, and down to 1852. I do not imagine that I have silenced the objection that he was not "a loyal party man." Nor have I the slightest expectation of disposing of that objection in the present chapter. But the charge has been made, that the man these pages name so often was disloyal as to church and party both. It has been charged that he passed over from the church in which he was educated to the Methodist communion in the interest of an unholy lust of power; and it has been charged that he passed from the Whig party to the Liberty party, from the Liberty party to the Democratic party, from the Democratic party to the Republican party, and from the Republican party back again to the Democratic party, in the same selfish, evil interest.

I propose to say something about these charges; and, first, I have something farther to say about the changes from party to party.

In a letter to Lyman W. Hall, Esq., under date August 6, 1849, Senator Chase said:

"I am sure I had no idea that I was so bad a man as I have discovered myself to be since my election to the Senate. I always tried to pursue a straight-forward, frank course, conciliating always where-soever conciliation did not involve a sacrifice of principle; but always ready to avow and maintain whatever principles I really held and to abide by them no matter how small the minority.

"I was educated in the Whig school, and as a lawyer rather than as a politician. In my latter capacity I was always tolerably independent; but I held in the main the views which are now generally denominated Whig (though, at the time, they were almost equally shared by both parties) up till 1840. In that year I supported Harrison, though an advocate myself of the sub-treasury system. I took, however, very little part in politics at that time. In 1841, having become satisfied that the Whig administration would be as pro-slavery as the Democratic had ever been, I united with a few others in the call for the Liberty Convention of December in that year. Convinced now that the question of slavery was the paramount one, and satisfied that the great principle of equal rights was correct, I began to test opinions by this standard. I was thus led to quite different views on the questions of bank tariff and government, from those I had taken up, in trust without examination, and became unreservedly a Democrat—with Democratic principles too strong to allow of any compromise with slavery. Holding these principles, I was content to go into the minority of the Liberty party and labor in it, when men counted me mad for so doing.

"These principles, however, led the Democrats to consent to my support last winter, and I now hold them as unreservedly, and as absolutely, without compromise, as ever. All I desire is to see the old Democracy follow out their principles to the same conclusions. Then we can all stand together.

"For these views I am reproached and vilified beyond measure; but I shall go straight on. I rejoice to hear that in Portage and Summit the two wings of the Democracy will be united on principle. I wish it could be so every-where throughout our State. Then a glorious victory would surely await us."

Here is the copy of a letter written by him to a Democratic editor at a very critical time:

"CINCINNATI, July 30, 1849.

*HON. ASA G. DIMMOCK, Millersburgh, O.

"MY DEAR SIR: I regretted exceedingly that I could not see you at Cleveland. I wished very much to have a full conversation with you on matters and things in general.

"An attempt is being made, I see, to fasten the doctrine of non-intervention with slavery again upon the Democratic party. The *Washington Union* takes the lead—General Cass follows suit—divers papers join the cry. Now it does seem to me that this attempt should be honestly and decidedly met and resisted. The Democratic party was wrecked on this rock last fall. Is it worth while to run right on it again?

"For General Cass, personally, I have a high respect. But he made a grand mistake when he abandoned his original Wilmot Proviso ground, and promulgated the doctrines of the Nicholson letter—doctrines condemned by all our history—by the action of every administration, including Mr. Polk's and the common sense construction of the constitution. To leave the old ground now, and make these indefensible doctrines the platform of the Democratic party is, I think, to insure defeat.

"Such a course makes union with the free Democracy impossible, and, at the same time, drives out of the regular ranks a great number of the truest Democrats in them, into the ranks of the former.

"In this State I have been inclined to believe that the old Democracy and the free Democracy would succeed in carrying the Legislature this fall, and that the representatives of the two wings would not find it difficult to agree on a common platform, as they have done in Vermont and Wisconsin. But if the Democratic presses which supported General Cass insist on the non-intervention doctrine, great difficulties will be introduced into the canvass before the people, as well as into action in the Legislature, supposing the two parties of the Democracy again to have a majority.

"Can you not write something upon this subject? My general view of the relation of slavery to our National Government is stated fully in my argument of the Vanzandt case, in which, also, I give some account of the ordinance of 1787. I believe I have sent you a copy heretofore, but it will do no harm to send you another.

"I see Vaughan, of the *True Democrat*, and Gray, of the *Plain-Dealer*, have got at war. Perhaps it's nothing very serious, but I am sorry to see it. Gray is a clever fellow and an able writer, and his sympathies, I am sure, are fully with the free Democracy. Vaughan's article in the *Whigs* of Harrison was injudicious and per-

haps worse; but I wish Gray had spoken to him privately about it instead of making it the subject of annoying comment.

"Do you correspond with Medary? What is his disposition in reference to the future? I see he had an article indorsing the Washington Union Platform, but of late he has said nothing about it.

"I shall be glad to hear from you, and, meanwhile, remain,

"Faithfully yours,

"S. P. CHASE."

It may seem strange that a man so well informed about the Democratic party as the writer of that letter might have been, should have expected so much from that organization. But that letter was written more than eighteen months after the representation in the State convention of the Democratic party in Ohio, passed that "mitigate" and "finally eradicate" resolution.

Chase, who then somewhat idealized the Democratic party and the members of that party, had, no doubt, the expectation that the sentiments of the eleventh resolution would ere long become almost universally prevalent in the Democratic party of Ohio.

On the 6th of August, 1849, he wrote again to Mr. Dimmock, who was then editing the *Ohio Farmer*. The letter last referred to says:

"To me it seems clear that the true interest and duty of the Democratic party in the free States points to union with the free Democracy, instead of alliance with the slaveholders. The former secures ascendancy in the free States—the latter, ascendancy in the slave States. The former may throw the Democracy into minorities in the slave States, but will still leave them strong in numbers and stronger in character. The latter will, almost certainly, by making it impossible for the free Democrats to coöperate, throw the Democracy into minorities in almost all the free States, and thus make the successful issue of a presidential contest nearly impossible, while the striking contrast between the maxims and the practices of equal rights professing, but slavery supporting, Democracy must rob the party of all moral power."

The same letter contains these words:

"I do not agree with you that the question as to the division of Hamilton County is the main obstacle to a union between the Democrats and Freesoilers. The true difficulty is in the position of Gen. Cass and the *Washington Union*, seconded by such papers as the *Democratic Banner*, the *Georgetown Standard*, the *Chillicothe Advertiser*, and countenanced, though not very zealously, by the *Ohio Statesman*. Oh, if the Democracy of the State would just repudiate this platform, and, planting itself upon the resolution adopted by its last gubernatorial convention, and boldly proclaiming as the true meaning of

that resolution—prohibition of slavery in the Territories and the separation of the general government from all support of slavery—how soon you would find the free Democracy gathering in solid array around you, resolved to conquer with you for the great principles of freedom and equal rights. Then you would find the frauds of the apportionment law and the iniquities of the Hamilton County division scattered like chaff before the tempest of popular indignation. Be assured, my friend, that nothing is needed to the complete triumph of the Democracy in Ohio except fidelity to its own glorious principles and a faithful application of them to slavery.”

The next day he said in a letter to C. R. Miller, Esq., of Toledo, Ohio :

“I feel solicitous about the action of the Freesoilers on the Reserve—especially in relation to Townshend and Morse. These men were faithful to the cause, and took not one single step with any personal objects. Without any interested motive, they stood in the breach, at the greatest hazard and amid an unprecedented storm of obloquy. But for them the Black Laws would not have been repealed—and but for them no permanent advantage to the free Democracy would have accrued from its representatives in the Legislature. If any men ever deserved to be sustained, they do.

“For myself, I have no love for political life ; I am in it from necessity, not choice or advantage. Cheerfully would I resign my position to any man who would do my work in it. I am not insensible to its honors or advantages ; but in my judgment, they are more than counterbalanced by its responsibilities and its discomforts. But I won't bore you with this, but, finding myself at the bottom of the second page, bid you farewell.

Yours truly,

“S. P. CHASE.”

Attention is next invited to this document :

“CINCINNATI, August 2, 1851.

“DEAR SIR: On my return home, after an absence of some six weeks, I found your letter of July 25th, for which I beg you to accept my thanks.

“I am not prepared to express any opinion at present, in relation to the next presidential election. I can only say that, while I greatly desire the union and harmony of the Democracy, I shall act, when action becomes necessary, as my principles require.

“I wish that Democrats in all parts of the Union could return to the simple platform of the father of American Democracy, and be content to leave slavery and the extradition of slaves to the several States to be acted upon, under the obligations of the Constitution of the United States, according to their own discretion—thus severing the National Government from all connection with these matters, and leaving to it only the duty, so far as this subject is concerned, of maintaining all persons, where its jurisdiction is exclusive, in the enjoyment of personal freedom. This, however, is hardly

to be hoped for at present. The next best thing would be cordial toleration in Congress, and out of Congress, of differences of opinion and action on slavery among Democrats, leaving, in good faith, the decision of the questions in controversy to the people and their representatives, after untrammelled discussion. Such toleration, perhaps, is as little to be expected as agreement.

"I entertain for Gen. Houston a very sincere regard. His kindness and courtesy toward me during our association in the Senate could not fail to win it. Should he be nominated for the Presidency I should wish to support him. Whether I should do so or not, however, would depend upon the positions which he, and the convention making the nomination, should think proper to take.

"Should you return to the South through this city I shall be happy to see you, and if you will remain a few days with us, will endeavor to make your stay as agreeable as possible.

"Very respectfully and truly yours, etc.,

"S. P. CHASE."

Let me next invite attention to this letter :

"CINCINNATI, *November 23, 1849.*

"MY DEAR SIR: Looking over some old papers this evening, I find the inclosed receipt, which I forward to you. You will remember the remittance of the \$10 for the Colored Orphan Asylum which the receipt acknowledges.

"What changes have occurred since our last exchanged letters! Your position is greatly advanced since then. My own remains unchanged. I have been looking over, this evening, some of the papers on the subject of slavery, which I wrote in 1841-2, and have been really surprised by the exact agreement in purport and expression with my most recently published views. Very possibly you will think this stationary position not creditable to me. Perhaps you are right, but I have never been able to persuade myself of the validity of the arguments used to urge an advance from it to the ground you occupy. And I have now the satisfaction of seeing a large body of the people occupying the platform which I once stood upon with few associates; and of believing that the time is not distant when the support of the National Government will be withdrawn from slavery. My efforts shall not be wanting to hasten the time. With great regard, I am, as ever truly your friend.

"Gerritt Smith, Esq., Petersboro, N. Y.

S. P. CHASE."

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE SENATORIAL SERVICE OF THE HERO—CHASE AND DOUGLAS—BLEEDING KANSAS.

THE letter to Mr. Trowbridge, giving account of the Buffalo Convention, contains also the following paragraphs:

"Immediately after the election, the northern Democracy, which had supported General Cass, claiming that under the doctrines maintained by him, slavery, though not prohibited by law, could find no ingress into the Territories, passed by an easy transition into the profession of the doctrines entertained by the Independent Democracy which had supported Mr. Van Buren. Every-where indications became visible of a disposition to unite upon the platform of slavery prohibition. Resolutions were adopted in many of the States, both by the old line and Independent Democrats, uniting the two organizations, and in others, where actual union did not take place, there was more or less concert of action. In Ohio, I was elected to the Senate by the united votes of the old line and independent Democrats, and took my seat in that body in March, 1849. I was not, however, satisfied that the union between the two organizations could be perfect or permanent until, in a national convention, the old line Democracy of the free States should either succeed in obtaining the adoption of a national platform, declaring the party independent of slaveholding dictation, or by breaking the bond of adhesion to the slave interest by open separation.

"I, therefore, declined to go into the Democratic caucus of the Senate, or commit myself to the organization otherwise than by supporting its candidates in Ohio so long as the party in that State should maintain an anti-slavery position. The event justified my apprehensions. It soon became evident that the leaders of the Democratic party were not prepared to surrender the supposed advantages of their slaveholding alliance. In 1850, the compromise measures, including the fugitive slave act, were supported by almost the entire party in Congress, though opposed by a majority of the Ohio Representatives. They were almost universally denounced by the Democratic press in Ohio, and for a time it seemed possible that they might be repudiated by the northern Democracy.

"When the convention met at Baltimore, however, it soon became apparent that no such hope was to be realized. Resolutions were adopted approving the compromise measures, and denouncing all agitation of the slavery question, by which was understood all resistance to the pretensions of slaveholders. General Pierce was

nominated for President, and Mr. King, of Alabama, for Vice-President. The Whig Convention nominated General Scott for President, and Mr. Graham, of North Carolina, for Vice-President. Its platform was almost identical in spirit and substance with that of the Democratic Convention. After these nominations and declarations I did not hesitate what course to take. I addressed, at once, a letter to Mr. Butler, of New York, declaring my own determination to adhere to principles announced at Buffalo, and to act with the only party faithful to them; that is to say, with the Independent Democracy which had maintained its organization, and had called a convention to meet at Pittsburg. I earnestly urged him, and the Democrats who had acted with him at Buffalo, to maintain the ground they had then taken.

"I shall ever lament that this appeal was not heeded. The party of freedom had given, while unorganized, in 1840, one vote in every 350 of all the votes cast in the United States, for its candidates.¹ In 1844 it had given one vote in forty-four, and in 1848 it had given one vote in ten, and almost one in nine. This, it must be remembered, was the proportion, in the free States, of the whole vote of the United States. The proportion in the free States considered by themselves must, of course, have been much larger. It can not be doubted, I think, that had the New York Democracy adhered to the principles avowed in 1848, and refused to support the Baltimore nominations upon a platform repugnant to the sentiments and convictions of a large majority of the northern people, a vote would have been given for the nominees of the Independent Democracy, which, if not sufficient to elect its candidates, would have insured the election of General Scott, and, consequently, the union of nearly the whole Democratic party in the course of the following year upon the principles of the Independent Democracy. The Democracy of the Union, united upon these principles, would have been invincible, and slavery, excluded from the national Territories, would have been ameliorated, diminished, and, finally, abolished in the States by State action. The Rebellion, in all probability, would have been avoided, and the Union would have been preserved unbroken, and preserved not for slavery, but for freedom. I took great pains to explain these views to many, and a good deal of apprehension was manifested by certain slave State Senators lest they should be adopted.

"The New York Democrats, however, saw the matter otherwise than I. They went over, almost unanimously, to the support of Mr. Pierce, who was, of course, elected. Their defection, and that of those influenced by their example, in other States, reduced the vote of the Independent Democracy from 291,678, in 1848, to 157,296, in 1852. The whole number given was 157,296, and the Independent Democratic vote was one in twenty. Near three-fourths of the whole defection was in New York.

"The agreement of the two old parties upon substantially the same platform, and the election of General Pierce, devolved upon the Democratic party the whole responsibility of that platform. The

¹ *American Almanac*, 1860, p. 201.

reorganization of parties became inevitable, and, as the platform of the Independent Democracy alone represented antagonism to the compromise Democracy, it was also evident that the principles of that party must form a basis of opposition to the administration, which must inevitably be driven into new concessions to the slave power.

"It was not long before this logic of events exhibited its natural consequences, in the introduction of the Nebraska bill into the Senate, with its clauses repealing the Missouri prohibition. At first there was great uncertainty among Whig Senators and Representatives as to the course which ought to be pursued. The entire body of southern Whigs in Congress went over to the administration upon this question, and very few Democrats, either north or south, ventured to oppose the repeal of the prohibition. A few of the independent Democrats conferred together, and resolved to draw up an appeal to the people, to be signed by all those opposed to the repeal. An appeal was, accordingly, drawn up by me—the same which was afterward printed and widely circulated—but it was found impossible to procure the signatures desired. Almost all seemed to dread committing themselves against slavery. It was then proposed to issue the appeal with the signatures of the Ohio Senators and Representatives alone. Some were ready to sign it, but others were unwilling. So, finding unanimity, even in Ohio, unattainable, the paper was signed by the Independent Democratic Senators and Representatives alone, and sent forth as their appeal to the people against the meditated wrong."

In order to appreciate this language it is necessary to go back a little.

Senator Chase prepared a draft of a platform for the "Free Democracy," at Pittsburg, in 1852. It was substantially the platform adopted at the convention held at that time, in that city. Passing mention may be made of the fact that, "against his own expressed wishes," his name was brought before that body as a presidential candidate.

In 1853, he "took the stump" in Ohio, with the more eloquent Samuel Lewis, the candidate of the Free Democracy for Governor of Ohio. He was afterward the legislative nominee of the same party for reelection to the Senate of the Union, but, as indicated in his letter to Mr. Prentiss, of New Hampshire,¹ he was not successful. Hon. George Ellis Pugh was chosen his successor.

Pugh is one of the most finished, fluent, forcible of speakers. As an orator he has, and he has had, few equals, either at the bar or "on the stump." But he was not a senatorial character. He rather

¹ Ante.

diminished than increased the lustre of his reputation, in the Senate. In the stormy House, he would have made himself world-famous; in the Senate he was more out of place than Brougham in the House of Lords.

We must go back a little. We must look at Chase as he appeared, "every inch" a Senator of the United States.

Among the men whom he encountered in his own characteristic fashion was "the Little Giant," Stephen Arnold Douglas.

Douglas was, in many things the very opposite of Chase. He was, as I have elsewhere shown and said, an ultimately patriotic demagogue. He knew the people well. Here is a fine account of his oratory by Rev. Mr. Milburn:

"The first time I saw Mr. Douglas was in June, 1838, standing on the gallery of the Market House, which some of my readers may recollect as situate in the middle of the square at Jacksonville. He and Colonel John J. Hardin were engaged in canvassing Morgan County for Congress. He was upon the threshold of that great world in which he has since played so prominent a part, and was engaged in making one of his earliest stump speeches. I stood and listened to him, surrounded by a motley crowd of backwoods farmers and hunters, dressed in homespun or deerskin, my boyish breast glowing with exultant joy, as he, only ten years my senior, battled so bravely for the doctrines of his party with the veteran and accomplished Hardin. True, I had been educated in political sentiments opposite to his own, but there was something captivating in his manly straightforwardness and uncompromising statement of his political principles. He even then showed signs of that dexterity in debate, and vehement, impressive declamation, of which he has since become such a master. He gave the crowd the color of his own mood as he interpreted their thoughts and directed their sensibilities. His first-hand knowledge of the people, and his power to speak to them in their own language, employing arguments suited to their comprehension, sometimes clinching a series of reasons by a frontier metaphor which refused to be forgotten, and his determined courage, which never shrank from any form of difficulty or danger, made him one of the most effective stump-orators I have ever heard."

I heard Chase often, Douglas only thrice, in public. Frequently I talked with the former; seldom had I opportunity to talk with the latter. But my recollections of them both are very clear and vivid. Mr. Milburn's account of Douglas would be perfect, if it only noticed his hard voice, sometimes a little harsh, and often coarse.

¹ *Ten Years of Preacher Life.*

The very difference between voice and voice made a great contrast between Chase and Douglas. Chase was not a fluent, easy speaker. Some impediment affected his delivery when I first heard him at the Cincinnati bar, and it continued to affect his utterance to the end of his days. But his organ was, in some respects, a finer one than the voice of Douglas. It was more manifestly the voice of thoughtfulness—of a thought-fond spirit—if I may so express myself. On the other hand, while he had, (perhaps as teacher,) gained the power of speaking to the people, if not “in their own language,” at least in language easily intelligible to them—the power of popularization, it may be called, perhaps—his “first-hand knowledge of the people” was far more limited than that of Douglas; and he could not please the crowd as could the latter, either “on the stump,” or at the bar, or in the legislative hall.

He was the greater man, but Douglas was the greater orator.

Such are some of my conceptions of two men who were made almost combatants by the mad crime of one of them in 1854.

Yes! I must consider, now, that Douglas committed a mad crime in January, 1854, when, in the interest of his then base ambition, he took the initiative in repealing the Missouri Compromise.

That Compromise was, indeed, itself an unwise measure; but the motive of its undoing was as bad as bad could be.

The history of the Missouri Compromise is known to school-boys. It purported to prohibit involuntary servitude forever in all the territory acquired from France north of 36° parallel of north latitude. That territory was a far-reaching tract of land, some parts of which were singularly favored by the hand of nature, singularly fit for human habitation. Some have calculated its area as twelve times as large as Ohio and equal in extent to the combined Territories of France, Spain, and Italy.

The Senator who had written the historical sketch of Ohio, elsewhere mentioned; who had so laboriously and skillfully compiled the legislation of that great State; who had so deeply studied the relation of the Ordinance of '87 to the growing glory and the empire-like power of that member of the Union; was to be expected to take prominence in opposition to that mad-guilty scheme of Douglas.

Chase was very prominent, indeed, in the debates occasioned by that scheme, and in the other action that it caused or provoked.

Let us now go back to the last-quoted Trowbridge letter. After having mentioned, as we have already seen, the appeal of the Inde-

pendent Democratic Senators and Representatives alone, that letter thus goes forward :

"It was copied every-where and read every-where. The people, always in advance of the politicians upon questions of principle, took the alarm, and their potential voice was heard in Congress. The doubting were decided, and the timid took courage. The alliance of the administration Senators and Representatives with the whole body of the southern Whigs, secured, it is true, the passage of the bill; but the Senators and Representatives who voted against it, represented a majority of the people of the free States. It was no longer doubtful upon what ground the reorganization of parties would take place. It must necessarily find its only bond of union in opposition to the extension of slavery."

Let me anticipate somewhat by now offering this letter:

"COLUMBUS, *May 11th, 1857.*

"MY DEAR SIR: I need not say to you that I felt a very great satisfaction in hearing of your success as Mayor of Leavenworth. To the pleasure which every friend of freedom derived from the election of a free State mayor, I added that which the success of a personal friend always gives.

"Very little direct intelligence has reached me from the Territory for some time past. I learned from a gentleman connected with the committee at Chicago, that active efforts would be made to canvass the State and ascertain the exact position and amount of free State strength, with a view to the adoption of a plan of action somewhat akin to that which I explained to you in conversation; and I had some advice to a similar effect from Lawrence. Lane, also, wrote me upon his arrival in the Territory, saying that he soon would write again; but I have since heard nothing from him.

"I wish you would write me and let me know exactly the true state of things. At my distance, it looks as if the free State men of Kansas were to be left to their own care, so far as the General Government is concerned. Nothing, in my judgment, can be safely hoped either from Walker or Stanton, unless, what is very possible, the administration has been *buying up* Woodson, Emery, and the rest, to a course of fairness and liberality by their late appointments. I do not think such a purchase impracticable, but I doubt the willingness or rather the liberty of the administration to make it. The slave power is not yet prepared to let go its hold upon Kansas.

"It still seems to me that the free State men ought to organize in view of the coming election for Constitutional Convention. If such an organization were made as I suggested to you, I do not think that Walker could refuse the proposition which the Lawrence men are reported to have made to Stanton, with a view to a fair election.

"For example, suppose the free State men should hold a convention and there resolve:

"1. That the acts of the self-styled Legislature were acts of usurpation without law, and therefore null, except so far as they may be hereafter confirmed by a duly and freely chosen Legislature.

"2. That the Topeka Constitution is a true expression of the will of the people of Kansas, and that Kansas has a right to be admitted as a State under it.

"3. That the two foregoing propositions being denied by the pro-slavery party, the free State men of Kansas in convention accept the act of the usurping legislature, as a challenge to a trial of strength at the polls; and so accepting, insist that the trial shall be a fair one.

"4. That all citizens of the United States who have been actual residents of Kansas for, say 60 or 30 days preceding the election, and who intend permanently to reside therein shall be allowed to vote, and no others.

"5. That the judges and clerks of election shall be so arranged as to exclude the probability, if not possibility, of unfairness.

"6. That, to guard against the possibility that no such arrangement of judges and clerks can be had, judges and clerks should be appointed provisionally by the convention, or upon a plan to be proposed by it, who should receive the votes of all voters qualified according to the fourth proposition, and register the name of each voter, his residence, and the facts constituting his qualification, which register should be duly authenticated by the oaths of the judges and clerks, and carefully preserved.

"You will recognize this as the outline of the plan which I suggested to you. My impression is strong that the adoption of the plan, with an active and thorough organization, would secure such practical concessions as would give the free State men a fair opportunity to test the relative strength of parties at the polls; should this be the case, and the free State men prove to be the most numerous, the Topeka Constitution could be re-adopted and the past action of the free State men be thus fully vindicated. On the other hand, should no such concessions be made, the provisional organization would enable the free State men to show their whole strength, and give their friends in the States a full answer to all charges of fractiousness, and clear proofs of the unfairness of the pro-slavery party, and of its contemptuous disregard of the real voice of the people.

"Such were my views as expressed to you and others, and I have seen no occasion to change them. Still I am far from believing that we at a distance can judge as well of the proper course to be adopted as you who are upon the spot; and, for one, I feel disposed to sustain those on whom the immediate responsibility of decision and action is cast, whether they agree with me or not. But I shall be glad to know from you what has been actually determined on, and what the prospects are.

"With best regards to our friends, I remain yours faithfully.

"S. P. CHASE.

"Hon. H. J. Adams, Leavenworth, K. T."

On the 11th of March, 1858, Governor Chase wrote as follows to William H. Seward:

"It gave me great pleasure to read your speech. It was worthy of yourself and of the occasion. It illustrates the nature of the inter-communication which makes us one people and interdicts dis-

union, that I read your speech here, within forty-eight hours after delivery, in a paper printed more than two hundred miles from the place where you spoke. You and I have long labored together, though in somewhat different relations, for the same great cause of enfranchisement and progress. *I shall distrust your devotion to it, when I distrust my own.* Having this confidence in you, may I not say, that I regretted the apparent countenance you gave to the idea that the Douglas doctrine of popular sovereignty will do for us to stand upon for the present. The true doctrine of popular sovereignty I accept as cordially as any man, but I can not give my adhesion to that notion of it which sanctions the enslavement of man by his fellow-man, provided only the majority agree to it, or to any party based upon it. It seems to me that in the regular process of mental and political developments, working singly and irresistibly, a transition and transformation of parties, the Republican organization has grown up, not so much by choice as by necessity. Our true policy and true wisdom is to adhere to it, instead of changing, to strengthen its base. Another course may seem to give greater immediate accessions of strength, but will result, I verily believe, in defeat.

Yours faithfully,

"Hon. William H. Seward.

S. P. CHASE."

CHAPTER XXIV.

RELATIONS OF CHASE TO THE KNOW NOTHINGS—GOVERNOR OF OHIO.

NEXT, attention is invited to this letter:

“WASHINGTON, *March 19, 1864.*

MY DEAR SIR: In March, 1865, the Rev. Mr. Dennison, of Louisville, Ky., requested a friend to take charge of Rosetta, a colored girl, of sixteen years of age, and convey her from Louisville to Virginia. This friend brought Rosetta to Cincinnati, and started with her, by railroad, to Wheeling. While remaining at Columbus, she was taken before a judge upon a writ of *habeas corpus*, declared free, and, being a minor, was placed under the guardianship of a gentleman named Vanslyke. While under this guardianship, she was seized by a deputy-marshal, who surreptitiously gained admission to the house in which she was employed, seized the girl, and hurried her to the depot, and started at once for Cincinnati. Fortunately, her guardian was promptly notified of her capture, and, hastening to the depot, entered the cars just as they were moving off, and went on the same train with the girl and her captor to Cincinnati. This was on the 23d or 24th of March.

“It was the plan of Dennison and the captor of Rosetta to take her at once to Pendery, the commissioner, have an immediate examination, and carry her off at once into Kentucky. Mr. Vanslyke defeated this plan by obtaining a writ of *habeas corpus* under my counsel, upon which writ Rosetta was brought before Judge Parker, of the Court of Common Pleas. I appeared in behalf of Rosetta; Judge Timothy Walker, one of the most eminent and respected members of the bar, and Mr. R. B. Hayes, a young lawyer of great promise, appeared with me; while Mr. Pugh and Judge Flynn appeared on behalf of Mr. Dennison.

“The case was very thoroughly argued, and the court ordered that Rosetta, having been brought into Ohio by the master or his agent, was free, and should be delivered to the custody of her guardian. As there was some danger that the girl, if delivered in the court-room, would be immediately seized again by the marshal, I applied to the court for an order, that the sheriff should protect her until put into the charge of her guardian at some safe place. The order was made, and Rosetta was taken to the Woodruff House by the sheriff, and there restored to Mr. Vanslyke. Shortly afterward, she was, as was feared, again arrested by the marshal, and taken

before the commissioner, Pendery, who heard arguments for and against the claim of her alleged master. Fortunately, in this case, the commissioner, though notoriously venal, did not venture to confront the public indignation certain to be aroused by an order for her surrender, after she had been declared entitled to freedom by the decisions of two courts. He accordingly discharged her from custody.

“ While this proceeding before him was going on, Mr. Walker and myself asked the Court of Common Pleas for process in contempt against the marshal. The court issued its writ accordingly, and the marshal was taken into custody by the sheriff. In his turn, he applied for a writ of *habeas corpus* to Judge McLean, and was discharged by him upon the ground that the State Court had no jurisdiction to protect the liberty of any person claimed and seized as a fugitive slave under process authorized by the fugitive slave act. This decision of Judge McLean attracted a great deal of attention, and received general condemnation. As Rosetta was at liberty, however, the interest excited by it was less general and less intense than it would have been, had the decision been followed by practical results.

"In the argument upon the *habeas corpus* before Judge Parker of the Court of Common Pleas. and in the application for an attachment for contempt against the marshal when he re-arrested Rosetta, and in the argument of the *habeas corpus* for the liberation of the marshal, I argued the questions involved on the side of freedom with all the earnestness and all the ability I possessed. I was most ably supported by Judge Walker, while Mr. Hayes acquitted himself with great distinction in the defense of Rosetta before Pendery. Mr. Pugh and Mr. Wolf, of Louisville, represented the first, the marshal, and the second, the Rev. Mr. Dennison, the slave claimant.

“ Mr. Pugh had been elected as my successor in the Senate. My term had just expired, and I was again among the people. It was remarked by many that the ex-Senator was as ready to defend rights as the new Senator was ready to attack them.

“Yours truly,

"J. T. Trowbridge, Esq.

S. P. CHASE."

"A vain attempt," says our hero to Mr. Trowbridge, "was made to turn the current of public sentiment into other channels, by the organization of the American, or 'Know Nothing' party, but its first national convention was broken up by a division upon the slavery question, and the party, after a brief existence, disappeared from political contests."

If Chase trimmed, he generally trimmed, not to policy, but to principle. But I do not attempt to vindicate his coalition with the Know Nothings. Then he seemed to me most dangerously wrong; and now I find no reason for supposing that my judgment, then, did him injustice.

He continues in this fashion :

"While the American party was yet powerful, I, though not a member of the organization, was nominated for Governor of Ohio by an Anti-Nebraska Convention, in which the Americans, so-called, had a decided majority. Opposition to slavery, however, was so much stronger in their hearts than zeal for the principles of the organization, that my nomination was carried by a vote of nearly two to one. The canvass which followed was unusually sharp. A considerable number of Whigs, retaining the animosities excited by my election to the Senate, refused their support, and joined in strenuous efforts to defeat me by withdrawing enough votes from the Anti-Nebraska force to secure the election of the administration candidate. Their efforts were unsuccessful, and I was elected.

"I at once addressed myself to the duties of my new position. I sought to promote all practicable reforms; encouraged, by all the means in my power, the interests of education; endeavored to reorganize the military system of the State; and omitted no opportunity of making the voice of Ohio heard on the side of freedom and justice. At the same time, I endeavored, as far as practicable, to conciliate opposition founded on misapprehension, and succeeded, finally, in organizing a compact and powerful party, based on the great principles of freedom and free labor."

The next document I wish to offer reads as follows :

"WASHINGTON, *March 13, 1864.*

"MY DEAR SIR: The Garner case comes next in order, and is invested with a peculiar interest by its tragic circumstances.

"It is impossible to state the facts except in the merest outline; but even an outline will convey a pretty accurate idea of the whole transaction.

"On the night of the 27th of January, 1856, a party of slaves escaped from Boone County, in Kentucky, into Storrs Township, adjoining Cincinnati, on the Ohio River. Among the persons composing the party were an old man, named Simon Garner, and his wife—so far as a slave woman could be a wife—Mary; a son of the old man, also named Simon, and Margaret, his wife, and their four children.

"They took refuge in a colored man's house, near the river bank, below Millcreek, a stream which divides Storrs from Cincinnati. They were tracked immediately, and a warrant for their apprehension was obtained the next morning, Monday, the 28th, from one Pendery, a commissioner appointed by Judge McLean, under the fugitive slave act of 1850. Provided with this warrant, the United States Marshal—named Robinson—with a gang of officers and the slave claimants, hastened to the house where the fugitives had taken refuge. Their entrance was resisted. Young Simon, who was armed with a six-shooter, fired four shots on the party of official and unofficial slave-hunters, before he and his companions were seized. While this was going on, his wife, Margaret, who was naturally of a violent disposition, and now frenzied by excitement, seized a butcher knife and, declaring she would kill all the children before

they should be taken across the river, actually succeeded in killing one, a little girl of three years of age, named Mary.

"The survivors were taken in custody and conveyed to the Police Station House.

"The friends of the slaves procured the same day a writ of *habeas corpus* returnable before the Probate Judge of the county, which was executed by the sheriff so far as to take the slaves into custody and convey them to the county jail.

"The Probate Judge immediately proceeded to Columbus to confer with me as to the proper course of procedure.

"The hostility to abolitionism, under which name men included all earnest anti-slavery action, was at this time intense in southern Ohio, and nowhere more intense than in Cincinnati. At the election which had been held for Governor, only three months before, I had received, in Hamilton County, which includes Cincinnati, only forty-five hundred and sixteen votes out of twenty-three thousand two hundred and eighty. The rest, divided between the Democratic and Know Nothing candidates, represented hostility to my political and especially to my anti-slavery opinions and principles.

"I had been Governor just fourteen days when the Probate Judge called to confer with me. It was not necessary for me to inform him that in my judgment the fugitive slave act was unconstitutional and void; it had been proclaimed on too many occasions to leave in ignorance a man so well informed. Nor did I think it right to make any suggestions to a magistrate concerning a decision to be made by him. What he naturally desired to know, and had a right to know, was, whether the Executive of the State would sustain the process of the State in the midst of a community in which, by most persons, any decision against the claims of masters would be regarded as little better than treason to the Constitution and the Union.

"I did not hesitate to assure him that the process of the State Courts should be enforced in every part of the State, whether in Hamilton or any other county, and authorized him to say to the sheriff that in the performance of his duties he would be sustained by the whole power at the command of the executive.

"The case, for some reasons satisfactory to the friends of the slaves, was not brought to a hearing before the Probate Judge on the writ then issued. Proceedings under it were abandoned, and the sheriff had already, on Tuesday, and upon the return of the judge, notified the Federal marshal that he did not regard the fugitives in his custody (though they might remain in jail), but as in that of the officers of the United States.

"The slave act commissioner, under whose warrant the seizure had been made, then declared his purpose to hear the case on the claim for surrender; but delays of various kinds were interposed until, on Friday, February 8th, the grand jury reported an indictment against the two Garners and their wives for the murder of the child Mary, and, all four being still in jail, they were again taken in custody by the sheriff. The three children remained in jail also, and were regarded as in the custody of the marshal.

"Matters remained in this condition for some days, until the mar-

shal applied to United States District Judge Leavitt for a *habeas corpus* against the sheriff for the four fugitives, for the purpose of bringing them before him to determine, not whether they were unlawfully deprived of liberty, but whether the sheriff was entitled to their custody under the criminal process of the State rather than the marshal under the slave act commissioner's warrant. It was a manifest abuse of the writ of *habeas corpus*, thus to convert it into a summary replevin; but the counsel for the sheriff, one of whom, in conversation with the judge, had heard him express the opinion that the prisoners could not be removed from custody under arrest for crime by any proceeding under the fugitive slave act, made no opposition to the allowance of the writ. It was accordingly granted, and a hearing was had on Tuesday, the 26th of February, upon the return of the sheriff that he held the four persons indicted under the process of this State to abide their trial on the charge of murder.

"After the argument before Judge Leavitt was closed, the judge allowed the fugitive slave act commissioner to take his seat and announce his decision in the proceeding commenced by his warrant. As was expected, he denied to the fugitives the claims to freedom asserted in their behalf, and ordered that all should be delivered to their respective claimants.

"The slave act commissioner in this case was a weak, mercenary fellow; but his decision is written in judicial style, and bears the marks of a very different order of intellect from his. Who wrote it?

"Meanwhile another writ of *habeas corpus* had been issued by Judge Burgoyne, the probate judge, for the three children, on which a hearing was had before him on the same day, Tuesday, February 26th, in which Pendery, the slave act commissioner, delivered his decision as just stated. After arguments on the constitutionality of the slave act, and particularly that part of it which United States Commissioners Judges in cases arising under it, he deferred his judgment until Saturday following, having made a special order that the children should not be removed from the jurisdiction of the court until final decision.

"On Thursday morning, however, Judge Leavitt announced his decision in the case which had been argued before him. He declared, to the surprise of every one, unless some had foreknowledge of his conclusions, that the custody of the sheriff as against the claims of the marshal under the fugitive slave act was unlawful, and ordered the former to deliver the indicted prisoners to the latter.

"With this order the marshal at once proceeded to the jail where the sheriff delivered to him, not only the four indicted prisoners, but also the three children, notwithstanding the order of the probate judge as to the latter. All the fugitives were immediately hurried into an omnibus, which was surrounded by a number of special deputy-marshals—there were five hundred of these specials appointed, the purchase of whose claims for fees, it is said, afforded good chances for speculation to the marshal and his regular deputies and the slave act commissioner—and immediately driven to the river, and taken across in the ferryboat to Kentucky. Hardly one hour elapsed after Judge Leavitt had made his order before the fugitives were lodged in a Kentucky jail.

"I had observed the proceedings in these cases with great interest and with deep solicitude for the fate of the slaves. All that I could do in their behalf, under the circumstances then existing, was done. They were represented by able counsel, and the power of the State was pledged to maintain the process of the State. No one imagined that any judge could be found who would undertake to transfer by a proceeding in *habeas corpus*, prisoners indicted under a State law to Federal custody under the fugitive slave act. Nor did any one imagine that persons held under an order of a State Court during the pendency of a writ of *habeas corpus*, would be carried off beyond the jurisdiction and in violation of that order. But such a judge was found, and such an abduction was perpetrated.

"I could not prevent this any more than I could prevent the commission of other outrages. I could not foresee such transactions, and if I could have foreseen, I had no more power to prevent them than any private citizen possessed, except in the single contingency that the sheriff might need the power of the State to enforce the execution of process in his hands. Except in that contingency, I had no power other than that, the whole weight of which was given to the side of the fugitive, in every form of encouragement, counsel, and support to those engaged in their defense. I was not in Cincinnati during the proceedings. The legislature was in session. I had only a fortnight before the seizure of the fugitives entered an office, wholly without experience in its duties, and my constant presence was required at Columbus. Had I been at Cincinnati, I do not now see that I should have been likely to add any thing to the ability or the zeal with which the cause of the fugitives was defended, or to suggest any thing which did not occur to them. And certainly, if they on the spot could devise no way to prevent the surrender and carrying off of the fugitives under the unanticipated circumstances of that day, it is not wonderful that I could devise none, while a hundred and twenty miles off and wholly uninformed of the outrage which was being enacted.

"Some abolitionists distant from the scene have blamed me since, because I did not in some way prevent the carrying back to slavery of Margaret Garner. They saw the tragic circumstances of her case and felt peculiar sympathy for her; but they did not see the extraordinary efforts made to save her. That these efforts were unsuccessful all humane persons must lament; but how more effort could have been made, or with what more likelihood of success, no one has yet pointed out. And no one conversant with the circumstances and concerned in the efforts made in her behalf, has found fault with what I did. All those approved my action and were grateful for my support. It must be remembered that Margaret Garner was but one of seven fugitives, each of whom was entitled, if not to equal sympathy, certainly to equal rights and equal efforts for their protection. None of them were forgotten or neglected.

"After they were surrendered the prosecuting attorney sent me copies of the indictment and proceedings, and suggested that though the indicted prisoners could hardly be considered as having fled from justice in Ohio, yet it might be proper to regard them as having constructively done so, and to issue a requisition for their delivery

to an agent of the State, to be brought back within its jurisdiction I felt keenly the humiliation of being reduced to this mode of asserting the right of the State to the custody of persons indicted under the laws. It was obvious that when returned to the custody of the sheriff they would be in precisely the same relations as when they were taken from his custody by Judge Leavitt's order, and there would be no legal obstacles which did not exist to the original order to a repetition of it. A friend, however, volunteered, if I would issue a requisition, to go with the agent and purchase the freedom of the three children; and it seemed probable, if the others could be brought back, that an arrangement might be made also with their claimants for the relinquishment of their claims on them. So I overcame my reluctance to adopt the theory of constructive escape and issued the requisition.

"My agent and the gentleman who had volunteered to accompany him, immediately departed on their mission and obtained a warrant of extradition from the Governor of Kentucky, who doubtless gladly embraced the opportunity of making a precedent of constructive escape, which he hoped would be useful to claimants of slaves found in Ohio, but not actual fugitives from a slave State.

"With the warrant thus obtained the agent proceeded to Louisville, but the slave-masters continued to evade him, and the slaves were sent South notwithstanding all efforts to recover them.

"Subsequently, hearing that Margaret had been brought back to Covington, I wrote to the prosecuting attorney to go over and demand her. He went, and was told she had been there, but was again sent South. It is doubted whether she was, in fact, ever brought there.

"Nothing has been heard of the Garner family since. Perhaps the Rebellion has restored the liberty of which the cause of the Rebellion caused the loss; and we may yet hear of these slaves as among those rejoicing in the new-found freedom which God's Providence has given to so many."

Another of the Trowbridge letters reads as follows:

"March 19, 1864.

"MY DEAR SIR: In May, 1857, a slave-hunt was conducted by some deputy-marshals and Kentuckians in Champaign County. Their success did not equal their expectations. They went to Cincinnati and procured warrants for the arrest of four citizens of Ohio, whom they accused of defeating their enterprise. Under these warrants they arrested several citizens, whereupon, a writ of *habeas corpus* was obtained by their friends, and placed in the hands of the sheriff. The execution of this writ was resisted by the slave-hunters, who beat and fired pistols at the sheriff. Another writ was procured in the next county—Greene—through which they passed, and placed in the hands of its sheriff, who, with a posse, pursued the slave-catchers, and overtook them. One of the deputy-marshals fired upon the sheriff's party, and several of his men also fired. They were, however, taken into custody, and brought back to Xenia, the county seat. The two deputies gave bail for their appearance, and

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their associates were committed to jail for trial. Judge Leavitt, at Cincinnati, then issued a writ of *habeas corpus* directed to the sheriff, requiring him to produce his prisoners. The writ was obeyed, and application was made to me to have the case represented upon the hearing. I at once directed the attorney-general to appear, who did so, and argued the questions arising in the case with great ability. Mr. Pugh and Mr. Vallandigham appeared on the side of the slave-catchers. The result was what was indeed foreseen—an order by Judge Leavitt discharging the prisoners.

"The leading administration paper denounced my action as a declaration of war on the part of Chase and his abolition crew against the United States. I was indifferent to it.

"In this case, as in the Garner case, I exerted all the power the constitution gave me, for the vindication of the rights which the constitution guaranteed.

"The decision of Judge Leavitt in this case, like that in the Garner case, denied the right of the State to execute its own criminal process, or civil process, where that execution interfered with the claims of masters under the fugitive slave act.

"These transactions made a profound impression upon the public mind, and no doubt contributed much to the political revolution which took place in 1860. Yours truly,

"Mr. J. T. Trowbridge, Somerville, Mass.

S. P. CHASE."

In an elsewhere-quoted letter, of the same series, our hero relates as follows :

"One of my most trying duties arose from the misconduct of the State treasurer. He succeeded a brother-in-law who had misapplied nearly half a million dollars belonging to the State. The defalcation was concealed from me, and from all the State officers, almost a year and a half. The treasurer had accomplished this by representing the money as having been actually received from his predecessor, and as being actually in the treasury, and by deceiving the legislative committees and the officers of the State who examined its condition. At length, finding it impossible to procure sufficient funds to pay the July interest of 1857, he disclosed the existence of the defalcation to the State auditor, who communicated the fact to me. I at once called upon the treasurer, and, after some conversation, insisted upon his resignation. He denied my authority to require it. I admitted I had no such authority, but said to him that, as he had represented the money which had been abstracted as being actually in the treasury, and as he now admitted it was not there, he was by his own showing a defaulter, and I could not assume his explanation of the defalcation to be true, until established by proof. I went on to say that the constitution authorized the governor to fill any State office made vacant by disability, and that I should take the responsibility, if he did not resign, of assuming a defalcation, and instituting a prosecution against him as the author of it, the first step in which would be his own fraud of considering his arrest as creating a disability, and thereupon of

appointing his successor. He then asked time to consider and to confer with his legal advisers, to which I readily assented, and appointed 2 o'clock as the hour at which I would call and learn his decision. I left, and called again at the hour agreed upon. He at once handed me his resignation, and his successor was appointed, gave bond, and entered upon his office the same afternoon.

"Few things have ever given me greater pain than the necessity of this action. The treasurer was a generous, open-hearted man, of fine talents, and greatly beloved by his friends, among whom there were few who cherished for him a warmer regard than I did myself. Excepting this transaction, I do not know that his fidelity to any trust was ever questioned. He has since served the country faithfully at the head of an Ohio regiment in the field. Duty required the action which I took. It was necessary to protect the interests of the State, and to defend the party which had intrusted to me the executive power of the State from virtual responsibility for the defalcation. The credit of the State was saved, and means were promptly provided for the payment of the July interest.

"Against my wishes, I was soon after renominated for governor by acclamation. The election of Mr. Buchanan in the preceding year, the lassitude and depression which usually follows ill success in a presidential canvass, and, above all, the defalcation, which the opponents of the State administration did not hesitate to charge upon me, made the canvass for re-election peculiarly disagreeable and difficult. I was obliged to go through the whole State and explain the facts to the people every-where. There was no congressional election to awaken an interest in national topics and secure the aid of candidates for Congress pleading their own cause before their constituencies. Notwithstanding all disadvantages, however, I was reelected, though by a small majority, and remained in office two years longer, pursuing the same general course as hitherto."

June 15, 1857, the governor wrote to Mr. Stone as follows:

"DEAR SIR: Mr. Gibson, your predecessor, sent to my office, after I had left it on Saturday night, the two inclosed statements. They did not come to my hands until last evening. I avail myself of my earliest opportunity, this morning, of placing them in your possession.

Yours truly,

"Hon. A. P. Stone, Treasurer of State.

S. P. CHASE."

Of all the errors committed by our hero, one of the very worst was the appointment of Mr. Stone State treasurer. There never was a more unfortunate appointment. Mr. Stone was totally unfit to be a public officer of any grade or kind whatever. But I have no reason for supposing that the governor discerned his real character, or knew how the people of Columbus generally regarded Mr. Stone.

"The author"—what a wretched affectation is that manner of ex-

pression!—thought, not long ago, there was, for him, occasion to employ these words:

“According to the wittiest of lecturers on moral philosophy, there is a word more powerful than the cry of fire in the crowded play-house when Belvidera is left to weep unheeded on the stage, and all the audience seek exit in hot haste. That more alarming word is not economy; it is a word of still more formidable magnitude. 'T is metaphysics. But there is a word more formidably fearful than that dreadful polysyllable—more alarming, far, than economy—much more terrible than the cry of fire in the crowded play-house. Yet it is a very little word—a matter of a monosyllable, an uniliteral word—a very little word, indeed. On one's own lips, indeed, it often if not always makes, to one's own ear, delightful music; but, emitted by the lips or by the pen of one's neighbor, it becomes at once invested with most terrible repulsive force. That little word is I.”

A shrewd gentleman I know, but must not name, has been heard proposing to amend these words of David Hume:

“It is difficult for a man to speak long of himself without vanity.”

The proposed amendment would have the tenor:

“It is impossible for a man to speak long of himself without lying.”

Shrewdness is not wisdom. Wisdom would not second that amendment. Hume is clearly right, and the shrewd gentleman, who would improve Hume's just-quoted saying, is as clearly wrong. It is not impossible for one to speak long about himself without lying; but it is quite difficult for any man to say much about himself without displaying vanity.

In spite of my desire to pay all due regard to this consideration, I have felt compelled to use the first personal pronoun more than once in the foregoing pages. In endeavoring to do simple justice to our hero, as to the events of 1848 and 1849, I felt obliged to say something of myself in the course of that endeavor. Now, I see occasion, again, to speak of my own action, with strict reference, however, to the object of properly setting forth the course of our hero. But here I must be suffered to declare with emphasis, that the sole object of this work has been, and still is, to give a proper account of the life and character of Salmon Portland Chase. It is not the object of these pages to serve any party. It is not their object to serve any living person's interests, except as that sort of service may be rendered, in a due devotion to the common weal.

The author, for example, has not felt, and does not feel, at liberty to use this opportunity, either to indicate or to vindicate his own ideas, save as an occasional indication and vindication of them is required by simple fairness toward readers, or by simple justice to the life whose tenor he has undertaken to set forth.

This explanation made, however, let me be allowed to speak with proper freedom of the things to which I am about to ask attention. Very soon their intimate relation to the body of this volume must distinctly manifest itself.

Here is a document to which I must refer, in order that what follows may be clearly comprehended.

In a diary of Governor Chase, I find the words: "Mr. Wade, Senator, and Judge Warden, alone (except Judge Welker, who visited few [places] with me), accepted opportunity to speak in the different counties." Thus my memory is called upon to review the special opportunities I had in 1857 to learn more and more of the man who had so long been to me an object of so much interest, although I had so seldom found myself of his opinion, either in religion or in politics.

Already I had been, from time to time, quite intimate with him, if intimacy may exist between a man who loves the thing that calls itself, *par excellence*, society, and a man who early learned almost to hate that thing, and, perhaps, never can regard it with affectionate esteem. But in 1857 he revealed himself to me most thoroughly, as to his politics at least.

Referring to the canvass of that year, the diary last quoted has preserved this record:

"The canvass of 1857 was somewhat remarkable. I had been nominated for reelection by acclamation, and with remarkable manifestations of enthusiasm and confidence. But we were surrounded by great difficulties. We were responsible for all the action of a legislature, by no means harmonized by devotion to a common principle or unanimous in their views of public measures. The Whig and American elements were largely preponderant over the Democratic and anti-slavery, even among those who acted together as Republicans. Hence, amid much legislation that was wise and beneficial, was some which was neither wise nor beneficial, resulting from demands on one side, and compliance, in fear of alienating needed support from anti-slavery measures, on the other. Of all these mistakes, real or imputed, our adversaries were prepared to take every advantage. Then the defalcation, committed by one of their own party, was to be charged upon ours, under cover of the false representations of Gibson, for whose acts I was to be held responsible."

Among the somewhat various and almost numerous considerations which may be supposed to have influenced the hero of this work in so unreservedly placing in my hands his diaries and letters, in order to enable me to do the present service to his memory, was the fact that I was one of Mr. Gibson's counsel. But that diary goes on as follows :

"Then the cry of negro equality, amalgamation, and the like, were to be employed to the uttermost to prejudice us with the ignorant; then the financial troubles, which arose soon after the nomination, were also pressed into the service. These things presented formidable difficulties, and it soon became apparent that I was to have little aid in the canvass. No man had been nominated who was a speaker. The members of Congress on our side, by the policy of the State committee, were directed to labor in their respective districts, which operated in most instances as a direction not to labor at all. Several presses and many of the electors repudiated one of the nominations of the State committee, that of Mr. Blickensderfer."

Then we have the already-quoted statement as to Senator Wade and the author of this work, as coöperating with our hero "on the stump" throughout the State. In some instances I went with the governor, and spoke with him, as, for example, at Marietta, Pomeroy, and Cincinnati; but, in general, I was entirely unaccompanied. The governor seemed very anxious to have me represent him accurately to the audiences I was to address in his behalf. He furnished me, therefore, with "documents" and oral explanations, very carefully presented on his part.

The next year he caused me to be invited to attend a conference held in the office of the State treasurer. I heard him, in that conference, deliver, with a boldness as remarkable as the clearness of his language, a most carefully considered exposition of his uncompromising views as an anti-slavery Democrat.

Again, next year, when the action of the party he continued to support, and his own action, in connection with that party, seemed to me to border on mere insurrection, he explained to me in private his ideas, his aspiration, and ambition as to public service.

I need hardly say that, being one of Mr. Gibson's counsel, I did not discuss the question, so constantly started, "Who stole the people's money?" Governor Chase did not expect me to discuss that question. He preferred me to explain, if I would, his own distinctions as a political agitator, his political ideas, his ambition, if you please, his aspirations as a public man. He furnished me with

documents to prove that, except as to pro-slaveryism and pro-southernism, he was of the Democrats. He explained to me his purpose to labor for what, I suppose, may well be called the Democratization of the Republican party, notwithstanding the vast numbers of original Whigs within its membership. He called on me, most earnestly, to labor with him to that end.

I listened most attentively, but then intimated neither opinion nor intention. He was evidently disappointed; but he knew that whether I thought well or ill, I was an independent thinker. So he did not urge me overmuch.

On my return from one of my tours, he questioned me as to the reception of the documentary matter he had given me with the indicated object. Some of his almost habitual imperiousness appeared aroused on my quietly reporting that I had not used those documents at all, or even referred to them. But I said to him, without excitement, as I now remember, something like this:

"Governor, you know me quite too well to think that I will suffer any man to put words into my mouth, or to call me to account, in any form, for words by me spoken to the people. I did not use the matter you refer to for two very simple reasons. In the first place, you had failed to convince *me*, myself, that you were ever really a Democrat of the Democrats. I think that you idealize as well the Democratic party as your own brief relation to that party. In the next place, I can see no expediency whatever in the handling of such a theme by me, at present."

Then I went on to make explanations, which I do not consider sufficiently of interest to be set forth in any chapter of this volume. I was most attentively heard, and the explanation seemed to be satisfactory.

Then and afterward, I related to the hero of this work, that at a little place, the name of which I have forgotten, I made a speech, not set down in the original programme of my appointments. Was it at Russellville? I rather think that was the name. I spoke in a church to fanatical abolitionists, who had resolved not to vote for Chase because, as they alleged, he had not been true to his convictions. They assumed that he had been an abolitionist, and had fallen from grace in order to get office. Yet, strangely enough, they had expressed a particular desire to hear me, who had never been supposed to be an abolitionist. I did my best, for some time, without any demonstration whatever on the part of my male and

female hearers, though they seemed attentive. Now and then, the tallow-candle lights burned dim, and my discourse seemed to burn dim in sympathy. But a tall, angular figure went about, from time to time, and snuffed the candles and my speech at the same moment. I was very thankful to this man, who seemed to be a sort of select-man, or head-centre, when he rose and thus, in nasal tone, addressed the speaker:

"Friend, I understand that you were ALWAYS a Democrat; is that so?"

The speaker said that he had been a Democrat ever since his fifteenth year. Whereupon the interrogator pronounced, more nasally than ever:

"Wal! friend, for a man of your *an-te-ce-dents*, you talk remarkably well; but häow do you defend Salmon P. Chase,¹ who, having *seen* the light, hath departed therefrom?"

I could hardly keep my face or use my voice in attempting to respond. There was, however, a murmur of evident sympathy with the questioner; and I had to answer seriously. What the answer was it is not necessary to set forth. It was, however, made the pretext of a resolution, after all, to vote for Chase. I say the pretext, for, in my opinion, those fanatical hearers of mine only wanted a good excuse for abandoning their ill-considered opposition to the man whose opposition to slavery had made him known to the whole country.

I must now present another matter, which, at first, may seem intended rather to display the author than to set forth the hero of these pages. But I promise, very soon, to show, quite plainly, that here again the object is legitimate and otherwise wholly unexceptionable.

I felt bound to decline an invitation to attend a mass convention of the "Foes of Slavery and Despotism," to be held May 24, 1859.

The agitation I refused to countenance, on that occasion, was directed against the fugitive slave law. But the great objection to such agitation was (I considered) that it attempted to direct, or to overawe, judicial action. It was soon followed by the political beheading of Judge Swan, of the Supreme Court of Ohio,

¹ I never heard him called Salmon Portland Chase till after he became Chief Justice.

on account of his judicially pronouncing an opinion, following the settled doctrine of the courts, on the subject of the legislation by Congress under the constitutional provisions for the extradition of fugitives from service. I had been in service as a judge; and I had, as I trust I may always have, a hearty hatred of all attempts to influence judicial action by the utterances of impassioned public meetings. Having done all that was possible to me, within the Republican party of that period, against the agitation just referred to, I made known my purpose to oppose that party, as I honorably might, by speech and pen.

At the City Hall, Columbus, I delivered a highly applauded and, certainly, rather vigorous and vehement denunciation of the course of Chase in reference to the agitation that appeared to me so lawless and so perilous. A few days afterward, I met him at White Sulphur Springs, in presence of many gentlemen well acquainted with us both. He called me up, and, at once, most courteously and feelingly expressed his deep regret that my sense of duty—for he said he knew it must have been a sense of duty—had compelled me to rejoin the Democratic party. He subjoined, as I remember:

“We need such men as you in the Republican party. No party is infallible; and it may be, you are right and we are wrong. But, however that may be, we need such earnest and outspoken thinkers as you in our new party. But I have, nevertheless, a crow to pick with you on my personal account.”

I answered, thanking him for his good opinion of my motives, and assuring him that I was ready for the crow-picking, then and there. He intimated that he wished to make a private explanation; and I took a seat with him alone.

His explanation was to the effect that he regarded the Cleveland meeting very much as I regarded it, except that he considered, perhaps more than I did, the good intentions of the men by whom that meeting had been called. He told me that he still adhered to the ideas which he had explained to me in 1857, when, as already stated, we went out together on a tour as public speakers, and which I had heard him less at large explain in an informal conference of leading Republicans in 1858.

A marked feature of the governor's administration was the spirit in which he exercised the power to pardon, vested in his office by the laws.

Here is a letter that affords some indication of that spirit, though the case is one of commutation only :

"COLUMBUS, *March 10, 1857.*

"MY DEAR SIR: I inclose to you an envelope containing my warrant to the sheriff in the case of Summons, and a letter to the prosecuting attorney, requesting him to deliver it to that officer, and to see that the proper steps are taken in compliance with it.

"It gives me real satisfaction to find myself able to comply with your wishes in this matter, and — to find my conscientious convictions of duty so fully in accordance with my sympathies with the afflicted friends of the — prisoner.¹ I shall immediately give my reasons for this act to the press, that all may see that I have been governed by no capricious impulse, but by well-considered and sufficient facts and reasons. I can not doubt that my conclusion will be approved by the vast majority of those who were interested in it.

Very sincerely your friend,

"Col. F. T. Chambers, Cincinnati, Ohio.

S. P. CHASE."

Well do I remember the censure with which that act of clemency was now and then spoken of; but the governor was generally deemed to have regarded only right considerations. If he erred, his error was, for the most part, ascribed to a mistake of judgment.

Summons was a poisoner, and, above all, a parricide.

On the 29th of April, 1857, we find the governor addressing Adjutant-General Harris and Quartermaster-General Glenn about the arms of the State, and appointing a few days afterward Jonathan F. Neeramer to collect all arms belonging to the State, in Franklin County, except those in the possession of organized volunteer companies, and to convey the arms so collected to the State arsenal in Columbus.

A letter to Wm. T. Nealis, Esq., at St. Joseph's College, near Somerset, Ohio, in relation to the proposed arming of a college company of soldiers, breathes the careful and considerate spirit so characteristic of the whole administration under view. It points out difficulties, but it also shows the path to obviation.

We have considerable correspondence about military matters. Brigadiers and major-generals of the "Milish" were greedy of glory in those pacific days, as brigadiers and major-generals were to be greedy of distinction and some other things, during the rebellion.

¹ The copy shows the blanks just indicated, if that is not a bull.

The subject of extradition more than once and more than slightly occupied the cares and called into play the legal learning of the governor.

A letter, addressed May 8, 1857, to Timothy A. O'Conner, Esq., (then prosecuting attorney, now judge of the Superior Court of Cincinnati), reads as follows:

"DEAR SIR: I have written to Mr. Ruffin expressing the opinion that the pardoning power can not properly be exerted for the purpose of exercising the power of extradition. I know of no instance in which it has been so employed.

"The proper course will be to obtain a requisition in the usual form from the governor of Louisiana, upon the presentation of which I will issue my warrant of extradition to the sheriff of Hamilton, to be executed immediately upon the expiration of the present sentence of the fugitive, by delivering him to the agent of the governor of Louisiana. It would be a reflection upon the administration of criminal justice in Hamilton County to defeat the execution of a sentence by a pardon upon the ground that the prisoner may otherwise escape before its expiration, and thus defeat the effect of a warrant.

Very truly yours,

"T. A. O'Conner, Esq., Pros. Atty.

S. P. CHASE."

The letter to Mr. Ruffin contains the words:

"COLUMBUS, *May*, 8, 1857.

"MY DEAR SIR: On reference to the act of Congress relating to extradition, you will see that it is made the duty of the executive to surrender criminals on requisition, and to secure such surrender, to cause then to be detained for six months in custody; but the uniform practice is not to issue a warrant of extradition to operate upon a fugitive from another State, actually undergoing punishment in this, for a violation of our laws, until the expiration of his sentence; and I think it would be an abuse of the pardoning power to exercise it for the simple purpose of extradition. It will always be my pleasure as it is my duty to reöperate with the officers of justice in their praiseworthy endeavors to bring offenders, either against our own laws or against the laws of sister States, to justice. I regret that I can not consistently, with my views of public duty, interpose in this case, in the mode suggested by you.

"Very respectfully yours, S. P. CHASE."

"James L. Ruffin, Esq., Chief of Police, Cincinnati, Ohio."

Let me now invite attention to another extract from the last-quoted Trowbridge letter. That document contains these words:

"In the last year of my second term, John Brown's famous raid upon Harper's Ferry occurred, and reports were spread through Virginia that large bodies of men were being organized in Ohio with a

view to rescue him from his Virginia captors. Governor Wise addressed a letter, remonstrating against the organization and threatening to pursue any invaders of Virginia into the State of Ohio. I replied that his apprehensions of military organizations in Ohio were unfounded, and that I trusted he would not undertake to follow into Ohio any alleged offenders against Virginia, for the legislation of Ohio was adequate to the fulfillment of all her duties to her sister State, and the executive of Ohio was bound to repel any aggression upon her soil."

I can not even try to justify the bearing of our hero toward the Brown raid. But what I have to say about that bearing must be said, most carefully, in a few words.

John Brown was not a madman ; but he was, as I have elsewhere argued, non-sane on some subjects. He was a heroic character, fanatical but pure ; at heart a patriotic-martyr ; wrong as wrong could be in act, but right as right could be in motive.

Many weeks I passed, in 1866, the honored, grateful guest of Captain John Brown, Jr., at Put-in-Bay, assisted and directed by my genial host in studying the grape and John Brown, Sen. Captain John Brown, Jr., told me that, in his judgment, the best account of his beloved, honored father's character was that given by Thoreau. I read that account and other tributes to the memory of him of Harper's Ferry fame. I talked often and freely with the son about the father, and I brought away with me a very veneration for that father's memory.

Yet, I repeat, the bearing of our hero toward the Brown raid was not, in my opinion, worthy of approval. It was far from patriotic, far from statesmanlike. It was in truth the conduct of a demagogue if it was not that of a fanatic.

Now and then, our hero seemed to try to play the sorry part of a mere demagogue. He always miserably failed. He was not born to be a demagogue.

I can not dwell on the repulsive theme. Let us pass on to other topics.

CHAPTER XXV.

CHASE AND LINCOLN.

FEBRUARY 17, 1859, appears this mournful record :

"My dear sister Alice died to-day. She had been apparently in perfectly good health for some months—going out so freely and taking such part and interest in all that went on that I had no uneasiness about her. I knew, indeed, that she was liable to attacks of heart trouble ; but so uniform had been her health that I had almost ceased to fear it, and, as well as herself, had relaxed the precautions I formerly observed, such as seeing, myself, that she did not walk any considerable distance or do any thing which might unnecessarily fatigue or startle her. So, last evening, when, after tea, she said she was going to church (the Wednesday evening lecture), I let her go without inquiring how she was going, or, indeed, making any inquiries at all. On her return, she left her escort at the yard gate, and must have been seized with an apoplectic fit immediately after ; for she had just strength enough to reach the door where she fell on the threshold. My daughter Katie heard some one groan there, and ran to the library, and called me. I hastened to the door and found my dear sister. I got her into the house without delay, and sent for medical aid. In a very few minutes Dr. Carter came and, soon after, Dr. Smith. Her suffering from headache was dreadful for some time. At last she seemed to get relief and her symptoms became more favorable. The improvement, however, was but temporary. About 2 o'clock this morning she began to sink, and continued to fail gradually until about half past one, when her spirit departed.

"Thus have I lost a dear and good sister ; and with the painful circumstances that, from the attack to her death, she was not able to converse with any of us, so great was, for part of the time, her suffering, or, during the remainder, her delirium or unconsciousness. She had been long a member of the Episcopal Church, and was, I trust and believe, a true Christian. Doubtless, our loss is far over-matched by her gain."

The remainder of the entry and the entry of the next day are omitted.

There was much in the Columbus life of Governor Chase, at home

or abroad, of which detail might here be given; but some parts of it would require more space than could be properly devoted to them. On the whole, I have concluded not to go farther in relating what occurred at Columbus to afflict our hero, or to give him pride, or to yield him pleasure.

"At the close of my term," continues Mr. Chase, "Governor Denison succeeded me, and I was soon after elected to the Senate for the second time. The presidential election followed in the same year. The Republicans of Ohio honored me by a declaration of their preference in the State convention, which was held to appoint delegates at large to the nominating convention. The Ohio Convention, however, did not nominate, as did many other State conventions, the district delegates, but left the selection of these to district conventions. This gave an opportunity to the partisans of other candidates to foment divisions, and secure the selection in several districts of delegates unfriendly to me. The result was the division of the Ohio delegates in the nominating convention and the destruction of their influence. Without its united support there was not much ground for expecting much support from other delegations, in which I had numerous friends ready to unite with the Ohio delegation had that delegation been itself united. Notwithstanding these disadvantages, my support was respectable, though not sufficient to warrant any expectation of success. Mr. Lincoln was nominated, and I gave him my cordial support."

The true date of the following letter appears in the answer made to it by Abraham Lincoln :

"MY DEAR SIR: I congratulate you, most heartily, on your nomination; and shall support you, in 1860, as cordially and earnestly as I did in 1858.

"The excellent platform adopted, and the selection of that true and able man, Hannibal Hamlin, as your associate on the ticket, completes my satisfaction with the results of the convention. They will prove, I am confident, as auspicious to the country as they are honorable to the nominees.

"Mr. Seward has much reason to be gratified by the large and cordial support which he received, and especially by the generous, unanimous, and constant adhesion, without regard to personal preferences, of the entire delegation from his own great State. Doubtless, the similar adhesion of the Illinois delegation affords a higher gratification to you than the nomination itself. The only regret I feel connected with the convention is excited by the failure of the delegation from Ohio to evince the same generous spirit.¹ In this regret I am quite sure you must participate; for I err greatly in my estimate of your magnanimity if you do not condemn, as I do, the conduct of delegates from whatever State, who disregard, while

¹ The word spirit was substituted for the words good faith, which stand in the first draft.

acting as such, the clearly expressed preference of their own State convention.¹

Yours cordially,

"Hon. Abraham Lincoln.

S. P. CHASE."

Lincoln answered as follows:

"SPRINGFIELD, ILL., May 26, 1860.

"HON. S. P. CHASE.

"MY DEAR SIR: It gave me great pleasure to receive yours, mistakenly dated May 17. Holding myself the humblest of all whose names were before the convention, I feel in especial need of the assistance of all; and I am glad—very glad—of the indication that you stand ready. It is a great consolation that so nearly all—all except Mr. Bates and Mr. Clay, I believe—of those distinguished and able men are already in high position to do service in the common cause.

Your obedient servant,

"A. LINCOLN."

Next I ask attention to this little note:

"COLUMBUS, November 7, 1860.

"MY DEAR SIR: You are President elect. I congratulate you, and thank God. The great object of my wishes and labors for nineteen years is accomplished in the overthrow of the slave power. The space is now clear for the establishment of the policy of freedom on safe and firm grounds. The lead is yours. The responsibility is great. May God strengthen you for your great duties.

"Truly yours,

"Hon. Abraham Lincoln.

S. P. CHASE."

The next document I wish to offer is as follows:

"SPRINGFIELD, ILL., December 31, 1860.

"HON. S. P. CHASE.

"MY DEAR SIR: In these troublous times, I would like a conference with you. Please visit me here at once.

"Yours very truly,

"A. LINCOLN."

The last-cited Trowbridge letter proceeds as follows:

"After his election he invited me to Springfield to confer with me as to the selection of his Cabinet. He said that he had felt bound to offer the position of Secretary of State to Mr. Seward as the generally recognized leader of the Republican party, intending, if he should decline it, to offer it to me. He did not wish that Mr. Seward should

¹ The words, "disregard, while acting as such the clearly expressed preference of their own convention," were substituted for the words, "violate good faith by disregarding the preference of their political brethren, explicitly declared through a regular State convention."

decline it, and was glad that he had accepted, and now desired to have me take the place of Secretary of the Treasury. He had feared there might be some objections to this in Pennsylvania, but had been assured none would be urged. I replied that I did not wish and was not prepared to say that I would accept that place if offered. A good deal of conversation followed in reference to other possible members of the Cabinet, but every thing was left open when we parted, and I returned to Columbus.

"Shortly after this, in December, South Carolina seceded, and every thing indicated great irresolution and timidity on the part of the administration. I wrote a very earnest letter to General Scott, entreating him as head of the army to take the necessary measures to secure the public safety and rely upon the country for its sanction and support. The general replied very kindly, but did not evince a disposition to assume the responsibility of the crisis. In February, Virginia invited a conference of the States at Washington, and appointed commissioners on her part. This conference, doubtless, was intended as a means of extorting new concessions to the slave interest from Congress. To prevent injurious results it seemed necessary that there should be a general representation from all the States—from free as well as from the slave States which had not become involved in secession. I was one of the commissioners selected by the governor to represent Ohio. Unfortunately I was the only one who was prepared to resist the purchase of peace by undue concessions. I was quite willing to give to the slave States the strongest assurances that no aggression upon their rights or real interests were meditated, but I was not at all willing to disguise from them the fact that the further extension of slavery could not be allowed. The death of Judge Wright and the appointment of Mr. Wolcott in his place, gave me one resolute and like-minded associate in the commission; but we were a minority. The vote of Ohio in the conference was steadily on the side of submission. The commissioners whose general views agreed with mine, finally determined to propose to refer all matters of difference to a national convention, and in the meantime to arrest the progress of disunion by assurance that no invasion of State rights over the subject of slavery or over any other subject, was meditated or would be attempted. In support of this proposition, I addressed the conference with great earnestness and with great plainness. I warned them of the consequences which must follow secession, and implored them not to reject the only proposition which, in my judgment, was likely to save the country from a civil war. The proposition was, nevertheless, rejected, and the vote of Ohio was cast for its rejection. Instead of it, a proposed amendment to the constitution making large concessions to the slave interest was forced through the convention in disregard of its rules, and submitted to Congress. There, as I had predicted, it received little favor. I am not certain that any thing which the conference could have done would have saved the country from the insurrection which has since assumed such fearful proportions of civil war. It is only certain that nothing which was done had the slightest salutary effect upon the disastrous course of events. The convention was an abortion."

Let us now go back a little. Here is a most interesting document—a document inestimably precious, I conceive:

"COLUMBUS, November 30, 1860.

"MRS. RANDALL HUNT, New Orleans.

"MY DEAR SISTER AMMIE: Displeased with you? No. I honor the sense and patriotism of your letter and feel prouder than ever of my sister. Would to heaven that it were in my power to compose the strife which disturbs the peace of our country! Certainly, there is in my heart no feeling but good-will toward every part of it.

"But what can be done? I mean what could be done by a private citizen? *If the executive power of the nation were in my hands, I should know what to do. I would maintain the Union, support the Constitution, and enforce the laws.*

"And just here let me say that in the *Commercial's* report of my Covington speech (of which a copy directed to Mr. Hunt's address is mailed with this letter) a passage is left out, which appeared in the *verbatim* report of the *Gazette*. After stating, as my chief objection to the Bell-Everett platform, that it proposed nothing which all parties did not agree to, and was, therefore, inadequate to the demands of the times, I went on to say that what seemed to me the distinguishing characteristic of the party supporting Mr. Bell, and also of the party supporting Mr. Douglas in the South, was a true devotion to the Union and a resolute determination to sustain it against the designs of disunion entertained by a portion—though I hoped not a very large portion—of the supporters of Mr. Breckenridge. So that, in the South, whatever might be the case in the North, their platform did propose a practical issue, on a practical question, and that in that issue all my sympathies were with them.

"*I abhor the very idea of a dissolution of the Union. If I were President I would, indeed, exhaust every expedient of forbearance, consistent with safety. But, at all hazards, and against all opposition, the laws of the Union should be enforced, through the judiciary wherever practicable, but against rebellion by all necessary means. The question of slavery should not be permitted to influence my action, one way or the other. But, while I would thus act when circumstances should demand action, I would not shut my eyes to the fact, manifest to every body, that it is from the slavery question that our chief dangers arise, and I should direct whatever influence I might possess to an adjustment of it, not by any new compromise—for new compromises only breed new dangers—but honest provision for the honest fulfillment of all constitutional obligations connected with it. Nothing seems to me clearer than that, under the constitution [slavery is a] State institution, and that much embarrassment would have been avoided had this principle never been lost [sight of.] It would have assured peace to the States in which slavery exists, by uniting nearly all men of all opinions against any aggression upon them. Let this principle be now once more fully recognized, and it will redress much of our trouble. The slave States can lose nothing, for few of their statesmen expect any farther extension of slavery. Disunion certainly is not extension. Disunion rather is abolition, and abolition through civil and servile*

war—which God forbid! It is precisely because they anticipate abolition as the result that the Garrison abolitionists desire disunion. Why, then, may not all—slave States and free States alike—frankly accept the actual condition of non-extension—determined, in the Union, by the irreversible judgment of the people—determined, out of the Union by irresistible destiny? Such acceptance would be a long step toward peace.

“Besides this question of extension there seems to me to be but one other which need occasion any anxiety. I refer of course to the extradition of escaping slaves. I have no doubt that the constitution stipulates for such extradition; but I can not help seeing that natural sentiment and conscientious convictions make the execution of this stipulation every-where difficult and, in the free States, well nigh impracticable; and I would not delude, or attempt to delude, any body with the notion of its execution under what some people call a ‘fair law,’ for all such propositions mean *evasion*, and I would evade nothing. It is high time to have done with evasion. Let us recognize facts as they are, frankly and boldly, and not try to creep away from them. In this spirit I would recognize the fact of constitutional obligation and the fact that it can not be fulfilled with any thing like completeness; and then I would see what could be done instead of literal fulfillment. It seems to me that compensation and provision for sending the fugitives out of the country would be better than any thing else that is practicable. It would be better for the slave States, because the return of the fugitive is not in itself a desirable thing either for the individual from whom or the State from which he flies. It would be better for the free States, because it would involve nothing repugnant to the sentiments and convictions of the people. It would be better, infinitely better, for all than disunion. With these questions thus adjusted, peace would return, and harmony, and prosperity. Is there any better way? I see none. It is useless to attempt impossibilities. It is useless to try to reverse public opinion. It is useless to contend with the general course and progress of civilization. It is useful only to endeavor so to modify and direct that course as to make the current, capable of becoming a destructive flood, a beneficent and fortifying stream. You have my thoughts honestly though hastily expressed.

Cordially yours,

“S. P. CHASE.”

Here is another letter which appears to me of capital concern :

COLUMBUS, December 29, 1860.

“GENERAL: It is reported here, that, in a certain contingency, you mean to throw up your commission.

“At this moment, the country looks to you with more hope than to any other man. Your loyalty to the Union, tested every way in Mexico, is now to be put to the highest proof.

“Imbecility, or treason, or both, mark all the action of the existing administration. Yesterday, while the armed bands of a State in open hostility against the National Government, were seizing Federal forts at Charleston, the so-called President and his Cab-

inet were in shameful conference with the commissioners of rebellion. And rebellion is treason until successful—which God forbid for successful rebellion must needs be followed, and followed with swift steps, by civil and servile war.

"Under these circumstances, General, you must not resign. Reflect, rather that you and not this condemned and expiring administration, now impersonate the American people. All good men honor and applaud your deference to the civil authority; but when that authority is, and for a few days must remain in the hands of men, willing, or in some mysterious way, constrained to use it for the ruin of their country, should not the obligation of deference give place to the higher and holier duty of maintaining the Union which they betray?

"Take, then, the responsibility. In virtue of a commission which no other American, save Washington, ever held, you command the army of the United States. Preserve the Union which he established. Sustain Major Anderson. Reinforce him, if necessary. Permit no obedience, by any officer under your command, to any order of President or Secretary, requiring the surrender of posts or stores to rebels or traitors.

"In a few weeks, Mr. Lincoln, in obedience to the will of the country, will organize a new administration of the General Government, faithful to every constitutional obligation and just to every State. Then, we may hope, disunion will hide its hateful head. Then, your greatest work, nobly accomplished, you can retire if you will. But, if the wishes of a grateful people may prevail, you will not retire. You will retain the commission of Washington, and with it only less of the admiration and veneration of mankind which consecrate his name.

"I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the highest respect and esteem,

Very truly yours,

"General Scott.

S. P. CHASE."

That this letter counseled revolutionary conduct is too clear for question. But it proves at least that its writer did not countenance the political heresy of the Secessionists, in 1860.

Here is another extract from the Trowbridge letter that describes the Peace Convention:¹

"Before its adjournment the President arrived in Washington, having come through Baltimore in the night and in disguise. It was said that this was necessary to defeat a plot for his assassination. I can not think it was necessary. At any rate, it seemed to me that the President elect should not have entered otherwise than openly and by daylight. Meantime, Congress was full of schemes for pacification, all of them involving more or less an abandonment of the principles which had been deliberately proclaimed by the Republicans in relation to slavery. Threats were openly made that

¹ Ante, p. 365.

unless such abandonment should be conceded, there should be no inauguration. To these menaces, I, for one, replied, 'Inauguration first, adjustment afterward,' and these words were caught up and repeated by loyal newspapers as a popular motto. They were not, perhaps, without their influence.

"Notwithstanding these menaces, the inauguration took place without disturbance and in the presence of a vast multitude. The President, without any conference with me on the subject, sent in my name to the Senate as Secretary of the Treasury. I had already taken my seat as Senator, but did not happen to be in the chamber when the nomination was sent in, and knew nothing of it until a few minutes afterward when, returning to my place, I was informed that it had been unanimously confirmed as soon as made. I went at once to the President and expressed my disinclination to accept the position. After some conversation, in the course of which he referred to the embarrassments which my declination would occasion him, I said I would give the matter some further consideration, and advise him the next day of my conclusion. Some rumor of my hesitation got abroad, and I was immediately pressed by most urgent remonstrances against any declination on my part. I finally yielded to this, and surrendered a position every way more desirable, to take charge of the disordered finances of the country under circumstances most unpropitious and forbidding.

"Immediately after the organization of the Cabinet, the question of what should be the policy of the Government in respect to the seceded States demanded the most serious attention. Anderson with his little company of soldiers was holding Fort Sumter, and the first question was, Shall he be relieved? General Scott declared that complete relief was impracticable with a less force than twenty thousand men. He thought, however, that the fort might be defended for several months if reinforced and provisioned. But that reinforcement and provisioning were impracticable as the fire of the enemy's batteries would be concentrated upon any vessel which might make the attempt, both while entering the harbor, and especially when endeavoring to land men and cargoes at the fort. The President finally determined to make the attempt to send provisions to the garrison.

"Information that the attempt would be made was transmitted to the Governor of South Carolina, and its receipt was promptly followed by an order from the rebel authorities to reduce the fort. How this was accomplished is historical, and it is also historical how the country was aroused by the rebel guns which opened on the fort. The call for seventy-five thousand men immediately followed. It soon became evident that nothing beyond the mere defense of Washington was to be accomplished by this force.

"I took the liberty of urging upon General Scott to occupy Manassas and compel the rebels to evacuate Harper's Ferry and the Valley of the Shenandoah. It has since become evident that this might have been thus done, and it is even probable that a vigorous use of the force then at the disposal of the Government might have driven the rebels from Richmond. The action proposed, however, was thought to involve too much risk. The rebels were suffered for

weeks to occupy Alexandria with an insignificant force, to excite insurrection in Baltimore, and to destroy the national property at Norfolk, except that which was destroyed under orders by ourselves. At last, after long delays, Baltimore was recovered, Alexandria was occupied by national troops, and the rebels were driven from Harper's Ferry. Meanwhile it had become evident that the seventy-five thousand men originally called for would not be sufficient. To replace them I took the liberty to propose to call for sixty-five thousand volunteers. This proposition, after having been modified so as to include an increase of the regular army was sanctioned by the President, who, with the consent of the Secretary of War, directed me to prepare the necessary orders. I invited to my assistance Col. Thomas, Maj. McDowell, and Captain Franklin; and after a good deal of consideration the Orders Nos. Fifteen and Sixteen were framed, the one for the enlistment of volunteers and the other for regular regiments."

The letter addressed to Mr. Lincoln on the policy of provisioning Fort Sumter reads as follows:

"TREASURY DEPARTMENT, *March 16, 1861.*

"SIR: The following question was submitted to my consideration, by your note of yesterday:

"Assuming it to be possible to now provision Fort Sumter, under all the circumstances, is it wise to attempt it?"

"I have given to this question all the reflection which the engrossing duties of this department have allowed.

"A correct solution must depend, in my judgment, on the degree of possibility; on the combination of reinforcement with provisioning; and on the probable effects of the measure upon the relations of the disaffected States to the National Government.

"I shall assume, what the statements of the distinguished officers consulted seem to warrant—that the possibility of success amounts to a reasonable degree of probability; and, also, that the attempt to provision, is to include an attempt to reinforce—for it seems to be generally agreed that provisioning without reinforcement, will accomplish no substantially beneficial purpose.

"The probable political effects of the measure allow room for much fair difference of opinion; and I have not reached my own conclusion without serious difficulty. If the proposed enterprise will so inflame civil war as to involve an immediate necessity for the enlistment of armies and the expenditure of millions, I can not, in the existing circumstances of the country, and in the present condition of the national finances, advise it. But it seems to me highly improbable that the attempt, especially if accompanied, or immediately followed, by a proclamation, setting forth a liberal and generous, though firm, policy toward the disaffected States, in accordance with the principles of the inaugural address, will produce such consequences; while it can not be doubted that, in maintaining a fort belonging to the United States, and in supporting the officers and men engaged, in the regular course of service, in its defense,

the Federal Government exercises a clear right, and, under all ordinary circumstances, discharges a plain duty.

"I return, therefore, an affirmative answer to the question submitted to me. And have the honor to be,

"With the highest respect, your obedient servant,

"To the President. [signed] S. P. CHASE."

Here is a piece of writing of like interest :

"WASHINGTON, April 28, 1861.

"MY DEAR SIR: To correct misapprehensions, except by acts, is an almost vain endeavor. You may say, however, to all whom it may concern, that there is no ground for the ascription to me by Major Brown, of the sentiment to which you allude.

"True it is that before the assault on Fort Sumter, in anticipation of an attempt to provision famishing soldiers of the Union, I was decidedly in favor of a positive policy and against the notion of *drifting*—the Micawber policy of waiting for something to turn up.

"As a positive policy, two alternatives were plainly before us. (1.) That of enforcing the laws of the Union by its whole power and through its whole extent; or (2.) that of recognizing the organization of actual government by the seven seceded States as *an accomplished revolution*—accomplished through the complicity of the late administration, and letting that Confederacy try its experiment of separation; but maintaining the authority of the Union and treating secession as treason every-where else.

"Knowing that the former of these alternatives involved destructive war, and vast expenditure, and oppressive debt, and thinking it possible that through the latter these great evils might be avoided, the Union of the other States preserved unbroken, the return even of the seceded States, after an unsatisfactory experiment of separation, secured, and the great cause of freedom and constitutional government peacefully vindicated—thinking, I say, these things possible, I preferred the latter alternative.

"The attack on Fort Sumter, however, and the precipitation of Virginia into hostility to the National Government, made this latter alternative impracticable, and I had then no hesitation about recurring to the former. Of course, I insist on the most vigorous measures, not merely for the preservation of the Union and the defense of the Government, but for the constitutional re-establishment of the full authority of both throughout the land.

"In laboring for these objects I know hardly the least cessation, and begin to feel the wear as well as the strain of them. When my critics equal me in labor and zeal, I shall most cheerfully listen to their criticisms.

"All is safe here now. Baltimore is repenting and by repentance may be saved, if she adds works meet for repentance. Soon something else will be heard of. Yours truly,

"Hon. Alphonso Taft. S. P. CHASE."

I do not ask the reader to concede that Mr. Chase was right in

the sentiments and views of policy thus acknowledged. Of that I do not wish to say a farther word at present. What I wish is merely to set forth the truth in the particular to which attention is now given.

Let me now invite attention to another letter. Here is one which seems to me of very interesting tenor :

“ WASHINGTON, March 10, 1861.

“ MY DEAR SIR : A friend has placed in my hands a number of the *Baltimore Exchange* of the 7th inst., containing the article from the *Richmond Dispatch*, purporting to give an account of the conversation between us, to which you refer in your [letter], received on Friday last.

“ The article is very far from a correct statement of what was said. A great deal essential to any true understanding of the conversation is omitted ; and what is stated, is so stated as to convey a totally erroneous idea of its spirit and substance.

“ You called on me, and I welcomed you as a friend—as a former pupil—as a son of William Wirt, my friend and instructor in the law in other days—as a member of a family for every individual of which I have long cherished the warmest regard. I understood you also to be a friend of the Union, although earnest in maintaining what you believed to be the rights of the slave States. The peace conference was in session, and I was a member, deeply interested in the object of its discussions.

“ Naturally, therefore, our conversation was very free, and, just as naturally, it turned to the existing state of the country ; not, however, as stated in the article, with reference to any connection I might have with the incoming administration, for I did not then expect, and I never wished, to be charged with a Department ; but with reference, simply, to matters before the convention, and their relation to the general condition of the country.

“ What I chiefly desired to impress on your mind was the anxiety, deeply felt by me in common with all patriotic citizens, for a peaceful solution of existing difficulties. This solution, I suggested, might be found in the organization of Territories without any mention of the subject of slavery, one way or the other, in the organic acts, and in a legislative provision for compensation for fugitives from service, in lieu of extradition—an arrangement likely, as I thought, to prove more beneficial to the slave States, and more acceptable to the free, than the existing law. If legislative solution, in this or some similar way, should be found impracticable, I suggested a national convention, to propose amendments of the Constitution, as the best means of composing present troubles, or, in the deplorable contingency of impossible adjustment, of providing for peaceful separation.

“ You, on your part, expressed great solicitude that no attempt should be made to reinforce Fort Sumter, and stated your conviction that any such attempt would impair the Union sentiment in the South, and lead many Union men to make common cause with the secessionists.

"In reply to observations of this nature, I expressed my confidence that nothing would be willingly done to weaken the cause of the Union in the Southern States; but observed farther, that *I did not see how the President could be absolved from his oath to defend the Constitution and execute the laws, which seemed to bind him to support Major Anderson in the position his duty had required him to take.*

"This led to a discussion of the possibility of war from this and other causes, and of its possible issues. We both deprecated such a conflict, and with equal earnestness. As arguments against it, I urged that, even in the event of a complete combination of all the slaveholding States against the Federal government, a population of eleven millions, of which four millions were slaves, could hardly hope to contend successfully against a population of twenty millions, with no such incumbrance; that a civil war must almost inevitably lead to servile war; that the institution of slavery could not stand the shock of such a conflict; and that, even if the institution should survive, and a separation of the States should be thus accomplished, through violence, still, after all, the slave States could by no possibility be more secure, or find better guaranties for the security of slavery, in a separate Confederacy than in the Union.

"How different all this is from the spirit attributed to me in the article, is apparent enough. Nor was the actual character of your part in the conversation less different from that attributed to me.

"For example, you are represented as saying to me in a certain connection, 'What is your object?' and I am represented as replying, 'To free the slave, who is the cause of the war.' No such question was put to me, in any connection, leading to such a reply, and no such reply was made by me to any question whatever. Again, it is represented that you asked me if I 'expected the slave States to return to the Union after their homes had been threatened and their country devastated,' and that I had answered, 'We do not want them to return. If the slave States remain in the Union, they will have to be satisfied with much less than they are now demanding.' This statement, too, conveys a totally erroneous idea of what was said. I do not remember your language or my own; but I remember very well that what I said about terms of remaining in the Union had reference to the demand made in the peace conference of a new constitutional sanction and guaranty of slavery in national Territories, of which I remarked that the slave States would have to be satisfied with less than that. Again, what was said about peonage, compensated labor, and colonization, had no reference, such as the article makes it have, to liberation through civil or servile war, but to emancipation, possible at some future time, through gradual improvement of the slave population, and to the voluntary action of the slave States—just such emancipation as Jefferson, your own honored father, and other illustrious statesmen formerly anticipated, and some southern patriots and philanthropists, I believe, yet anticipate.

"This is enough. If you derived any such impressions of me or my views as this article indicates, from our conversation, I sincerely regret it. It was a frank, unstudied, unguarded talk between old friends, of differing opinions. Misconception was, of course, possible.

Certainly, what I said was greatly misconceived, if you think it warranted any such statement as that which has, unfortunately, found its way into the public prints.

"I wish no ill to the slave States; but rather all good. For Virginia and Maryland, the circumstances of my earlier manhood inspired in me the interest of a sincere attachment. More than any State, however, I love the Union our fathers made. In the Union, so far as I am concerned, the rights of every State and every citizen shall be scrupulously respected. Through no conscious agency of mine shall harm come to the Republic."

Then followed certain counsel to the person so addressed. The next document I wish to offer reads as follows:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., April 26, 1864.

"MY DEAR SIR: I thank you for your note and its inclosures.

"It avails little to consider what might have been. Our duty is with what is and what may be. I am sure that whatever differences of opinion there may have been between those who thought as I did, and those who thought as you did, in times past, on the subject of slavery, no such differences are likely to exist hereafter.

"Mr. Brown entirely misapprehended me, if he received from any thing I said early in 1861 the impression that I was willing to let the then seceded States depart in peace, without the most substantial guaranties of the loyalty and fidelity to the Union of the Border States against the heresy of secession. No man has been a more earnest and determined opponent of that heresy, or more earnest and resolute for the suppression of the rebellion without yielding one iota to armed treason than myself.

"Yours, very truly,

"Rev. Dr. R. Fuller, Baltimore, Md. S. P. CHASE."

All readers may not be prepared to say, with Ruskin, that "nations have always reached their highest virtue, and wrought their most accomplished works in times of straightening and battle; as, on the other hand, no nation ever yet enjoyed a protracted and triumphant peace without receiving in its own bosom ineradicable seeds of future decline."¹ Ruskin adds: "I will not so argue this matter, but I will appeal at once to the testimony of those to whom that war has cost the dearest."

The Crimean war was that referred to. Ruskin adds: "I know what would be told me, by those who have suffered nothing; whose domestic happiness has been unbroken; whose daily comfort undisturbed; whose experience of calamity consists, at the utmost, in the incertitude of a speculation, the dearness of a luxury, or the increase

¹ *III Modern Painters*, 384.

of demands upon their fortune which they could meet fourfold without inconvenience.

"From these," proceeds this remarkable writer, "I can well believe, be they prudent economists, or careless pleasure seekers, the cry for peace will rise alike vociferously, whether in street or senate. But I ask *their* witness, to whom the war has changed the aspect of the earth, and imagery of heaven, whose hopes it has cut off like a spider's web, whose treasure it has placed, in a moment, under the seals of clay. Those who can nevermore see sunrise, nor watch the climbing light gild the eastern clouds without thinking what graves it has gilded, first, far down behind the dark earth line; who never more shall see the crocus bloom in spring without thinking what dust it is that feeds the wild flowers of Balaklava. Ask *their* witness, and see if they will not reply that it is well with them, and with theirs; that they would have it no otherwise; would not if they might, receive back their gifts of love and life, nor take again the purple of their blood out of the cross on the breastplate of England. Ask them; and though they should answer only with a sob, listen if it does not gather upon their lips into the sound of the old Seyton war cry—'Set on.'"

That is but splendid rhetoric. Let us respect, not only the sacred silence of the dead, laid low by war, but the sacred sorrow of the hearts that have

"Brokenly lived on"

since war became to them a terrible reality. Let us not interrogate survivors of the fallen whom our own great conflict put to death. Let us invoke no resurrection of the brave at rest, no testimony of our sleeping loved ones, who went out to battle in our names, for our behoof, and to our benefit, however we regard their loss. We know they died for us, and for them that shall come after us; and who would call them from their sleeping-places, to encounter again temptation—possibly to sin again, and certainly to suffer? We know not what their incorporeal lips might syllable, could they bear witness to our hearing, touching war and peace.

Enough, that war as well as peace is part of human life—that the life of man is a battle, now as in the days of Job—that war as well as peace is quite

"Connatural to man."

We speak of him that dies at home, attended by his family, watched

by his wife and children, uttering to listening hearts the latest whispers of the lips on which the hush of death is falling, as dying a *natural* death. Is, then, the death of him that falls in battle for his country, an *unnatural* departure? War is not a casualty. It is part of the divinely given right and might of nations.

Superstition sees not now a goddess or a god, directing battles. We behold no Pallas, with her ægis, where the chassepot or the needle-gun incarnadines the grass or reddens the river. But philosophy and faith still agree in calling life a battle.

Yet it follows not that war should be desired at all times. Ruskin may be right so far as goes his doctrine, that it is in times of straightening and battle that nations have exhibited their highest virtue, and wrought their most accomplished works. The same eloquent but sometimes not well-balanced writer may, alas! be right in teaching, that no nation ever enjoyed a protracted and triumphant peace without receiving in its own bosom ineradicable seeds of future decline. But, though life be a battle, it has armistices. In the lines,

"Under the sun I have marched and I've wandered;
Life is a battle, yes! but it hath truces;
During the truces I've wandered, and pondered
Much on this life in its aspects and uses,"

there may be little poetry, but I consider them as indicating tolerably well a truth too seldom well considered.

Peace, although it may appear exceptional, is, in a certain sense, not so abnormal as its opposite. In war, we generally struggle for a glorious peace.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE PEACE CONFERENCE—THE CIVIL WAR—CHASE IN THE TREASURY.

IN order to do justice to our hero's views respecting the doctrine of the secessionists, I have anticipated somewhat. Let me now invite attention to a letter, addressed to Thaddeus Stevens, and relating to that interview between Chase and Lincoln. Let me ask for that letter close attention. It is full of interest to every farther revelation of this work. Its tenor is as follows:

"COLUMBUS, OHIO, *January 9, 1861.*

"MY DEAR SIR: Your note came when I was in Springfield, at Mr. Lincoln's request. I arrived after your Pennsylvanians had all gone. Mr. Lincoln conversed frankly and fully. *He is a man to be depended on.* He may, as all men may, make mistakes; but the cause will be want of sufficient information, not unsoundness of judgment or of devotedness to principle. It is the business of Republicans occupying responsible positions, or possessing, in private stations, the confidence of their fellow-citizens, to give him that information which is indispensable to right conclusions.

"I am glad to find your course, in opposing concessions of principle, approved throughout the north-west. Why can't Republicans await the coming in of their own administration, and then act generously, as well as justly.

"I shall always be glad to hear from you, and you may be sure your confidence will be respected. Your friend,

"Hon. T. Stevens.

S. P. CHASE."

Such, according to the judgment of our hero, was the man, who, during the armed uprising of the South, was to be, *ex-officio*, commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the Union. Whether that judgment was correct or not I do not here examine.

The speech of Mr. Chase in the Peace Conference was one of the best efforts of his heart and lips in oratory. It was delivered on the 26th day of February, 1861. No trace of sympathy with the seceders, either as to doctrine, or as to the desire of dissolution, can be found in it. It is, however, marked by some distinctions which may seem, to some readers, not quite statesmanlike.

It proposed, in effect, to agitate for certain terms of peaceable

adjustment. Chase said, as reported by Mr. Chittenden, the substantial accuracy of whose report we shall find him acknowledging in a letter to that gentleman:¹

"You profess to be satisfied with slavery, as it is, and where it is. You think the institution just and beneficial. The very able gentleman from Virginia (M. Seddon), who commands the respect of all, by the frankness and sincerity of his speech, has said that he believes slavery to be the condition in which the African is to be educated up to freedom. He does not believe in perpetual slavery. He believes the time will come when the slave, through the beneficent influence of the circumstances which surround him, will rise in intelligence, capacity, and character, to the dignity of a freeman, and will be free.

"We can not agree with you, and, therefore, do not propose to allow slavery where we are responsible for it, outside of your State limits, and under national jurisdiction. But we do not mean to interfere with it at all within State limits. So far as we are concerned, you can work out your experiment there in peace. We shall rejoice if no evil comes from it to you or yours. [Mr. Chase's time having expired, he was unanimously invited to proceed.]

"Aside from the Territorial question—the question of slavery outside of slave States—I know of but one serious difficulty. I refer to the question concerning fugitives from service. The clause in the Constitution concerning this class of persons is regarded by almost all men, north and south, as a stipulation for the surrender, to their masters, of slaves escaping into free States. The people of the free States, however, who believe that slaveholding is wrong, can not, and will not, aid in the reclamation; and the stipulation becomes, therefore, a dead letter. You complain of bad faith, and the complaint is retorted by denunciations of the cruelty which would drag back to bondage the poor slave who has escaped from it. You, thinking slavery right, claim the fulfillment of the stipulation; we, thinking slavery wrong, can not fulfill the stipulation without consciousness of participation in wrong. Here is a real difficulty; but, it seems to me, not insuperable. It will not do for us to say to you, in justification of non-performance, 'The stipulation is immoral, and, therefore, we can not execute it; for you deny the immorality, and we can not assume to judge for you. On the other hand, you ought not to exact from us the literal performance of the stipulation when you know we can not perform it without conscious culpability. A true solution of the difficulty seems to be attainable by regarding it as a simple case where a contract, from changed circumstances, can not be fulfilled exactly as made. A court of equity in such a case decrees execution as near as may be. It requires the party who can not perform to make compensation for non-performance. Why can not the same principle be applied to the rendition of fugitives from service? We can not surrender—but we can compensate. Why not, then, avoid all difficulties on all

¹ See Chapter XXXIX.

sides, and show respectively good faith and good will by providing and accepting compensation where masters reclaim escaping servants, and prove their right of reclamation under the Constitution? Instead of a judgment for rendition, let there be a judgment for compensation, determined by the true value of the services, and let the same judgment assure freedom to the fugitive. The cost to the national treasury would be as nothing in comparison with the evils of discord and strife. All parties would be gainers.

"What I have just said is, indeed, not exactly to the point of the present discussion. But I refer to this matter to show how easily the greatest difficulties may be adjusted if approached in a truly just, generous, and patriotic spirit.

"I refer to it also in order to show you that, if we do not concede all your wishes, it is because our ideas of justice, duty, and honor forbid, and not because we cherish any hostile or aggressive sentiments. We will go as far as we can to meet you—come you as far as you can to meet us. Join, at least, in the declaration we propose. Your people have confidence in you. They will believe you. The declaration, made with substantial unanimity by this conference, will tranquillize public sentiment, and give a chance for reason to resume its sway, and patriotic counsels to gain a hearing.

"Do you say that, after all, what we propose embodies no substantial guaranties of immunity to slavery through the perversion of Federal power? We reply that we think the Constitution as it stands, interpreted honestly and executed faithfully, is sufficient for all practical purposes; and that you will find all desirable security in the legislation or non-legislation of Congress. If you think otherwise, we are ready to join you in recommending a national convention to propose amendments to the Constitution in the regular and legitimate way. Kentucky, a slave State, has proposed such a convention; Illinois, a free State, has joined in the proposition. Join us, then, in recommending such a convention, and assure us that you will abide by its decision. We will join you and give a similar assurance.

"This, gentlemen, is the proposition we make you to-day. It is embodied in the amendment just submitted. Is it not a fair proposition? It is a plain declaration of facts which can not reasonably be questioned, and a plain submission of all disputed questions to the only proper tribunal for the settlement of such questions—that of the American people, acting through a national convention.

"The only alternative to this proposition is the proposition that the present Congress be called upon to submit to the State a thirteenth article embodying the amendments recommended by the committee. In order to the submission of these amendments to the States by Congress, a two-thirds vote in each House is necessary. That I venture to say, can not be obtained. Were it otherwise, who can assure you that the new article will obtain the sanction of three-fourths of the States, without which it is a nullity? As a measure of pacification, I do not understand it. There is, in my judgment, no peace in it. Gentlemen here, of patriotism and intelligence, think otherwise. I am sorry that I can not agree with them.

"Gentlemen say, if this proposition can not prevail, every slave

State will secede ; or, as some prefer to phrase it, will resort to revolution. I forbear to discuss eventualities. I must say, however, and say plainly, that considerations such as these will not move me from my recognized duty to my country and its Constitution. And let me say for the people of the free States, that they are a thoughtful people, and are much in earnest in this business. They do not delegate their right of private judgment. They love their institutions and the Union. *They will not surrender the one nor give up the other without great sacrifices. Upon the question of the maintenance of an unbroken Union and a whole country they never were, and it is my firm conviction they never will be, divided.* Gentlemen who think they will be, even in the worst contingency, will, I think, be disappointed. If forced to the last extremity, the people will meet the issue as best they may, but be assured that they will meet it with no discordant councils.

"Gentlemen, Mr. Lincoln will be inaugurated on the 4th of March. He will take an oath to protect and defend the Constitution of the United States—of the whole—of all the United States. That oath will bind him to take care that the laws be faithfully executed throughout the United States. Will secession absolve him from that oath? Will it diminish, by one jot or tittle, its awful obligations? Will attempted revolution do more than secession? And if not—and the oath and the obligation remain—and the President does his duty and undertakes to enforce the laws, and secession or revolution exists, what then? War! Civil war!

"Mr. President, let us not rush headlong into that unfathomable gulf. Let us not tempt this unutterable woe. We offer you a plain and honorable mode of adjusting all difficulties. It is a mode which, we believe, will receive the sanction of the people. We pledge ourselves here that we will do all in our power to obtain their sanction for it. Is it too much to ask of you, gentlemen of the South, to meet us on this honorable and practicable ground? Will you not, at least, concede this to the country?"

On parchment, sealed with the great seal of the United States, is the following document:

"Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America. To all who shall see these presents, greeting: Know ye, that reposing special trust and confidence in the patriotism, integrity, and abilities of Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio, I have nominated, and by, and with the advice and consent of the Senate, do appoint him to be Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, and do authorize and empower him to execute and fulfill the duties of that office according to law, and to have and to hold the said *office*, with all the powers, privileges, and emoluments thereunto of right appertaining, unto him, the said Salmon Portland Chase, during the pleasure of the President of the United States, for the time being.

"In testimony whereof, I have caused these letters to be made patent and the seal of the United States to be hereunto affixed.

"Given under my hand, at the City of Washington, the fifth day of March, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and

sixty-one, and of the Independence of the United States of America, the eighty-fifth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

"By the President: William H. Seward, Secretary of State."

A fateful, one might almost say, a fatal commission! Never should our hero have been Secretary of the Treasury. In some respects, indeed, he was most admirably qualified for that high office; but in most respects, he was remarkably unfit to hold an office of that character.

"An act to establish the treasury department," approved by Washington, September 2, 1789, created "a department of treasury,¹ in which were to be "a secretary of the treasury, to be deemed head of the department; a comptroller, an auditor, a treasurer, a register, and an assistant to the secretary," to be by him appointed.

Prominent among the definitions of the secretary's duties was the requirement that he should "digest and prepare plans for the improvement and management of the revenue, and for the support of the public credit," and should "prepare and report estimates of the public revenue and the public expenditures."

The final section of that most important piece of legislation provided that no person, appointed to any office instituted by the act, should, directly or indirectly, be concerned or interested in carrying on the business of trade or commerce, or be owner in whole or in part of any sea-vessel, or purchase by himself, or another in trust for him, any public lands or other public property, or be concerned in the purchase or disposal of any public securities of any State, or of the United States, or take or apply to his own use any emolument or gain for negotiating or transacting any business in the said department, other than what should be allowed by law; and that if any person should offend against any of the act's prohibitions, he should be deemed guilty of a high misdemeanor, and forfeit to the United States the penalty of three thousand dollars, and should upon conviction be removed from office, and forever thereafter incapable of holding any office under the United States.²

¹ 1 United States Statutes at Large, 65, 67.

² The long list of our hero's financial predecessors runs as follows, as indicated by the United States Treasury Register, for July 1, 1872:

SECRETARIES OF THE TREASURY—1789 TO 1861.

Name.	Whence appointed.	Date of Commission.	Expiration of service.
Alexander Hamilton.....	New York.....	Sept. 11, 1789.....	January 31, 1795.

Our hero's leading objects as a financier seen to have been unexceptionable. In his last report he says :

"In the creation of debt by negotiation of loans or otherwise, the secretary has kept four objects steadily in view : (1) moderate interest ; (2) general distribution ; (3) future controllability ; and (4) incidental utility."

But he paid too much and too minute attention to the prosecution of the war against the insurgent South. But for his poor judging faculty as to man, he should have been War Secretary, if any mere civilian ought to have had that place. He would, in any case, it seems to me, have shown himself far fitter than Stanton proved to be to deal with martial men and martial measures as War Minister. But, being Secretary of the Treasury, he was entirely too attentive to

Name.	Whence appointed.	Date of commission.	Expiration of service.
Oliver Wolcott, Jr.....	Connecticut	February 2, 1795..	Dec. 31, 1800.
Samuel Dexter.....	Massachusetts	January 1, 1801..	May 6, 1801.
Albert Gallatin.....	Pennsylvania	May 14, 1801.....	April 20, 1813.
George W. Campbell.....	Tennessee.....	February 9, 1814..	Sept. 26, 1814.
Alexander J. Dallas.....	Pennsylvania	October 6, 1814...	October 21, 1816.
William H. Crawford.....	Georgia.....	October 22, 1816..	March 3, 1825.
Richard Rush.....	Pennsylvania	March 7, 1825	March 3, 1829.
Samuel D. Ingham.....	Pennsylvania	March 6, 1829	June 20, 1831.
Louis McLean.....	Delaware	August 8, 1831. ...	May 29, 1833.
William J. Duane.....	Pennsylvania	May 29, 1833.....	Sept. 23, 1833.
Roger B. Taney.....	Maryland	Sept. 23, 1833.....	June 24, 1834.
Levi Woodbury.....	New Hampshire...	June 27, 1834.....	March 4, 1841.
Thomas Ewing.....	Ohio	March 5, 1841.....	Sept. 11, 1841.
Walter Forward.....	Pennsylvania	Sept. 13, 1841.....	February 28, 1843.
John C. Spencer.....	New York	March 3, 1843.....	May 2, 1844.
George M. Bibb.....	Kentucky	June 15, 1844.....	March 7, 1845.
Robert J. Walker.....	Mississippi.....	March 9, 1845.....	March 5, 1849.
William M. Meredith.....	Pennsylvania	March 8, 1849	July 22, 1850.
Thomas Corwin.....	Ohio	July 23, 1850	March 7, 1853.
James Guthrie.....	Kentucky	March 7, 1853	March 6, 1857.
Howell Cobb.....	Georgia.....	March 6, 1857.....	December 8, 1860.
Philip F. Thomas.....	Maryland	Dec. 12, 1860.....	January 14, 1861.
John A. Dix.....	New York.....	January 11, 1861..	March 6, 1861.

The same valuable publication contains the following statement of the succession down to Mr. Richardson :

Name	Whence appointed.	Date of commission.	Expiration of service
Salmon P. Chase....	Ohio	March 7, 1864.....	June 30, 1864.
William P. Fessenden.....	Maine	July 1, 1864.....	March 3, 1865.
Hugh McCulloch.....	Indiana	March 7, 1865	March 4, 1869.
George S. Boutwell.....	Massachusetts	March 11, 1869...	— — — — —

the men and measures of the war. And then he was, in his own department, infinitely damaged by his inability to discern the tendencies of men with whom he had to deal.

Of purely intellectual characteristics and of culture, he was as good a judge as other men of his own rank in point of intellect and culture. Moral traits he somehow could not well discern. He could see the brain where the heart defied his penetration.

That was bad for him and for the country while he was financial minister to Lincoln.

Albert Gallatin was, I think, our great financier. He seems to me to bear the palm as Secretary of the Treasury. In theory and practice both, he was, I think, superior to Salmon Portland Chase as well as to the combative little man from Nevis whom Burr shot in "honorable" fashion at Weehawken.

But we must not underestimate the merits of our hero as a financier. We must not say of him, with a recent writer :

Mr. Bontwell having resigned, it was on the 17th of March, 1878, that William A. Richardson, of Massachusetts, became his successor.

We must remember, also, the assistant secretaries. What the country owes to their comparatively undistinguished and comparatively unrewarded services, every practical man is ready, yet perhaps no man is fully able, to acknowledge. Here is a list extending down to our hero's term of service :

ASSISTANT SECRETARIES OF THE TREASURY.

Name.	Whence appointed.	Date of commission.	Expiration of service.
Tench Coxe.....	Pennsylvania	Sept. 11, 1789.....	May 8, 1792, office abolished.
Charles B. Penrose.....	Pennsylvania	March 12, 1849.....	_____, 1849.
Allen A. Hall	Tennessee.....	October 10, 1849.....	_____, 1850.
William L. Hodge.....	Pennsylvania	Nov. 16, 1850.....	_____, 1858.
Peter G. Washington.....	Dist. of Columbia.....	March 4, 1858.....	_____, 1857.
Philip Clayton.....	Georgia	March 13, 1857.....	January 16, 1861.
George Harrington.....	Dist. of Columbia.....	March 13, 1861.....	July 11, 1865.

The successors have been as follows:

Name.	Whence appointed.	Date of commission.	Expiration of service.
Maunsell B. Field.....	New York.....	March 18, 1864.....	June 15, 1865.
William Eaton Chandler.....	New Hampshire.....	June 5, 1865.....	Nov. 30, 1867.
John F. Hartley.....	Maine	July 11, 1865	_____
Edmund Cooper.....	Tennessee.....	Nov. 20, 1867.....	May 31, 1868.
William A. Richardson.....	Massachusetts	March 20, 1869.....	_____
Frederick A. Sawyer.....	South Carolina.....	March 19, 1878.....	_____

"It is certain that he never grasped a single principle lying at the foundation of monetary science. His stately and flowing rhetoric can only be accounted for by his entire ignorance. Every thing was plastic to his touch, to be molded at will into just such form as suited his fancy or caprice. Such instances are not rare. Men are usually fluent in proportion to their want of knowledge of the subjects they discuss."¹

Now that last sentence is quite true. And never was it better illustrated than by the fluently false censure, uttered and published as and for criticism in the article in which the words just quoted are contained.

Secretary Chase was not enabled to open, in the treasury department, for the use of the President, the Congress, and the country, such a school of economics as I trust we may hereafter see at the Union capital.² But, when he became secretary of the treasury, the man whom that fluent censor in the *North American Review* would have us regard as financially a fool, judicially a knave, had read much and thought more about political economy. His motives were entirely patriotic; his aspirations high, and his ambition creditable. If he erred, who that has succeeded him has erred less?

He who defames the memory of Salmon Portland Chase may find that he has done more damage to himself than to the object of his defamation.

We have seen that as long ago as 1831 our hero read articles and books devoted to the exposition of political economy. We have seen that he was long a bank attorney and for some time a dealer in stocks. There is no reason in the world to suppose that any man in the country paid a better attention to the substance of the learning which may well be designated public economics than did Salmon Portland Chase.

¹ Article in the *North American Review* for January, 1874, about *The Currency and Finances of the United States*, p. 114.

² Over the *nom de plume*, CITIZEN, I ventured to say, lately, to readers of the *National Republican*, at Washington:

"An Institute of Economic Science at the capital of the United States might do great credit to the country and great service to the world.

"The times are favorable to the indicated project. They are hard times, indeed; times of pecuniary trouble; but, unfavorable to most projects which involve expenditure, they almost seem to point to the establishment of such an institute as that here advocated as a proper preparation for the economic future of the country.

"At the outset, little money would be needed. The beginnings of the institute may well be limited to comparatively inexpensive things. A few lectures, as to

But very false this book would seem to its compiler did it not accuse its hero of attending, in a manner prejudicial to the public service, and, eventually, very prejudicial to himself, to martial men and martial measures.

Yet he was not as to martial men and measures a mere meddler. In a letter to General Hooker, on the 21st of December, 1863, he said :

"Things here are pretty much at the old rate. There has been a deal of talk about recalling you, and placing you in command of the Army of the Potomac, which one of the chaplains, in a recently published letter, calls, not altogether without reason, 'This poor, old, strategy-possessed army.' I wish it might be done. But, of course, my wishes go for little in such matters. What right, indeed, has a secretary of the treasury, whose business it is to provide money for the people to spend, to have any wishes at all about the results of

which the expenses should be confined to the cost of the hall and of advertising, might well begin the work. But as soon as possible the institute should be endowed with liberality by private citizens.

"This project is not local; it is national. The citizens of Washington, indeed, should feel a special interest in all such projects; they should take great pride in forwarding such enterprises. More than any other citizens of the United States, they are called upon, by situation and condition, to take lively interest in such suggestions as those here submitted; but the institute proposed would be of national relations and concern.

"An Institute of Economic Science may, however, seem impossible. Some one may say, There is no science of economy, political or non-political. A science, we may hear, is a complement of cognitions—truths arranged in systematic order; and political economy is no such system of cognitions, no such complement of truths.

"Is there a science in the system known as Medicine? We have academies of medicine. Does any one pretend that, because some parts of medicine are not of scientific certainty, there is no science whatever in connection with the so-called healing art? Is anatomy no more positive than therapeutics? No one ought to say that all of physiology is pure speculative. Everybody, in a word, should be prepared to acknowledge that the system known as medicine, in spite of its defects, contains cognitions of the scientific order.

"Wealth is economic health. Excessive riches are not wealth. They are like penury in this, that they are morbidly abnormal. A truly wealthy people is not to be found where the material of wealth is ill-distributed. Wealthy individuals may there be found in force, but not a wealthy people. But however that may be, the thing with which the economic sciences concern themselves is wealth, just as the thing with which medicine and hygiene concern themselves is health. There must be, so to speak, an economic hygiene, an economic medicine. There must be a true science of political economy as well as a true science of economy at home. Imperfect as the economic sciences remain, they certainly exist. They have existed ever since Plato wrote his *The Republic* (or *The State*), and they had then existed for one can not say how many ages."

the expenditure? Is not that exclusively the concern of the President and of Congress? I suppose I ought to shut my eyes and suppress my feelings, but really it is a little hard, when one *thinks* one *sees* how much might be economized of action, power, and resources, not to say something of what he thinks and feels."

The thing to which almost above all others I have wished to lead the thinking of my gentle reader, is, that the whole public life of the man, who wrote those words to General Hooker, may be said to have led to or from the bloody, indescribably ravaging, and unutterably desolating struggle, in which the country, at that time, found the object of its thoughts and feelings, day and night, and in all the moods in which anxiety and pain may be discerned, in spite of every endeavor to conceal them.

Yes! the whole public life of Chase led to or from that fearful struggle. I have written this whole work, indeed, with reference to that consideration.

In a letter written to Mr. Trowbridge, Secretary Chase related in this fashion :

"I was indebted for my success, in great part, to the confidence and support, most generously given me, of a number of distinguished citizens having large influence in financial circles, and I endeavored to merit what they gave by frankness, fairness, and firmness.

"Congress assembled on the 4th of July, 1861, and soon afterward passed an act to authorize a national loan, and for other purposes. Under this act, and acts amending it, I took measures to secure the funds necessary to carry on the war.

"With this object, I invited representatives from the banking institutions of New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, to meet me in New York, and they promptly responded to my invitation.

"Our conferences were full and unreserved. I explained to them the situation of the country ; the large, inevitable expenditure for the suppression of the rebellion ; my hopes of vigorous prosecution of all measures necessary to that great end ; my wishes for economy ; my views of the inexpediency of high rates of interest, which might suggest a possibility of future inability to pay it. They, on their side, explained the position of the banks ; their disposition to sustain the government ; and their inability to take more bonds than their disposable capital allowed, without a prospect of an early sale and distribution. They thought my ideas as to interest rather too stringent ; and, on some other points, they thought me rather illiberal—not sufficiently considerate, perhaps, of the interests they represented. I was obliged to be very firm, and to say, 'Gentlemen, I am sure you wish to do all you can. I hope you will find that you can take the loans required on terms which can be admitted. If not, I must go back to Washington and issue notes for circulation ; for, gentlemen, the war must go on until this rebellion is put down, if we have

to put out paper until it takes a thousand dollars to buy a breakfast.

"The result of the conference was an agreement by the banks of three cities to unite as associates, and advance to the government fifty millions of dollars at once, or as wanted, on the secretary's drafts in favor of the assistant treasurers; in consideration of which, I, on my part, agreed to appeal to the people for subscriptions to a national loan, on three years' notes bearing 7.30 per cent. interest, and convertible into twenty-year bonds bearing six per cent.; and to pay over the proceeds of the subscriptions to the banks, in satisfaction of their advances, so far as they would go, and to deliver to them 7.30 notes for any deficiency.

"This agreement was faithfully fulfilled. I opened books of subscription to the national loan in all parts of the loyal States, and the people responded with alacrity. About forty-five millions were thus subscribed and paid to the banks, and the remainder was made good by the delivery of the promised seven-thirties.

"This operation enabled the banks to make a second advance of fifty millions on nearly the same terms. It had become evident that the popular subscription would not continue as large and prompt as at first, and the inconveniences of its management by the department had proved to be very great. The accounts of the subscription agents were therefore closed, and the notes for the second loan were delivered directly to the bankers who distributed them, as best suited themselves. This simplified the transaction to the treasury; and the arrangement, though not quite so advantageous to the banks as the first, was every way more convenient.

"By these two loans I obtained one hundred millions of dollars, paying under the immediate exigency a rate of interest only one and three-tenths per cent. higher than the ordinary rate of six per cent., and that only for three years. The sums needed beyond the amounts thus obtained, were supplied by the negotiation of notes at two years and sixty days, and by issuing United States notes as circulation.

"The banks declined to make another loan of fifty millions for seven-thirty notes, and I was obliged by the absolute necessity of providing means for military and naval disbursement, to offer another description of securities. The act authorizing a national loan provided for the disposal of six per cent. bonds with such deduction from their face value as would make them equivalent to seven per cent. bonds, redeemable after twenty years, disposed of at par. I was extremely reluctant to avail myself of this power, but the emergency was great, and there was no other resource, and I submitted. Fifty millions in six per cent. bonds were equal to \$45,795,478.48 in seven per cent. bonds, redeemable after twenty years; and accordingly I gave the banks fifty millions in six per cent. bonds for \$45,795,478.48 in coin.

"The banks had constantly urged me to forego the farther issue of United States notes, and draw directly upon them for the sums subscribed, and placed on their books to the credit of the government. 'In what funds will my drafts be paid?' I asked. 'We in New York are entirely willing to pay in coin,' was the reply. 'But how

will it be in Boston? how in Philadelphia? How, if you in New York give the draft holder a check on Cincinnati or St. Louis, will the check be paid?' 'In whatever funds the holder of the draft or check is willing to receive.' 'That is to say,' I answered, 'in coin, if the holder insists on coin, and the bank is able and willing to pay; but in bank notes if he will consent to receive bank notes. I can not consent to this, gentlemen. You ask me to borrow the credit of local banks in the form of circulation. I prefer to put the credit of the people into notes and use them as money. If you can lend me all the coin required or show me where I can borrow it elsewhere at fair rates, I will withdraw every note already issued, and pledge myself never to issue another; but if you can not, you must let me stick to United States notes, and increase the issue of them just as far as the deficiency of coin may require.' This resolution, seen to be unalterable, was followed by important consequences.

"The negotiation of the seven per cent. loan (for such it really was) took place on the 16th of November. The bankers could not pay their subscription in coin unless they could find a market for their bonds, and prices declined instead of advancing. It soon became plain that the bank note circulation could not be sustained at the par of coin, unless made receivable by the Government, and that it could not be made so receivable without risk of serious and perhaps irretrievable financial embarrassment and disorder. In other words, it became plain that suspension was inevitable, except by sacrifices, which the banks would not make. The banks of New York suspended on the 30th of December, 1861, and their example was followed throughout the country. This suspension made it certain that the government could no longer obtain coin on loans in any adequate amounts; some of the banks, indeed, which had subscribed to the seven per cent. loan, declined to pay their subscriptions in coin, and even asked to be relieved from payment in notes of the United States. Under these circumstances I had no choice but to suspend payment of these notes in coin, and take measures to provide a currency in which loans could be negotiated and the transactions of the government carried on. I wished to avoid the necessity of making notes of any kind a legal tender; and proposed several modes of doing it. To none could the unanimous consent of the banks be obtained. Some of them manifested a disposition to discredit the national circulation wholly, whether issued in notes bearing interest, or issued in notes bearing no interest; and if possible, force upon the country the circulation of the suspended banks."

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE CIVIL WAR AND SLAVERY—PURSE AND SWORD—THE TRENT AFFAIR.

LET us now turn away a little from the financial life of our hero. Here is, to me at least, a deeply interesting letter on another subject:

“WASHINGTON, November 6, 1861.

“DEAR JUDGE: Let me thank you for your admirable article. It teaches a necessary lesson. *We must learn to imitate the grand patience of God; yet, in doing so, let us not shrink from the imitation of his justice and constant energy also.*

“Sincerely yours,

“Hon. R. B. Warden.

S. P. CHASE.”

The significance of the expression just distinguished by italics, can not be completely indicated without stating that the article it praises, attempted to expose the fallacy of Mr. Brownson's notions, that the Union had no battle-cry sufficiently responsive to the slogan of the South, and that some such battle-cry as *Down with Slavery!* was essential to success on the side of the North. The article which, as we have just seen, Secretary Chase called admirable, earnestly insisted that impatient and unconstitutional opposition to slavery could do no good and might work not a little evil; but, in the same piece, readers were counseled to prepare their minds and hearts for the downfall of slavery *as a necessary incident of the civil war then raging.*

On Monday, December 9, 1861, the secretary of the treasury talked with Messrs. Stevens and Vail about reimbursement. They contended that the banks were entitled to be reimbursed, in coin, for all two years bonds and sixty day notes, received in payment of subscriptions, whether paid by the banks themselves on account of deposits, or by individuals for bonds. The secretary denied the right of the banks to reimbursement for bonds paid by them, but promised to take the other into consideration.

On the next day, Mr. Haight, member of Congress, from New York, called, and stated the results of the bank meeting held on the 9th. He represented that Mr. Gallatin only opposed the payment

of the first installment, objecting that the secretary had recommended a tax on bank circulation, and so had broken his agreement. ^{is}

December 9, 1861, Mr. Cisco telegraphed that the banks had paid the first installment of the seven per cent. loan.

On the same day, the annual report went to Congress. On the next, copies of it were sent to Messrs. Ketchum, Williams, Gallatin, and Coe, with letters expressing the hope of their concurrence in its views.

Mr. Hooper, member of Congress, from Boston, expressed a cordial approval of the report.

December 10, 1861, has the suggestive entry: "A number of gentlemen called at the office on applications for office and otherwise." The next day's record opens with the sentence, "A multitude of callers at the office this morning, among them Wade, of the Senate, and Ashley, of the House, Chairman of the Territorial Committees in their respective Houses." To both of them the secretary gave his views, in brief, as to the relations of the insurrectionary States to the Union.

It appears that he explained his views as follows: That no State or any portion of the people could withdraw from the Union or absolve themselves from allegiance to it; but that when the attempt was made, and the State government was placed in hostility to the Federal government, the State organization was forfeited, and it lapsed into the condition of a Territory, with which we could do what we pleased; that we could form a provisional government, as was done in Western Virginia, or, when we occupied any portion of a rebellious State, such as Beaufort, we could organize territorial courts, and, as soon as it became necessary, a territorial government; that those States could not properly be considered as States in the Union, but must be readmitted, from time to time, as Congress should provide.

It seems Messrs. Wade and Ashley expressed their concurrence.

On the same day, conversation took place in the Cabinet in respect to organizing courts at Beaufort; and it was agreed that Secretary Chase should see certain southern gentlemen and then confer with Attorney-General Bates as to what should be done.

The same day it was proposed to invite General McClellan to a meeting of the Cabinet the next day, to learn his plans. But, objection being made by Mr. Blair, the President took it into consideration.

At the same meeting, General Hunter's application for authority to muster a brigade of Indians was considered in connection with a proposition of General McClellan to invade Western Texas from the north and from the gulf simultaneously. Secretary Chase expressed his approval of the latter and his disapproval of the former for want of power, the President having already exhausted the authority, given him by Congress, to raise men. This view was generally concurred in and the subject dropped.

Secretary Chase directed the attention of the President to complaints made against General Smith at Paducah, and "was glad to learn that General McClellan had already directed him to be superseded."

On the 12th, General McClellan called at noon, and remained about an hour and a half. Of the conversation I know nothing. Would that it had made the interlocutors better acquainted with each other!

On the 11th of December, 1861, Senator Johnson, of Tennessee, called on Secretary Chase, and gave an account of the military operations in Kentucky, during the summer, of which he was a witness. He said there was nothing to prevent a march into Tennessee and the possession of Knoxville, immediately after the battle at Camp Wild Cat; but that General Sherman was so intimidated by Buckner's alleged strength and purposes, that he was much of the time incapacitated for command!

Now, isn't that rather rich? How fit was Andrew Johnson so to talk about William Tecumseh Sherman?

Gen. Meigs and Judge Advocate Lee called at request of Secretary Chase, Dec. 11, 1861, the former more especially with reference to the collection and disposition of cotton at Port Royal. He promised to place bagging, bale-rope, etc., for 1000 bales at the disposal of the agent of the treasury department there. The secretary proposed to transfer the whole business to him; but it was not determined whether the transfer should be made.

With Major Lee and also with Gen. Meigs, the secretary had some conversation about government for the seceded States. Major Lee seemed to favor military commissions for the trial of questions not cognizable by courts martial. He promised to send an order of Gen. Scott's, issued in Mexico, which might serve as a precedent.

The secretary wrote to Messrs. Aspinwall, Sprague, and Minturn, giving them the substance of what Gen. Meigs had said about the

cotton business, and telling him that, should he retain the management, he should be glad to avail myself of their counsel and support.

Mr. Speed, of Louisville, called the attention of the secretary of the treasury, on the 11th of December, 1861, to restrictions placed by our special agent upon shipments of provisions to Louisville. The secretary told him that Louisville, being a loyal city, stood upon the same footing as Washington, and that Mr. Mellen should be instructed accordingly.

On the next day, in the morning, Judge Key called on Secretary Chase and read draft of bill for the emancipation of slaves in the District of Columbia. We shall have occasion to turn back to this interesting fact.

Col. Sullivan, of Ohio, being at Washington on business connected with the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, on the day last named, called on Secretary Chase, and represented his interviews with Gen. McClellan as highly satisfactory. Among other things, it seems, he stated that when Gen. Kelley advanced upon Romney, the rebels supposed he designed to attack Winchester—that they called upon Johnston for help—that he at first refused to send any, and finally sent only a regiment of raw recruits, who had recently gone to Manassas from Winchester, thus showing that, important as Winchester was, no troops could be spared from Manassas.

Mr. Chase sent the dispatch by Col. Barstow to Gen. McClellan, and wrote to Gen. Lander, who had been ordered to the command at Romney.

Senator Chandler came in to converse about Gen. McDowell being put in command of the Army of the Potomac and of military affairs generally. Mr. Chase considered that his visitor "evinced an excellent spirit."

The next morning, Mr. Chase received from McClellan's aid a note, saying that the general had read the dispatch sent him the night before, and would take immediate measures to protect the road; that reinforcements would be immediately sent to Hancock; and that Gen. Banks had been ordered to support Lander.

In fulfillment of an engagement with the president of the American Bank Note Company, the secretary of the treasury went to Ulke's, who took a number of photographs.

On the 26th of December was held a Cabinet meeting in reference to the celebrated, and to this country at least, far from creditable, Trent affair. Was that affair creditable to Great Britain? Clearly

not. It was not creditable to any one concerned therein, except as its examination and discussion brought out such remarks as those made as follows, in Lincoln's Cabinet, on the day last named, by Secretary Chase:

"The secretary said that, in his judgment, the case stood precisely thus: In taking the rebel envoys and their secretaries from the 'Trent,' without invoking or proposing to invoke the sanction of any judicial tribunal, Captain Wilkes clearly violated the law of nations, and in that very principle which the United States have ever most zealously maintained. Great Britain, therefore, had a right to ask from us a disavowal of the act, and the restoration of the persons to the condition in which they were taken; and, if this right was insisted on, it was our duty, however disagreeable, to do what was asked.

"He considered, on the other hand, that the circumstances under which the act of Captain Wilkes was done, not only repelled the imputation of aggressive or unfriendly intent, but entitled him to commendation for the motives by which his conduct was governed, and reduced the seizure and removal from the 'Trent' of the rebel commissioners, to a mere technical violation of the neutral rights of England. Mason and Slidell were commissioners bearing dispatches from the rebel government to Europe, and their character and charge were known to the commander of the 'Trent.' At the time of the seizure, therefore, the 'Trent' was knowingly employed in violation of English law, of the royal proclamation, and of her duty to the United States as a friendly nation. Conscious of the fact, the commander refused, when requested, to exhibit his passenger list. The capture was, of course, warranted, and Captain Wilkes, in making it, performed only his plain duty to his government. He had a right to break up the voyage, and send the steamer as prize into a port for trial and condemnation. But the steamer was employed in the conveyance of mails and passengers; and Captain Wilkes was desirous to avoid the public injury of delaying the transmission of the former, and the private hardship likely to result from interrupting the voyage of the latter.

"Governed mainly by these motives, he obeyed what seemed to him the dictates of humanity and friendly consideration for a friendly nation, by removing the contraband persons from the 'Trent' with the least possible inconvenience to all concerned, and suffering the vessel, with her other passengers and mails, to proceed to her destination. In doing this he surrendered a prize which might have tempted cupidity, without a thought that, by the self-same act, he was depriving himself of the only means of justifying the capture, either of persons or vessel, through a judicial decision.

"Mr. Chase thought it certainly was not too much to expect of a friendly nation, and especially of a nation of the same blood, religion, and characteristic civilization as our own, that in consideration of the great rights, she would overlook the little wrong; nor could he then persuade himself that, were all the circumstances known

to the English government, as to ours, the surrender of the rebel commissioners would be insisted upon.

The secretary asserted that the technical right was undoubtedly with England. As rebels or as traitors to our government, the pretended commissioners would have been safe on a neutral ship. It was only in their character as envoys that they were subject to arrest as contraband. They could not rightfully be taken from the ship until after the judicial condemnation of the ship itself, for receiving and carrying them. However excused or even justified by motives, the act of removing them as prisoners from the 'Trent,' without resort to any judicial cognizance, was in itself indefensible. We could not deny this without denying our history. Were the circumstances reversed, our government would, Mr. Chase thought, accept the explanation, and let England keep her rebels; and he could not divest himself of the belief that, were the case fairly understood, the British government would do likewise.

"But," continued Secretary Chase, "we can not afford delays. While the matter hangs in uncertainty the public mind will remain disquieted, our commerce will suffer serious harm, our action against the rebels must be greatly hindered, and the restoration of our prosperity—largely identified with that of all nations—must be delayed. Better, then, to make now the sacrifice of feeling involved in the surrender of these rebels, than even avoid it by the delays which explanations must occasion. I give my adhesion, therefore, to the conclusion at which the secretary of state has arrived.

"It is gall and wormwood to me. Rather than consent to the liberation of these men, I would sacrifice every thing I possess. But I am consoled by the reflection that, while nothing but severest retribution is due to them, the surrender, under existing circumstances, is but simply doing right—simply proving faithful to our own ideas and traditions under strong temptations to violate them; simply giving to England and the world the most signal proof that the American nation will not, under any circumstances, for the sake of inflicting just punishment on rebels, commit even a technical wrong against neutrals."

CHAPTER XXVIII.

OPENING OF 1862—M'CLELLAN AND M'DOWELL—PORT ROYAL—
CAMERON'S RESIGNATION.

ON the first of January 1862, Secretary Chase, accompanied by his two daughters and his friend, Miss Walker, went to the White House. Afterward, he and his daughters received at their own house, Mrs. General McDowell, Mrs. Bridge, and Miss Walker assisting Miss Kate. All the Diplomatic Corps, except Stoeckel, and many officers of the army called. When Lord Lyons came in, Mr. Chase saluted him with "*Pax esto perpetua*," and the English minister, responding to that wish, expressed the hope that his own conduct had always been that of a peace-maker.

Under date January 2, we have the suggestive memorandum :

"In the evening, Kate had a big turkey, and Mr. Sumner and General McDowell dined with us."

Not the big turkey, but the big talk of the great man from Massachusetts, would I like to be able here to serve up to my readers. But I must proceed to other matters.

Here is the tenor of a note written to Secretary Chase on a card :

"I have just been with General McClellan, and he is much better.
"January 2, 1862. A. LINCOLN."

McClellan and McDowell are names intimately connected with the most important revelations of this work. They were both unfortunate, and both, perhaps, failed to seize fortune and to catch success where men of less abilities and less nobleness of mind would have made better use of time and chance.

How busy was our hero in those days! How variously he took part in all that was within his reach! In a letter that conducts us toward Port Royal and the wonders there progressing, he said to Mr. Edward L. Pierce:

"I sent, yesterday, your commission and formal instructions to

New York. I now write, that you may more clearly understand the spirit of my instructions.

"Colonel Reynolds, the agent already appointed, is, I think, a man of excellent business capacity, and unimpeachable personal integrity. He is so commended to me by Governor Sprague, in whom I have great confidence.

"Whether he will sympathize with the laborers, however, or strive to promote their personal well-being, I do not know; nor can I foresee, whether he will bring to the organization of their labor that judgment and patience which are essential to success.

"You have been tried, and, besides, I know you. Your sympathies are, first of all, with the country; but you do not lose sight of what is due to the poor people, who are, by the event of the war, cast on the protection of the United States. Your judgment is cool and sound, and will not allow mere sympathy to mislead you.

"I wish, therefore, to put you in communication with Colonel Reynolds, and that he may avail himself of your counsel and aid in organizing the laborers which he must employ, and in providing for them. Of course, I do not desire to supersede Colonel Reynolds, or interfere with him in any way, but simply to promote the general objects of his agency, and to secure, at the same time, as far as may be, the well-being of the unfortunate people who must be employed.

"I will add here that, in my judgment, the persons who have thus been abandoned by their masters, and who are received into the service of the country, can never, without great inhumanity on the part of the government be ever reduced again to slavery. You will, therefore, in what you do, have reference to fitting them for self-support by their own industry hereafter.

"Please report to me all you do, and your observations and judgment on the state of things within the sphere of your labors, so far as connected with the general object of them."¹

¹ To Colonel Reynolds, Mr. Chase wrote as follows:

"MY DEAR COLONEL: The cotton which was shipped by the quarter-master to New York and Philadelphia, will be disposed of under the direction of the quarter-master-general. That which you ship will be consigned to Hiram Barney, collector at New York, who will take care of its disposition. I am solicitous that the connection of this department with the business may be marked by the utmost efficiency, economy, and practical benefit to all concerned.

"After much reflection, and in view of his rare judgment, integrity, and practical experience with the contrabands at Fortress Monroe, I have thought it best to send Mr. Pierce, of Boston, to you, to aid in the organization of labor and proper provision for the laborers. Mr. Pierce is a young gentleman who has already attained a professional and social position of deserved distinction. At the first summons of the President's proclamation, in April, he enlisted as a private and served three months at Fortress Monroe. After the expiration of his term he declined all offers of commission and returned to his profession, which he now only leaves for the sake of doing some substantial good. If I do not mistake you, you will welcome his aid in your arduous undertaking, and enter heartily into his views, as he will, doubtless, into yours.

"Pray, let me hear from you often."

Under date Jan. 5th, to Hon. T. C. Day, the Secretary said :

"Is there any possibility of guarding against mischance and events? I don't see it.

"Do the best I can, I find myself exposed to so much misconstruction by best friends, that I have come absolutely to hate public life."

The same letter has the paragraphs :

"In getting Rogers, I thought I had a man whom no one would assail with any chance of credit. He seems now to me to be honest and faithful. He says the iron contract you refer to was awarded to Stacy, a good man personally and politically, and that Handy was not at the time to his knowledge, interested in the business, though he afterward signed the contract. He says further that he was utterly ignorant of Handy's disloyal proclivities.

"In one respect, the transactions of the department may be subject to some exceptions politically, not usually attendant on mere appointments. The law requires advertisements and awards to the lowest responsible bidders. It says nothing of political qualifications, and I should not be faithful to my oath of office if I made them a condition so as to exclude from contracts, lowest responsible bidders of political views hostile to mine.

"I agree with you, that the administration has put too many enemies in places of great power and influence, and has acted most unwisely in so doing. No part of this responsibility, however, is mine, unless the appointment of McClellan be an exception. I really thought he was the very man for the time. I was mistaken, and make no more rash dependencies."

January 5th was Sunday. In the evening, Mr. Chase (having attended Trinity Church in the morning) was compelled to attend to matters of secular concern. He received a dispatch from Mr. Garrett, President of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, stating that the enemy had advanced to Hancock, and were shelling the town ;

In another letter, pointing to Port Royal, are the words, addressed to Rev. W. H. Pierson :

"Understanding that you feel a deep interest in the condition of the colored population of the islands now occupied by the United States troops in Carolina, I venture to suggest the expediency of your taking measures, in concert with the Rev. M. French and others of similar views, for supplying to them the means of religious instruction, ordinary education, and medical care.

"Reports made to me by officers charged with the collection of cotton, and by a special agent directed to inquire, among other things, into the condition of this population with a view to its amelioration, present a case well calculated to excite the sympathies of humane and Christian men and women.

"The action of this department, within the range of its legal authority, will be cheerfully and gladly directed in aid of any voluntary benevolent movement, such as that referred to."

that the Union troops had fallen back to the Maryland side; and that the enemy was in possession of a considerable portion of the newly prepared road.

On the Eighth of January, the special loan committee from New York were at Washington.

The same day, the Secretary of the Treasury gave the usual dinner to committees of finance of the two Houses. Present, Messrs. Fessenden, Simmons, Sherman, Howe, and Pearce, of the Senate, and Messrs. Stephens, Morrill, Spaulding, Corning, Horton, Stratton, Hooper, and Maynard, of the House. Messrs. Bright and McDougall, of the Senate, and Mr. Phelps, of the House, were absent. Did those present talk about "Old Hickory?"

Mr. Jay Cooke, of Philadelphia, was one of the distinguished diners, on this occasion.

After dinner, Messrs. Coe, Russell, and Vermilye came in. The first and the last were very desirous that the secretary should cancel so much of the loan as remained unpaid. Mr. Chase "promised consideration, but declined giving any definite answer."

The next morning, Thursday, Mr. Russell broke his fast with Mr. Chase. After breakfast, the host and the guest discussed somewhat the latter's financial suggestions. He proposed, it seems, a board of exchequer, to be appointed by the President and Senate. To this board should be issued the bonds of the United States, and the board should return 80 per. cent. of the amount in circulating notes; and similar bonds should be issued by the board, and 75 per. cent. of the amount issued to any depositor and redeemed, if necessary, by the government. Associations for banking purposes should be authorized, to whom 90 per. cent. of bonds deposited may be issued, with provisions for reserves of specie, etc.

Going to department, Mr. Chase called at the photographer's. At the department, he attended to the usual business and made an appointment with the committees from Philadelphia and New York, to come to his house at eight, P. M.

The Secretary then wended his way to the Capitol. He heard Sumner's speech on the Trent affair.

He has recorded the opinion that that utterance of Mr. Sumner "was, in the main, admirable in manner and matter." But, it seems, the Secretary told the Senator he thought he had better omit the word *penitent*, applied to England in connection with her implied recantation of ancient pretensions by her demand for Mason and

Slidell; and also that it would have been well to omit the argument against the right to capture and bring in the ship for having commissioners or dispatches on board, inasmuch as that argument contradicted the position taken by Mr. Seward on the same question.

Most of the foreign ministers were present, and the galleries were full.

Returning to the department, Mr. Chase was visited by General McDowell. The military man showed the civilian his map, and pointed out the relative positions of our own and the enemy's forces near the seat of government.

Miss Kate Chase and Mr. Cooke came in, saying that Miss Nettie Chase was ill, but doing well, at Philadelphia. Miss Kate determined to go by the evening train with Mr. Cooke, and telegraph her father at night.

The Secretary was a loving father and a proud one.

On the 10th, the bank committees were in Washington.

On Saturday, January 11th, there were many callers at the department of the treasury, among them Gen. McDowell and Col. Key. Gen. McDowell inquired about McClellan's plans, and Mr. Chase told him what he knew of them, in strict confidence.

Col. Key was about to have an interview with Gen. McClellan, and wanted to know what the Secretary would recommend. The Secretary replied that McClellan should,

1st. Relieve himself of the imputation of nepotism and favoritism in the selection of his staff;

2d. Not allow the President to wait on him, but honor the office by sending one of his aids regularly to the President; and,

3d. Call into his counsels the most experienced and able men in the army, and insist on the appointment of McDowell as major-general at once.

On the same day, the Secretary of the Treasury talked with Mr. Stanton about Lander, McClellan, and others, and requested Col. Sullivan to see War Department about Baltimore & Ohio Railroad.

The finance committees and bank committees met at Secretary Chase's office.

On the 13th we have the entry :

"To-day, General Cameron resigned his place as secretary of war, and E. M. Stanton, of Pennsylvania, was appointed in his stead."

And is that all? Is that all our hero's diary has to say about a matter so important?

When the hero of this work departed, I alone was authorized to use his diaries, his letter-books, and the like, and no man, no woman, had the moral or the legal right to use those documents. In the Introduction is a brief statement on that subject. In other Chapters will be found farther statements of like effect. I had no exclusive right to prepare for the press a life of Salmon Portland Chase, and I never fancied that my right to write a biography of him was an exclusive one. But I was unquestionably his preferred biographer, and, in effect, his literary executor. And the right I thus had, in the documents in question, *was* exclusive. It has never been surrendered, modified, or forfeited. Yet it is from a work entitled *Memories of Many Men and of Some Women*, that I draw the quoted paragraphs which follow :

"I take the following extract from one of the little diaries in which Mr. Chase was accustomed to jot down daily occurrences and transcribe some of his most secret thoughts. He wrote with a pencil, and, as he was in the habit of carrying these little books loose in his pocket, much of the writing is wholly or partly obliterated. I have, however, been able to make out the following, but not without a great deal of difficulty.

"January 12, 1862. At church this morning. Wished much to join in communion, but felt myself too subject to temptation to sin. After church went to see Cameron by appointment; but, being obliged to meet the President, etc., at one, could only excuse myself. At President's, found Generals McDowell, Franklin, and Meigs, and Seward and Blair. Meigs decided against dividing forces, and in favor of battle in front. President said McClellan's health was much improved, and thought it best to adjourn until to-morrow, and have all then present attend with McC. at three. Home, and talk and reading. Dinner. Cameron came in. Advised loan in Holland, and recommended Brooks, Lewis, and another whom I have forgotten. Then turned to department matters, and we talked of his going to Russia and Stanton as successor, and he proposed I should again see the President. I first proposed seeing Seward, to which he assented. He declared himself determined to maintain himself at the head of his department if he remained, and to resist hereafter all interferences. I told him I would, in that event, stand by him faithfully. He and I drove to Willard's, where I left him and went myself to Seward's. I told him, at once, what was in my mind—that I thought the President and Cameron were both willing that C. should go to Russia. He seemed to receive the matter as new, except so far as suggested by me last night. Wanted to know who would succeed Cameron. I said Holt and Stanton had been named; that I feared Holt might embarrass us on the slavery question, and might not prove quite equal to the emergency; that Stanton was a good lawyer, and full of energy; but I could not, of course, judge him as an executive officer as well as he (S.) could, for he knew him

when he was in Buchanan's Cabinet. Seward replied that he saw much of him then; that he was of great force—full of expedients, and thoroughly loyal. Finally, he agreed to the whole thing, and promised to go with me to talk with the President about it to-morrow. Just at this point Cameron came in with a letter from the President, proposing his nomination to Russia in the morning! He was quite offended, supposing the letter intended as a dismissal, and, therefore, discourteous. We both assured him it could not be so. Finally he concluded to retain the letter till morning, and then go and see the President. Seward was expecting General Butler, and Cameron said he ought to be sent off immediately. I said, 'Well, let's leave Seward to order him off at once.' C. laughed, and we went off together, I taking him to his house. Before parting, I told him what had passed between me and Seward concerning Stanton, with which he was gratified. I advised him to go to the President in the morning, express his thanks for the consideration with which his wishes, made known through me as well as by himself orally, had been treated, and tell him frankly how desirable it was to him that his successor should be a Pennsylvanian, and should be Stanton. I said I thought that his wish, supported as it would be by Seward and myself, would certainly be gratified, and told him that the President had already mentioned Stanton in a way which indicated that no objection on his part would be made. I said, also, that, if he wished, I would see Seward, and would go to the President after he had left him and urge the point. He asked why not come in when we should be there, and I assented to this. We parted, and I came home. A day which may have—and, seemingly, must have—great bearing on affairs. Oh! that my heart and life were so pure and right before God that I might not hurt our great cause. I fear Mr. Seward may think Cameron's coming into his house pre-arranged, and that I was not dealing frankly. I feel satisfied, however, that I have acted right, and with just deference to all concerned, and have in no respect deviated from the truth."¹

¹ Op. cit. 267. I repeat, the exclusive right, referred to in the text, has never been surrendered, modified, or forfeited. How rich has been the supply of original material for this work its pages show.

Yet there has been some interference with my right.

Under an arrangement made by Chief Justice Chase with me, I was to occupy, at will, while working on my life of him, a sleeping room at Edgewood, and to be at home there in the library and in the parlors during the same period. Order, therefore, was made accordingly, and I left at Edgewood part of the material—especially some printed matter—which I contemplated using. Mr. Schuckers confessed to me that, after the death of the Chief Justice, and before the qualification of the executor, he, said Schuckers, thereto "authorized" by Mrs. Sprague, removed the body of that material beyond my reach.

Nor is this all. The same person, claiming to be "authorized" in the same manner, prevailed, it seems, on the executor (in whose banking house I had, under an arrangement made with him with reference, as he pretended, to safety against fire, deposited the body of the matter furnished for my biographic use, the most precious portions of that matter being in my own trunk), to cause my locked trunk,

Here is another extract from the same book :

"From that time forward my personal relations with Mr. Seward became quite intimate. I used frequently to meet him socially at the tables of the foreign ministers, and I often visited him at his own house. The latter was particularly the case during the months of July and August in the year 1864. The intense heat had depleted Washington, driving from the city every body except those officials who found it impossible to get away. The great Bedouin camp had struck its tents for a season. One's evening visiting list thus became very much circumscribed, and Secretary Seward's house was one of the few where one could call with any probability of finding the master at home. At this time I often passed uninterrupted hours in his company. I frequently found him swinging in a hammock, which was slung upon the back porch, and smoking the inevitable cigar of portentous size and strength. As a smoker, Mr. Seward was in no way behind General Grant. Sometimes, however, our interviews took place in the front parlor. The conversation was always of the most unreserved and familiar character. Upon one occasion, I remarked to the Secretary, that I supposed he had kept a diary, or, at least, memoranda of every thing that had occurred at Cabinet meetings since the incoming of the administration. He told me in reply, that, during several months in the beginning, he had faithfully done so; but that very soon the personal relations between some of his colleagues became so inharmonious, and so much unworthy bickering, and even quarreling, was indulged in upon these occasions, that he discontinued making a record, and destroyed the notes which he had already taken."¹

Every body may not see, as I discern, the shallowness of the sinister design betrayed in the just quoted sentences. And really I

the key of its lock being in my pocket, to be secretly and falsely opened; and thereupon the person Schuickers, it appears, proceeded to invade that trunk. 'Tis said that he was deeply disappointed, and that quite grotesque was his display of disappointment. Many of the birds he sought had flown, and those the very best of the whole aviary. Through the indiscretion of Mr. Maunsell B. Field, in talking to a friend of mine, I had learned more about the fraud that had been practiced on me; and I had removed the most important diaries and letter-books. But I forgot those "little diaries."

I never could command myself sufficiently to go back to that trunk. May God forgive me, and may the fair-minded reader pardon me; but I confess that when I learned of that rifling of my trunk, I was excited in a manner which it is not pleasant to remember even now.

I think, no lack of courage kept me back. And yet it was pure fear that forbade me to go back again into that bank. I am but human; and for me, as for all other human beings, it is well, from time to time, to fear and shun temptation.

Now, I think, the reader may at least begin to conjecture why it is that I am recapturing the matter just taken from that flashy, trashy book of Mr. Field.

¹ Op. cit., 262, 263.

hardly know how to be down-rightly angry with the author of them. Though I am about to show their utter unreliableness, I declare I find myself almost as much disposed to make fun of them as to treat them seriously. But of that hereafter.

Let me now advise the reader to turn back to that extract from the little diary. We learn from that extract that, as late as January, 1862, the relations of Chase and Seward with each other, with Blair, and with Cameron, were not such as they would have been had the Cabinet been disgraced by the alleged bickering and quarreling. True, there was talk by Cameron of a determination, if he remained Secretary of War, to maintain himself at the head of his department, and thereafter to resist all interference. But whose interference? Not that of Seward, I conceive; not Blair's, I judge; not that of Welles, assuredly. Was it Bates who interfered? Or was it Smith? I would say not. Undoubtedly, the interference meant was that of Mr. Lincoln.

Now, let us look again at the account given by Mr. Maunsell B. Field, of the alleged "unworthy bickering and even quarreling" indulged in by members of the Lincoln Cabinet. I counsel readers to scrutinize that account. It is, at best, the narrative of hearsay; and the motives of the witness as well as his general tone should put us on our guard against the statement here in question and some others; for example, his account of talk he had with Mr. Lincoln in 1864.

It is quite safe to say that ardent love of accuracy does not mark that book of Mr. Field. It seems to me, moreover, that he could have had no good purpose in relating, as we have seen, what he says Mr. Seward said to him about that bickering and even quarreling.

If Mr. Seward *did* say that, what we have seen already clearly indicates that, in saying so, he uttered one of the most wanton falsehoods ever uttered by the lips of man.

It is evidently not true, and Mr. Seward never could have fancied it was true, that there was, at one time, "so much unworthy bickering and even quarreling" among his colleagues. The revelations drawn herein from our hero's wonderfully interesting diaries and letters clearly and conclusively establish that the relations which actually existed among the members of the Lincoln Cabinet, were not of such a nature that there could have been such unworthy bickering and quarreling.

But this is not all. Had the facts which Mr. Seward is reported

to have stated to Mr. Maunsell B. Field existed, what should we have thought of Mr. Seward's making that communication, orally, to such a man as Mr. Field has shown himself, and leaving the communication to the tender mercy and the wise discretion of that literary gossip? And, supposing Mr. Seward to have been at once so foolish and so base, what must we think of Mr. Field's now giving to the public the account in question?

Mr. Field, however, thus proceeds with his report of Mr. Seward's alleged statement :

"He said that a truthful statement of these occurrences, if ever published, would bring disgrace upon the country, and that they had better be buried in oblivion."

Were they buried in oblivion by Mr. Seward, when, supposing Mr. Field's account to be correct, those words were spoken as we have just seen, to be reproduced in that flashy volume with that taking title?

But I can afford to beg my readers not to be too hard on Mr. Field.

His title page runs thus :

"Memories of Many Men and of Some Women ; being Personal Recollections of Emperors, Kings, Queens, Princes, Presidents, Statesmen, Authors, and Artists, at home and abroad, during the last thirty years."

That title page reminded me at once of the language, put in this fashion, by Shakspeare, on the lips of Dogberry :

"Write down—that they hope they serve God ; and write God first ; for God defend, but God should go before such villains."

One can almost fancy Mr. Field exclaiming : God defend, but emperors, kings, queens, and princes should go before presidents ; and God defend, but presidents, look you ! should go before statesmen ; and, lastly, God defend, but statesmen should go before such poor devils as authors and artists.

We are told by this reporter of conversations with Seward and, as we shall find, of talks with Lincoln, that

"At the dinner parties of the foreign ministers, which Mr. Seward, being secretary of state, frequently attended, he was looked upon as rather a tedious guest."

Now, who gave Mr. Field that sweet tit-bit of scandal? But we must not fail to go a little farther. Mr. Field subjoins the sentence:

"Speaking no language but English, he compelled the conversation to be carried on in a tongue which was not familiar to many of those usually present."

Mr. Field knows French and other foreign idioms, my dear reader! And he is *au fait* in etiquette of all sorts and sizes; as is partly hinted in this passage:

"I was well accredited to Mr. Henry Wheaton, our minister at Berlin, and the distinguished writer upon international law. Upon my arrival I sent my letter with my card to the legation, and the next day the minister called upon me, and, not finding me within, left for me my own card, with 'Mr. Wheaton, written over my name. It was surprising that such a solecism in manners should be committed by a diplomatist of Mr. Wheaton's experience. Of course, no offense was intended; but I did not return the call.'"¹

One fairly pities the poor shade of Wheaton thus rebuked in *Memories of Many Men and of Some Women*.

Seriously, is it not a thing to wonder at that it should have been about a man such as this Mr. Maunsell Field that Chase and Lincoln should have parted company?

We shall see more of Mr. Field, however, as we pass. I now invite attention to the fact that though Secretary Cameron resigned on the 13th, it was not till the 20th of January that the new secretary, for good or for evil, took formal possession of the War Department. On that day Mr. Chase paid his respects "to the outgoing and incoming secretaries."

January 14, 1862, the official day was wholly occupied as to Secretary Chase in conferences with members of the bank committees and boards of trade of the three cities, who were at Washington on financial matters, and with Senators and others who called in regard to the change in the Cabinet. Mr. Fessenden, of the Senate, and Mr. Stanton were together with the secretary for more than an hour.

Mr. Rodman, chief clerk of the department, died suddenly that morning, and at two o'clock Mr. Chase attended the funeral services. The remains were taken to Philadelphia.

¹ Page 272.

It appears that, on the 15th day of January, 1862, the consultation with bankers and members of the boards of trade from New York, Boston, and Philadelphia terminated. The result was reduced to writing, as follows:

"I. The general views of the secretary of the treasury are assented to.

"II. The banks will receive and pay out the United States demand notes freely, and sustain in all proper ways their credit.

"III. The secretary will, within the next two weeks, in addition to then current daily payment of a million and a half of dollars in United States notes, pay the further sum of at least twenty millions of dollars, in 7-30 three years bonds, to such public creditors as desire to receive them, and thus relieve the existing pressure upon the community.

"IV. The issue of United States demand notes not to be extended beyond the fifty millions now authorized; but it is desired that Congress will extend the provisions of the existing loan act, so as to enable the secretary to issue, in exchange for United States notes, or in payment to creditors, notes payable in one year, bearing 3.65 per cent. interest, and convertible into 7-30 three years bonds, or to borrow under the existing provisions to the amount of two hundred and fifty or three hundred millions of dollars.

"V. It is thought desirable that Congress should adopt a general law relating to the currency and banking associations, embracing the general provisions recommended by the secretary in his report.

"VI. It is believed that this action and legislation will render the making of United States demand notes a legal tender, or their increase beyond the fifty millions now authorized unnecessary."

Assenting to these propositions were, from New York, Mr. Coe; from Boston, Mr. Walley; and from Philadelphia, some one not named in the register here followed. Each of these gentlemen, it seems, agreed to urge the plan embodied in the paper upon the banks of his city, and expressed his belief that it would be cordially sustained.

About an hour afterward a sub-committee from the House committee of ways and means called at the treasury department. It consisted of Messrs. Spaulding, Hooper, and Horton. Mr. Hooper expressed his decided opinion that the United States notes must necessarily be made a legal tender. Messrs. Spaulding and Horton expressed no opinion; and it was agreed that the secretary should confer with Mr. Stevens, chairman of the committee, that evening.

Thursday, January 16, news reached Washington of the rise in the value of stocks in New York, a rise occasioned by the receipt there of telegrams communicating the result of the financial con-

ferences of the past few days. The bankers left for home after receiving tidings of the rise. No doubt, they left in finer feather than they wore when they came on to Washington.

The next day Mr. Chase wrote to Mr. Stevens, expressing the hope that the arrangement adopted on Wednesday would meet his approval, and be sanctioned by the banks.

Monday, January 20, 1862, Mr. Walley telegraphed that the Boston banks would not assent to the proposed arrangement, and advised the immediate making of United States notes a legal tender.

Not uninteresting seems to me this entry, under date of January 22d :

"A committee from the Chamber of Commerce of Cincinnati waited on me this morning, to urge the location of the proposed new armory at Cincinnati. They also represented the earnest feeling of the people of Cincinnati and the West in favor of greater energy and decision in the conduct of the war, and alluded to the state of politics in Ohio. Told them that Cincinnati, 'never very kind, was always very dear, to me,' and that I had already presented her claims for the armory, and should continue to do so. As to the conduct of the war, I gave them every assurance, and especially expressed confidence in Mr. Stanton as a man who would be master of his department, and yield to no one save the President. *On politics, I said that the Democratic party must be reconstructed as a party of freedom.*"

On the same day, Messrs. Cisco, Barney, and Andrews came to Secretary Chase from New York, to confer about government property there. Mayor Opdyke accompanied them, but returned the same day. He favored a legal tender law.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE LEGAL TENDER CASES.

IN a letter to Hon. Rush R. Sloan, January 27th, the Secretary said:

"I am not a candidate for the Senate. Should the supporters of the present effort to suppress the rebellion—an effort, I trust, soon to be crowned with success—think fit to require my services in any other place than that of which I am now trying to discharge the duties, I shall not hesitate to obey the summons, no matter to what duty I might be called. If they think it best that I remain where I am, I shall be equally content. It is my wish, therefore, not to interfere in any way in the election in Ohio, nor to have my own name mentioned in connection with the election. There is no reason for thinking that a contingency can arise in which the mention of it can be useful.

"Mr. Wade is worthy of re-ëlection, eminently worthy. I had, I thought, some cause to complain of his course last year; and the Republicans of the State, who had manifested so decided a preference for me as the choice of Ohio, had I thought even more cause to complain of his course than I had. But I prefer to forget all that. His course in his place has been bold, manly, and in my judgment, wise. I trust no friend of mine will oppose his reëlection because of any supposed grief of mine or ours.

"Should any circumstances make Mr. Wade's reëlection impossible, it seems to me that the southern part of the State would be entitled to the senator, and I know nobody better entitled than Judge Key or Judge Hoadly. Judge Key has been of great service here, and is now very much of your and my way of thinking. In naming these gentlemen, don't regard me as becoming the partisan of anybody. The legislature, I am confident, will elect nobody not thoroughly reliable for the present and the future, and with its choice I shall be content."

In a letter of the next day, was said to Judge Gans:

"I do not propose to take any part in the contest concerning the senatorship in Ohio. My time is wholly absorbed here. The mention of my name is unauthorized by me. I am not a candidate. Judge Wade will doubtless be a candidate for re-ëlection; he has served the State and country faithfully. Judge Spaulding is a personal and political friend, whom I honor and esteem greatly, and to

whom no place could be given, as I believe, which he would not fill worthily. I have heard also all the other names mentioned in the article you sent me, and more besides, among whom there would be no difficulty in selecting a good man. I am quite satisfied to leave the matter where the constitution leaves it—with the legislature, the members of which will doubtless consult the public sentiment of Ohio, and reflect it faithfully."

Next comes a letter, the importance of which could hardly be overstated. It reads as follows:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., *February 4, 1862.*

"MY DEAR SIR: Your feelings of repugnance to the legal tender clause can hardly be greater than my own; but I am convinced that, as a temporary measure, it is indispensably necessary. From various motives, some honorable and some not honorable, a considerable number, though a small minority, of the business men and people are indisposed to sustain the United States notes by receiving and paying them as money. This minority, in the absence of any legal tender clause, may control the majority to all practical intents. To prevent this, which would at this time be disastrous in the extreme, I yield my general views for a particular exception. To yield does not violate any obligation to the people, for the great majority, willing now to receive and pay these notes, desire that the minority may not be allowed to reap special advantages from their refusal to do so; and our Government is not only a government of the people, but is bound in an exigency like the present, to act on the maxim, '*Salus populi suprema lex.*'"

"It is only, however, on condition that a tax adequate to interest, reduction of debt, and ordinary expenditures be provided, and, that a uniform banking system be authorized, founded on United States securities, and, with proper safeguards for specie payments, securing at once a uniform and convertible currency for the people, and, creating a demand for national securities, which will sustain their market value and facilitate loans; it is only on this condition, I say, that I consent to the expedient of United States notes in limited amounts being made a legal tender.

"In giving this consent, I feel I am treading the path of duty, and shall cheerfully, as I always have done, abide the consequences. I dare not say that I care nothing for personal consequences; but I think I may truly say, that I care little for them in comparison with my obligation to do whatever the safety of the country may require.

Yours truly,

"W. C. BRYANT, Esq.

S. P. CHASE."

Let me next invite attention to this document:

"WASHINGTON, *May 18, 1864.*

"DEAR SIR: I have too sincere a friendship for you to be indifferent to any thing you say or write. It may not always be in my

power to agree with friends, or to manifest my sentiments toward them as they or I would wish; but they are never forgotten, nor do their services to our common cause ever cease to be gratefully remembered.

"Your letter and the petition inclosed with it have both been carefully read.

"I do not agree with you in thinking that the constitution prohibits the issue of legal tender notes under the authority of Congress; but I do agree in the opinion that an inflated paper currency is a great evil, and should be reformed as soon as possible.

"The difficulty is, in the practicability of the reform, so long as expenditure so largely overgoes income.

"In my judgment, if Congress will 'perfect a good and judicious excise law' and give the country a National Banking System instead of State Banking Systems, and State Banking without system, it will not be difficult to return to specie payments. We must pay as we go, or very nearly that, if we want to maintain credit at its highest point. As long as the government spends four or five times as much as it collects, there can be no permanent financial safety. It was well enough to borrow at first, when the military authorities told us that the rebellion would be suppressed 'in a year,' or after a 'short, sharp, decisive struggle;' but as soon as it became manifest that borrowing was going to any amount over a thousand, or at most fifteen hundred, millions, Congress ought to have provided taxes sufficient to make it certain that the debt should not be carried beyond say two thousand, or at most, twenty-five hundred, millions. It is not too late even now for Congress, by retrenchment and taxation, to insure this; but retrenchment and taxation are not popular, if Congress should want to be popular. To be sure a crash will come, and there will be a reckoning; but every one says, 'after me the deluge.'

"Your redemption plan would be good if there were not a better; but where would you get coin, unless redemption of specie payments comes just to pay the first instalment of redemption bonds? In my judgment, the first step is to economize and systematize expenditure, then the most energetic energy in the prosecution of the war; next, exclusion of State bank notes from circulation; next, adequate taxation; next, resumption sustained by the whole power of the government. Many details I can not notice; but the general outline indicates, where, in my judgment, lies the path of safety.

"You say nothing about your family. I shall be glad to know how you all are; and what you are doing.

"Sincerely your friend,

"S. P. CHASE.

"JESSE BALDWIN, Esq., Youngstown, Ohio."

It is necessary, in disposing of this matter, to do justice to the language of Chief Justice Chase, first in *Hepburn vs. Griswold*,¹ and

¹⁸ *Wallace*, 608.

next in the *Legal Tender Cases*,¹ in order to possess ourselves of all that is of interest to this investigation.

In the first of these cases, the Chief Justice, after pronouncing the legal tender clause repugnant to the constitution, said :

"It is not surprising that amid the tumult of the late civil war, and under the influence of apprehensions for the safety of the Republic almost universal, different views, never before entertained by American statesmen or jurists, were adopted by many. The time was not favorable to considerate reflection upon the constitutional limits of legislative or executive authority. If power was assumed from patriotic motives, the assumption found ready justification in patriotic hearts. Many who doubted, yielded their doubts ; many who did not doubt, were silent. Some, who were strongly averse to making government notes a legal tender, felt themselves constrained to acquiesce in the views of the advocates of the measure. Not a few, who then insisted upon its necessity, or acquiesced in that view, have, since the return of peace, and under the influence of the calmer time, reconsidered their conclusions, and now concur in those which we have just announced. These conclusions seem to us to be fully sanctioned by the letter and spirit of the constitution."

The dissenting opinion of the Chief Justice, reported in the *Legal Tender Cases*, contains this language, with other sentences :

"The reference made in the opinion just read, as well as in the argument at the bar, to the opinions of the Chief Justice, when Secretary of the Treasury, seems to warrant, if it does not require, some observations before proceeding further in the discussion.

"It was his fortune at the time the legal tender clause was inserted in the bill to authorize the issue of the United States notes, and received the sanction of Congress, to be charged with the anxious and responsible duty of providing funds for the prosecution of the war. In no report made by him to Congress was the expedient of making the notes of the United States a legal tender suggested."

So far quotes a remarkably reckless article in the *North American Review* for January, 1874, thereupon proceeding to say :

"Such a direct denial of acts, of one of which, at least, he was the author, and all of which he recommended to Congress and pressed with whatever eloquence and influence he could command, is an example of political profligacy without parallel in the history of this country. It has laid the late Secretary open to the grave charge that his decision in the late legal tender case was influenced by improper motives, and has left an indelible stain on his memory."

Indeed! Why not then quote the whole paragraph, a part of

¹12 Wallace, 570.

which is thus recklessly characterized? The Chief Justice went on to say of himself as Secretary of the Treasury :

"He urged the issue of notes payable on demand in coin, or receivable as coin in payment of duties. When the State banks had suspended specie payments, he recommended the issue of United States notes, receivable for all loans to the United States and all government dues except duties on imports. In his report of December, 1862, he said that 'United States notes receivable for bonds bearing a secure specie interest are next best to notes convertible into coin,' and after stating the financial measures which in his judgment were advisable, he added: 'The Secretary recommends, therefore, no mere paper money scheme, but, on the contrary, a series of measures looking to a safe and gradual return to gold and silver as the only permanent basis, standard, and measure of value recognized by the constitution.' At the session of Congress before this report was made, the bill containing the legal tender clause had become a law. He was extremely and avowedly averse to this clause, but was very solicitous for the passage of the bill to authorize United States notes then pending. He thought it indispensably necessary that the authority to issue these notes should be granted by Congress. The passage of the bill was delayed, if not jeopardized, by the difference of opinion which prevailed on the question of making them a legal tender. It was under these circumstances that he expressed the opinion, when called on by the Committee of Ways and Means, that it was necessary; and he was not sorry to find it sustained by respected courts, not unanimous indeed, nor without contrary decisions of State courts equally respectable. Examination and reflection under more propitious circumstances have satisfied him that this opinion was erroneous, and he does not hesitate to declare it. He would do so just as unhesitatingly if his favor to the legal tender clause had been at the time decided, and his opinion as to the constitutionality of the measure clear."

The next document I offer takes us back a little, as follows:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., *January 28, 1862.*

"MY DEAR SIR: You know me too well, I trust, to believe for a moment that I would interfere, directly or indirectly, in a matter which pertains so exclusively to the legislature of the State, as the choice of a senator. It was my pleasure, as it was my duty, to contribute my little quantum of aid to the success of the Union cause in Maryland, without the slightest knowledge of the predilections of any Union candidate for the legislature in respect to the senator to be chosen by the legislature. I trust you are mistaken as to the representations said to have been made by Mr. Hoffman; but certain it is that no one has any warrant for attributing to me the slightest expression of preference, either before or since the State election.

"Very sincerely your friend,

"Hon. REVERDY JOHNSON.

S. P. CHASE."

Does not this letter testify well in favor of its writer?

In a letter of February 5, addressed to some one whose name is not shown in the copy furnished me, are the words :

"I send an official letter about a permit to Mr. Norton, which explains itself. A similar permit has been, I believe, granted to Mr. Forbes, of Boston, and it is desirable to avoid even the appearance of discrimination against men not less worthy, though less prominent.

"The Vice-President and Senator Wilson know Mr. Norton, and vouch for his integrity and merit."

On the 19th, in a letter to N. H. Wilson, Esq., the same pen said :

"An agent of this department—Mr. Allen A. Hall, a well-known citizen of Nashville—has already gone to Tennessee to attend to the commercial intercourse with that region. He will collect and send on cotton, and do whatever else may be necessary in the premises. I have granted also, experimentally, a few permits to take bagging and bale rope into the insurrectionary region, and to bring thence cotton. If these work well I may grant others. At present I propose to await the result of the experiments. May we not hope for military results which will dispense with all restriction and permits by reconstitution of State governments?"

On the 27th General Dix was thus addressed by letter :

"DEAR GENERAL: Some time since, on your suggestion, I indorsed on a letter from General Lockwood or yourself a leave to take some salt to North Carolina for a Mr. Smith, with a view to its exchange for cotton seed. Learning that this was thought likely to prejudice the blockade, I revoked the leave.

"Since then representations have been made to me which induce me to think that a pass in the inclosed form, suggested by Mr. Hodge, may be properly granted. You will observe that it contains no authority to carry goods to the insurrectionary region, but simply allows the importation of cotton seed into Baltimore. As Mr. Smith bore General Lockwood's letter and your indorsement, I prefer, before giving this authority, to consult you, so that, if you think best, you can communicate my intention to Mr. Smith, either directly or through General Lockwood, and assure him of my willingness to grant to him whatever is granted to any other person?

"Do you know Mr. Wm. B. Dobbin, for whom Mr. Hodge desires a license, and with whom he will be interested in the cargo? Is he a thoroughly loyal man, and in sympathy with the administration?"

By way of postscript we have :

"Officers in the civil, naval, or military service of the United

States are requested to respect the pass which may be issued by Major-General John A. Dix, U. S. A., to ———— to bring a cargo of cotton seed to Baltimore, Mr. ———— complying with the terms and conditions of said pass."

Before passing from this subject it is proper to touch a matter of some delicacy. In Ohio, among the evidently unfounded charges against Secretary Chase, was one imputing to him and Mr. Mellen a corrupt combination with other persons I forbear to name; and there were charges of other corruption. All these charges supposed Mr. Chase to be corruptly speculating in cotton; but they never commanded much attention. The high character of Mr. Chase protected him then, as it had protected him before. I have no doubt at all about his purity in public as in private life.

But was it not unfortunate for him and the country that he became Secretary of the Treasury, and so had to deal with such matters? As Chief Justice, but for his career as Secretary of the Treasury, he would have been acknowledged to have had no superior

Here is another letter showing farther how, as Secretary of the Treasury, he had to occupy his attention :

"TREASURY DEPARTMENT, *February 5, 1862.*

"MY DEAR SIR: Have just sent you a telegram in these words, as nearly as I recollect them :

"Your letter just received—am exceedingly solicitous on your account, and on the account of our Cincinnati mechanics that the mortar beds be finished at the day—don't fail—will write by mail."

"This dispatch explains itself. I only add a word, lest you may think that I suppose the government will refuse to take the mortar beds, on account of a day or two of delay in finishing them. I do not suppose such will be the case; though I am unable to speak definitely of what is in another department.

"But I shall be mortified exceedingly, if, after what I have said, and you have said, to the President, there should be any failure or any delay. The honor of our Cincinnati mechanics is in some sort pledged, and I want it redeemed, even if they have to accomplish impossibilities. I know they can accomplish impossibilities when they try. I mean, of course, what most men would call impossibilities.

"Any delay, would involve the necessity of explanation and excuse, and I want to have no occasion for either, where our people are concerned.

Yours sincerely,

"EDWARD M. SHIELD, Esq.

S. P. CHASE."

A letter, dated February 17, 1862, and addressed by Secretary Chase to Mr. M. D. Potter, now deceased, then of the *Cincinnati Commercial*, contained these words :

"Several friends have written me on the subject of the United States Senatorship, desiring me to be the successor of Wade. I have no wish to be so. I came into the Treasury Department against my own counsel; but now I am in, I do not desire even to seem to shrink from its responsibilities. I have entire faith in our ability to crush out the rebellion, and entire confidence—if I can get my views of finance into laws—that we shall save the cost of the war in our secured and improved currency.

"But I do not regard the Senator question with indifference. I am really anxious to have the support of at least one personal friend from Ohio. Wade is not; though I must do him the justice to say that he is bold, faithful and, able; and I should prefer his election infinitely to that of some man not so faithful, able, and bold as himself. We must have, now, men of ideas and energies.

"Of such men are Hoadly, Key, and Spaulding. Under all the circumstances, as I see them, I think neither Judge Key nor Judge Hoadly likely to be taken up with probabilities of success. Why not, then, take Judge Spaulding? He is a man of great energy and ability, and of irreproachable character. Some years since, it is true, he was addicted to occasional sprees; but this is all reformed, thoroughly and completely, and for years. The only objection that can possibly be made to him is, that he is too radical. But he is no more radical than myself or, now, Key. In fact, in public bodies, he has always shown himself singularly wise and discreet. Why not, then, give him a good setting forth in the *Commercial*? I am told there are many on both sides, whose nominal and perhaps real choice is some other general, who will gladly or cheerfully support him; while his positive original strength is quite as respectable as that of several other prominent men. How would it do to talk to Shield and let him go to Columbus, and see what can be fairly and prudently done?

"Very truly and faithfully,

"M. D. POTTER, Esq.

S. P. CHASE."

Intimacy between such a man as he who wrote and him who was to read that letter could work mischief; it could work no good. It showed our hero's growing disposition to control or influence conductors of the press.

CHAPTER XXX.

SLAVERY ABOLISHED IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

FEBRUARY 17, 1862, the Secretary of the Treasury wrote to Bishop McIlvaine:

"We entertain here now no fear of foreign intervention. The recent successes dispel all doubt of the ability of the Nation to deal with the rebellion.

"The capture of Roanoke Island with near three thousand prisoners; the capture of Fort Henry, followed so rapidly by that of Fort Donelson, with fifteen thousand, and among them two of the ablest of the rebel generals, Johnson (Albert Sidney) and Buckner; the splendid march and success of Lander on the Upper Potomac, which will soon open the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, are each crushing blows. The time has now come for dealing decisively with the army in front of us; weakened by sickness, desertions, and withdrawals of troops, until a victory over it is deprived of more than half its honor."

The conclusion of the letter contains this sentence: "You are doing a great work and a good one."

The same day, a letter to M. D. Potter, now deceased, contained the words:

"I have just heard the glorious news from Fort Donelson. The underpinning of the rebellion seems to be knocked out from under it; thanks to divine Providence in the first place, and next to the agency of the President, seconded by the genius of Halleck, and the skill and courage of the generals and soldiers in the field. Lander, too, has done gloriously on the Upper Potomac. He is a man of the noblest temper and of equal genius. These blows, with the splendid triumph under Burnside and Goldsborough, will go far towards finishing the rebellion. But the finish must yet be given."

Next, attention is invited to this letter:

"WASHINGTON, *February 20, 1862.*

"DEAR SIR: Most gladly would I unite with the citizens of New York in celebrating the anniversary of the birth-day of Washington, could I leave, even for such a purpose, my post of duty at this time, but I must remain.

"The celebration which you propose, and similar celebrations, spontaneously springing from the same impulse, all over the country, justify the hope that the memory of Washington, ever living in the hearts of his countrymen, will lend an appropriate inspiration to all our endeavors to restore the Union which he contributed so much to establish. We need his patience, his disinterestedness, his true courage, his lofty sense of justice, his enlightened zeal for impartial freedom. These are the virtues which, exercised in such degree as men are capable of, will not only restore the Union but reestablish it in more than its pristine vigor, compactness, and beneficence. Yours, very truly, S. P. CHASE.

"ELLIOT C. COWDEN, Esq., Chairman, etc., New York City."

The indications of this note may be differently viewed :

"WASHINGTON, D. C., *March*, 1862.

"MY DEAR COUSIN: I have recommended your appointment to the President, and have asked Mr. Senator Conness to present your letters and papers.

"I hope you may obtain what you want

"Affectionately, your cousin,

"REV. DUDLEY CHASE.

S. P. CHASE."

For my part, I rather like that little note.

March 6th the diary yields as follows :

"To-day the President sent a message to Congress, recommending coöperation by Federal Government with States in abolition of slavery within their limits.

"The following is a draft of a message on this subject, prepared and submitted to the President during the last week of December:¹

¹Here is the draft so mentioned :

"MESSAGE.

"In my annual message, communicated to Congress at the commencement of the present session, I took occasion to say :

"The Union must be preserved; and hence all indispensable means must be employed. We should not be in haste to determine that radical and extreme measures, which may reach the loyal as well as the disloyal, are indispensable.

"Reflecting since, with great solicitude, upon the condition of the country, and sharing in full proportion the desire which pervades the whole community for a speedy suppression of the rebellion, I have reached the conclusion that it is my duty to submit to the consideration of Congress some suggestions which seem to me to deserve their most serious attention.

"It is known to all that the most potent falsehoods by which the fomenters of discontent and promoters of insurrection inflamed the minds of citizens of the slaveholding States, and prepared them for rebellion under the guise of secession, was

March 9th, Secretary Chase wrote as follows to General Halleck :

"GENERAL: I received your telegram late last night, and answered it to-day.

"Your order, opening the navigation of the Cumberland, was taken every-where as a commercial measure, and the seeming preference given to St. Louis merchants excited much feeling at Cincinnati and Louisville, and the surveyors at both ports telegraphed me for authority to grant permits, which, under the law, I could not give. Of what Mr. Mellen has done, I am uninformed, but presume he has sought to bring commercial intercourse with the insurrectionary region under the regulations required by law. I am confident he has had no thought of interfering with any military movement or measure of yours, or of treating any order which you have

the assertion that the party by which I was chosen President of the United States designed to interfere, through the agency of the Federal Government, with the institution of slavery in the States where it existed. It is equally well known to all who have taken any pains to inform themselves, that such interference was never designed or sanctioned by that party, but was, on the contrary, in all its declarations, whether by National or State Conventions, distinctly and emphatically disavowed and repudiated. No well-informed person can now reasonably doubt that, under an administration conducted upon the principles set forth in those declarations, the institution of slavery, existing under State constitutions and laws, would have been as absolutely safe from Federal interference as it had been under any administration since the establishment of the Union.

"It is true that the majority of the people, by whose suffrages the existing administration was called to the concerns of government, cherishing on this subject the sentiments of Washington and Jefferson, of Franklin and Adams, opposed the extension of slavery beyond State limits, and proposed to afford it no governmental support within the sphere of exclusive national jurisdiction. But it is equally true that they regarded slavery within State limits as beyond that sphere, and meant to perform fully, in reference to slaves held under State laws, as well as in reference to every other matter of duty to every citizen of every State, every constitutional obligation.

"The rebellion, therefore, except so far as its chiefs and some of their more deluded followers were concerned, was inspired and is sustained by a delusion. Were the people of the rebellious districts even now to reject the counsels of their misleaders, reorganize loyal State governments, and again send senators and representatives to Congress, they would find themselves at peace, with no institution changed and with their just influence in the national councils unabridged and unimpaired. With peace so restored, prosperity and happiness would return.

"A pacific conquest of this delusion having been made impossible by the bombardment of Sumter, it became necessary to preserve the Union by war; and the question now most imperatively demanding attention and solution is, by what means can this war be best abridged without sacrificing its object?

"Without now adverting to the military measures demanded for the suppression of the rebellion, it seems fit to direct your attention to one of another nature. I have already observed that the rebellion, so far as the people of the slave States

thought proper to make, whether military or otherwise, otherwise than with the greatest respect. If in any matter connected with his duties, he finds himself in apparent or real conflict with you, it is his business first to refer the matter to yourself, and to advise me, and then, if you require what seems to him to infringe the law, to acquiesce in your decision until the matter can be adjusted here by the President, or by the War and Treasury Departments. It is of the first importance that your operations be in no respect embarrassed, and they certainly shall not be through any act or omission of mine.

"Be assured, General, that no one rejoices more heartily than myself in your success, or feels more grateful for the zeal, ability, and wisdom with which, at this critical moment, you are serving your country. Yours most cordially,

"MAJOR-GENERAL HALLECK.

S. P. CHASE."

participate in it, is prompted by a delusion—by the groundless fear of interference with State concerns, and especially in the matter of slavery, by Federal authority. The real motives with its chiefs and the initiated are, first, resentment at defeat of their schemes for the subjection of the Federal administration to the permanent supremacy of slave-holders as a separate ruling class; and, secondly, ambition to found a government, either consolidated or federal, republican or monarchical, of which slavery shall be the central idea, and which they themselves may administer and control.

"To dispel the illusion of the masses, and to deprive the leaders of the hope of success in their cherished schemes, will go far toward extinguishing the rebellion, by withdrawing its aliment.

"I suggest, therefore, for the consideration of Congress, the expediency of offering, by joint resolution, to the acceptance of the several States within whose limits slavery exists under sanction of loyal State governments, a compensation not exceeding a certain sum for each person held as a slave according to the last census, to be paid to the States and distributed to individuals in proportions ascertained by their own legislation, in case the people thereof, through their own conventions or legislatures shall see fit to accept such compensation and make provision for emancipation.

"Such a proposition on the part of Congress, submitted frankly to the free acceptance or rejection of the loyal States, would be a distinct and emphatic repudiation of all pretense of Federal authority to interfere with slavery within State limits, by referring the whole subject to the States and people immediately interested. It would afford clear evidence of fraternal sentiments, by manifested readiness to assume as a common burden the cost of a benefit shared by all, but by none more largely than by the enfranchising States; and it would, so far as accepted by the loyal slave-holding States, strengthen the bonds of union between themselves and their brethren, while it would in the same degree destroy the hope of bringing these loyal States into their scheme of extending the slave-holding empire yet cherished by the leaders of the rebellion; compel them to see for what wretched husks of sovereignty they have prodigally wasted their rich inheritance of safety, honor, prosperity, and power under the Federal constitution, and arouse in the minds of the misled masses irresistible desires to return to the Union, from which, in an evil hour, under coercion or delusion, they have attempted to withdraw."

The next day our ever busy hero wrote as follows :

"DEAR WILSON: It is said that the nomination of General Blenker will not be confirmed by the Senate. If this be so, I am sure the President is disposed to nominate Carl Schurz in his place. The nomination of Schurz would be a decided benefit, in my judgment, to the army and the administration.

"I know nothing of Blenker's case, and do not wish to be understood as expressing any wish in reference to it, except for immediate action. If he is worthy he ought to be confirmed without reference to Schurz; if unworthy, he should be rejected without reference to the question of a successor. But why not act in the matter, and at once? It is desirable all round. Yours truly,

"HON. H. WILSON.

S. P. CHASE."

On the same day Rev. Dr. Fuller, of Baltimore, called on the Secretary of the Treasury, and asked advice as to the course he should pursue in regard to his plantations and slaves at Port Royal. He wished to know what were his rights in respect to them.

Mr. Chase told him that, as a loyal man, he was proprietor of the *land*.

"How about the negroes?" asked the Reverend loyalist.

"They are free," responded Secretary Chase.

The Doctor thought his right to them was the same as his right to the land. He was told that opinions would differ on that point, but that, for one, his interlocutor would never consent to the involuntary reduction to slavery of one of the negroes who had been in the service of the government. The Secretary went on to intimate what he thought of the character of the rebellion, its results, etc.

Dr. Fuller said he was willing to acquiesce in the experiments of the government, but expressed grave doubts of the success of the undertaking at Port Royal. He quoted Machiavelli's saying, "next to making freemen slaves, it is most difficult to make slaves freemen."

In connection with this anecdote, let me relate another.

On the first of May following, General Saxton came to breakfast with the Secretary of the Treasury, and the Rev. Mr. French, just arrived from Port Royal, happened in. Port Royal matters were talked over. In recording some account of this conversation, Mr. Chase put down these words:

"*Inter alia*, Mr. F. don't like many things; thinks the Unitarians don't get hold of the work in the right way. The negroes are mostly Baptists, and like emotional religion better than ra-

tional, so called. They '— to Jesus,' and can not understand a religion that is not founded on His divinity. Many marriages have been 'confirmed' among them. He had laid much stress on the duty of regular marriages between those who have been living together without that sanction. On some plantations the masters had allowed and encouraged marriages by ministers—on others, little was cared about it. A good deal of cotton had been planted, and more corn. The work of cultivation was going on as well as could be expected. Mr. F. thought Mr. Snyder would make a good collector. I talked to General S. about the work before him. He said the Secretary of War had authorized him to procure one or two thousand red flannel suits for the blacks, with a view to organization. *No arms to be supplied as yet*"

March 10, the Secretary made this entry :

"This morning Judge (Col.) Key came into the office, dressed for the march toward Manassas, which the Army of the Potomac is making. He bade me good-bye most cordially, thanking me repeatedly for my kindness, by which, he said, I had won his faithful and life-long friendship; there was no man in the country for whom he had so high a respect and regard—no man whose advancement he so much desired; not one whom he so wished to serve."

A marked man, Judge (Col.) Key, of whom more must be said hereafter.

March 17, the Secretary made this record :

"W. D. Bickham, of the Cincinnati *Commercial*, called, having just returned from Manassas.

"He reports that the stories of wooden guns and absence of fortifications are fully sustained by the facts; that the rebels must have been evacuating for weeks; that they left neither a cannon nor a good gun behind them; that we left more property to be wasted and destroyed in our own camps when we made the movement than we found at Manassas. He says that what was left shows that the rebels have lived well—having molasses, sugar, rice, and corn-meal in abundance. They did not leave more than \$20,000 worth of property behind them, consisting of clothing and useless guns, and some swords."

This letter seems to me of marked significance, in view of the time when it was written :

"WASHINGTON, March 26, 1862.

"MY DEAR MR. MELLER: I am not fond of political metaphysics. The article in the *Evening Post* which you send me suits me well enough. While I think that the government, in suppression of rebellion, in view of the destruction by suicide of the State governments [which] with the actual or strongly implied consent of the

majority of the citizens of the several rebel States, have so far forfeited all right to be regarded as States, might justly treat them as Territories, I have never proposed to make this opinion the basis of political measures. I am willing and indeed much prefer to regard each State as in existence, and to have no change of boundaries, except such as may be freely consented to by them. I want to keep all the stars and all the stripes—and to keep the States with all their old names and ensigns. South Carolina, even, should be South Carolina; but reformed, I hope. The bill which I prepared provided only for provisional governments; not to destroy, but to preserve. It is entirely within the principle of the *Post's* article. But I prefer civil provisional governments authorized by Congress to military governments instituted by the President.

"I am glad you are right with Halleck, and Halleck with you. He is the ablest man yet. Yours truly,

"WILLIAM P. MELLAN, Esq.

S. P. CHASE."

It was not strong to say, "I am not fond of political metaphysics." Metaphysics is a much-abused good name of a good thing. Such writing as that just quoted is but a sort of clap-trap for the shallow. Economics, as a science, may be deemed a species of "political metaphysics."

The same day Secretary Chase wrote as follows:

"MY DEAR GENERAL: I inclose an article from the Cincinnati *Commercial*, hitherto one of the ablest and most earnest defenders of General McClellan. It grieves me to see the confidence of the country, which was revived by the late movement of the Army of the Potomac, already relapsing into distrust. Let me beg you to do all that is possible to inspire vigor and energy. Permit me also to suggest the expediency of having no more reviews. The country is in no mood to hear of anything, however useful and valuable in itself, which savors of show rather than action. Think how much is to be done and how near is midsummer.

"If you can not inspire activity and even dash into the army, you ought to seek some other command, unless *certain* that the outcome will prove the delay to be Fabian, and only a means to surer and larger success.

"I write as a true friend.

Cordially,

"MAJOR GENERAL McDOWELL.

S. P. CHASE."

On the 28th of March, at Washington, Mr. Chase wrote as follows:

"MY DEAR SIR: Your letter of the 4th of March reached me yesterday, and I beg you to accept my thanks for it and for your earlier letters, to which I should have regularly replied, had my incessant occupations permitted. I will be as good a correspondent as I can, and trust your kindness for the overlooking of all sins of omission.

"I quite agree with you in your views of our duties, both in the

prosecution of the war and in relation to slavery. It was my opinion from the first that we should strike the insurgents as hard and as fast as possible. I remember—how well!—going to General Scott, in May, nearly two weeks before Virginia voted on secession, and urging him to seize Manassas and Alexandria. At that time, the rebels had no force of any strength or importance at either point, and only a few hundred men at Harper's Ferry. I argued that Manassas, commanding the two railroads, was of great strategic importance; that with Manassas in our possession, the rebels would be obliged to fall back from Harper's Ferry and Winchester, which would leave the valley of the Shenandoah and a large space on the Potomac clear of them, and give us command of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad to Wheeling. With this support, I further insisted that Virginia might be carried against secession by the popular vote and that in this way the whole State might be saved. General Scott was a good deal impressed by these views; but his military prudence decided him against the measures I proposed. The opportunity passed by. Manassas was occupied by the rebels, and you know the history.

"There have been many other occasions in the course of the struggle, in which it seemed to me that a different course from that actually adopted would have been better. This is especially true in relation to slavery. It has seemed to me from the early days of the conflict that it was bad policy as well as bad principle to give any support to the institution. I was quite willing to let the loyal States do with it what they would, just as if we were at peace, but I never could see the expediency or propriety of upholding it. My idea was, not to declare emancipation, but simply to treat the population just as we found it, as loyal or disloyal, and a black loyalist better than a white rebel. I could see no valid objection to enlisting acclimated colored men, loyal and willing to serve, where the Northern men could not serve without decimation by disease, and white men would not serve either because actually rebels or afraid of rebels. But I have not been able to make my friends in the administration see as I have seen, and I certainly don't claim that all the wisdom is mine and none theirs.

"Where, therefore, I have been overruled, I have quietly submitted, doing all I could to carry forward the cause and the work, if not in my preferred way, yet in the best way possible for me.

"Just now, things are looking very well. The expenditures are being gradually reduced—the armies are moving—success seems everywhere to settle on our banners—the credit of the government is wonderfully sustained, considering all disadvantages. The papers of course give you all the details, and you will not expect them from me. Besides, I must close this letter—somewhat too long already.

"Can you send me any good books, showing systems of revenue and taxation in Denmark, in English or French; books or documents?

Your friend,

"HON. BRADFORD WOOD.

S. P. CHASE."

March 31, we have this letter:

"MY DEAR SIR: The President's policy in regard to emancipation

meets my most cordial approval, and will have my heartiest support.

"Our friends in Maryland are about making a movement in accordance with it.

"The only danger will be in too high valuations. This will, of course, require attention.

"An eminent Marylander tells me that the average valuation for assessment does not exceed \$150 per person. The valuation for enfranchisement ought not greatly to exceed that for taxation, as the whole labor remains, and remains more valuable than before.

"Yours cordially,

"REV. W. G. ELLIOT.

S. P. CHASE."

April 1, in a letter to Colonel Geo. P. Este, the Secretary said :

"You are mistaken about the potentiality of a word from me in the matter of brigadier-making with the President and Secretary of War. I have referred your letter to the latter, however, with a cordial indorsement.

"I can not approve the haste or inconsideration with which brigadiers and other high officers are made. The consequences are all evil—evil morally, evil financially, and evil politically."

Under date April 11th, we have this entry :

"The House of Representatives, after a long and exciting session, passed the Senate Bill, abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia, without amendment.

"The vote in the Senate was, yeas 29, nays 14. The vote in the House was, yeas 92, nays 38."

Wednesday, April 16, has the memorandum :

"The President signed the Emancipation Bill this morning."

April 23 yields this letter :

"DEAR SIR: I am much gratified by your note of yesterday. The general oversight of affairs at Port Royal, connected with the culture of the lands and provision for the laborers, will soon be transferred from this to the War Department. It was assumed by me, as an incident to the collection of cotton, without any legal authority beyond that of appointing a special agent. It was assumed solely because the work seemed to be important and the War Department was not ready, at that time, to take charge of it.

"I welcome the coöperation of the benevolent associations, one of which you represented. Indeed, without that coöperation it would have been impracticable to prepare for the cultivation of the lands, or ameliorate, in any degree, the condition of the laborers. So far, the work conducted by the Treasury agent, Mr. Pierce, and the judiciously selected agents of the associations, has gone on as well as could be hoped. Under the charge of the War Department it will be conducted, I trust, even more successfully.

"I have reason to believe that officers will be selected for the charge of the work who will be animated by the same spirit which has guided the action of Mr. Pierce. I hope, indeed, that Mr. Pierce may consent to accept a responsible appointment in connection with it.

Yours truly,

"CHARLES C. LEIGH, Esq.

S. P. CHASE."

Under date, Thursday, May 1st, Chase wrote:

"This has not been an eventful day, though it has brought information of great events."

On that day, Governor Dennison, with Colonel Milliken and Messrs. Donaldson and Butler, called on Mr. Chase. Governor Dennison commended Colonel Milliken to the Secretary.

In the same we find an entry, for the same day, as follows:

"To department and usual morning business—applications for office from senators, representatives, and others. Promised nothing to nobody. Wilmot most urgent for McKean, but Dunn quite so for his nephew. Colonel Milliken came in and related case—read his letter—wrongfully dismissed—my old friend T. C. H. Smith mixed up in it. Indorsed strongly his statement to Secretary of War. R. J. Walker and F. P. Stanton came in with argument in Porter case, which I took and promised to examine. Saxton and French came in—had seen Secretary of War, and S. had received instructions—read them and found them nearly same as had been written, omitting reference to my Instructions to Agents of Treasury Department. Went over to War Department about 5 P. M.—Stanton gone to dinner—read despatches. Banks thinks his work done in Shenandoah Valley and wishes to advance. McDowell reports force in front, on authority of deserters from Yorktown—impressed men who had got away and were trying to reach their homes. Four regiments and some cavalry and artillery under Smith (Gus.), say 3,000—about 3,000 more under Jackson coming to join them with, say 5,000 to 10,000. Whole force not over, I judge, from 12,000 to 16,000, and mostly raw and badly armed. Smith's force in large part detailed from Yorktown, where I do not believe the rebels now have 60,000 men—not equal to 40,000 good troops. Strange that McClellan dallies and waits in eternal preparation. Strange that the President does not give McDowell all the disposable force in the region and send him on to Richmond. Telegram from McD. copies extracts from Richmond papers, giving correspondence between Mayor of New Orleans and Commodore Farragut. Mayor's letter insolent. Also gives account of fall of Fort Macon, where rebels were permitted to retire with honors of war, which I think wrong.

"Home about 6 to dinner. Judge Lane dined with me. Knew McClellan when Superintendent of Central Railroad. Was a good superintendent, but had no occasion for display of abilities needed now. Knew * * * well—unscrupulous in action

against persons he disliked—sanguine, not always judicious, but capable where work and energy and not much breadth and solidity required.

"[Mr. Lathrop came in at department; told him he had been appointed Collector at New Orleans, and would have instructions as soon as confirmed. Chandler came in—introduced him to Mr. L. Asked him to have conf'n, and bill extending powers to prevent aid to rebels passed, which he promised.]"

Now we come to a letter to our hero's "darling Nettie." It is one of the most interesting letters in the book. Here is its tenor:

"REVENUE STEAMER MIAMI, OFF FORTRESS MONROE,

"May 7, 1862.

"MY DARLING NETTIE: I write to you from the cabin of the steamer Miami, just outside of the steam transports loaded with troops, embarked for a proposed attack on Norfolk.

"We came here night before last, having left Washington on Monday evening. Our party consisted of the President, Secretary Stanton, and General Viele, who had just returned from Port Royal, where he had commanded a brigade charged with the most important duties in the reduction of Fort Pulaski. Our staunch little steamer bore us rapidly and pleasantly down the river until we were some ten or fifteen miles below Alexandria, when the night, which had come on with a drizzling rain, became so thick and dark that the pilot found himself unable to discern the right course. We were, therefore, obliged to cast anchor and wait for a clearer sky.

"By 3 o'clock of Tuesday morning, we were again on our way. We passed Aquia about day, and found ourselves about noon tossing on the Chesapeake. It would have amused you to see us take our luncheon. The President gave it up almost as soon as he began, and, declaring himself too uncomfortable to eat, stretched himself at length on the locker. The rest of us persisted; but the plates slipped this way and that, the glasses tumbled over and slid and rolled about, and the whole table seemed as topsy-turvy as if some spirit-u-alist was operating upon it. But we got through, and then the Secretary of War followed the example of the President, and General Viele and I went on deck and chatted.

"Between 8 and 9 o'clock we reached our destination. Mr. Stanton at once sent a message to General Wool, notifying our arrival, and, after a while the General and a number of his staff came on board. It was near 10 o'clock; but after a short conference it was determined that the President, Mr. S., General W., and myself, with General V., should visit Commodore Goldsborough, and talk with him about the condition of things¹ and the things to be done. As it was not easy to get along side the Minnesota in the night on the revenue steamer, we took a tug and were soon within hail. As directed, in response to our hail, we went to the port side. And there were the narrow

¹ The copy I have copied is full of abbreviations, which I have not followed.

steps up the lofty side, with the guiding ropes on either hand hardly visible in the darkness. It seemed to me *very* high and a little fearsome. But etiquette required the President to go first, and he went. Etiquette required the Secretary of the Treasury to follow, and I followed. We got up safely, of course, and when up it did not seem so very much of a getting up stairs after all.

"But I must not stop to describe the Minnesota, though the noble ship is worth description; nor shall I tell you of the conference, except that it related to military and naval movements in connection with the dreaded 'Merrimac.'

"The next morning—yesterday, Wednesday—we of the Miami were up pretty early, for it isn't easy, somehow, to sleep on ship-board. We were to breakfast at 9 o'clock with General Wool, and Mr. Stanton proposed we should visit the Vanderbilt first. She was all ready for her encounter with the Merrimac, enormously strengthened about the bow with timbers, so as to be little else for many feet (say 50) from the prow than a mass of solid timber, plated outside with iron. We stood a moment on her wheel-house, and looked down through the immense diameter of her wheels, the frame-work of which seemed slight and curiously interlaced; but was in fact of the strongest wrought-iron bars, and adjusted carefully to the greatest strength. The weight of one wheel was 100 tons, and the diameter through which we looked, 42 feet.

"From the Vanderbilt we sailed round the Monitor and Stevens, and then back to the wharf; but I must omit in this letter the breakfast, the visit to the Monitor and Stevens; to the Rip Raps, Commodore G.'s coming, and discussion, the appearance of the Merrimac and disappearance, the review, the visit to ruined Hampton, the determination to direct Commodore Goldsborough to send the Galena and two gunboats up the river; how it was determined to attempt the reduction of the batteries at Sewell's Point next morning; how we went to the Rip Raps; how the fleet moved to the attack; how the great guns of the Rip Raps joined in the fray, throwing shot and shell more than three miles; how the Merrimac came down and out; how the Monitor moved up and quietly waited for her; how the big wooden ships got out of the way, that the Minnesota and Vanderbilt might have fair sweep at her and run her down; how she wouldn't come where they could; how she finally retreated to where the Monitor alone could follow her—all this, and much more, I must leave untold this evening; for, since I wrote the first half and more of this letter, a night is past and the sun of the 8th of May has risen splendidly over Fortress Monroe.

"Your affectionate father,

S. P. C."

The letter next in order reads as follows:

"HEAD-QUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF VIRGINIA,

FORTRESS MONROE, VA., May 8, 1862.

"MY DARLING NETTIE: I was obliged to close my letter to you this morning quite abruptly, with a mere synopsis of events. I will now give you a little better idea of what took place yesterday.

"Yesterday morning we came ashore early. Commodore G. came at the same time, on a summons from the President, and it was then that the attack on Sewell's Point Batteries was determined on. After the orders had been given, the President, Mr. Stanton, and myself, went over to the Rip Raps in a tug to observe its execution. It was not a great while before the great ships were in motion. The Seminole took the lead, the San Jacinto and the Dakota, and, finally, the Susquehanna followed, whose captain, Lardner, was the commanding officer of the vessels engaged. With these ships were the Monitor and little gunboat Stevens, which Commodore Stevens presented to the Treasury Department, and which I christened 'Stevens,' in honor of him.

"By and by, the Seminole reached her position, and a belch of smoke, followed in a few seconds by a report like distant thunder, announced the beginning of the cannonade. Then came the guns from the Rip Raps where we were, and soon the Monitor and the Stevens joined. In a little while, the small battery at the extreme point was silenced, and the cannonade was directed on a battery inside the point, a half mile or a mile nearer Norfolk. While this was going on a smoke curled up over the woods on Sewell's Point, five or six miles from its termination, and each man, almost, said to the other, 'There comes the Merrimac;' and, sure enough, it was the Merrimac. But, before she made her appearance, we had left the Rip Raps, and had reached the landing on our way to head-quarters.

"Just as we were going ashore, the Monitor came slowly about from behind the Point, and all the big wooden vessels began to haul off. The Monitor and Stevens, however, held their ground. The Merrimac still came on slowly, and in a little while there was a clear sheet of water between her and the Monitor. Then the great rebel terror paused—then turned back—and having finally attained what she considered a safe position, became stationary again.

"This was the end of the battle. Its results were, on our side, nobody and nothing hurt, with the certainty that the battery at the extreme point was useless to the rebels, and the battery on the inside much less strong and much less strongly manned than had been supposed. The results on the rebel side we can't tell, but only know that their barracks were burnt by our shells. Another certainty is that the rebel monster *don't want to fight*, and *won't fight* if she can help it, except with more advantage than she is likely to have. Enough for one day."

Next we have:

"STEAMER BALTIMORE, May 11, 1862.

"MY DARLING NETTIE: I believe I closed my letter to you with an account of the bombardment. That was thought to have shown the inability of an attempt to land at Sewell's Point while the Merrimac lay watching it; it at once became a question, what should now be done? Three plans only seemed feasible: to send all the troops that could be spared around to Burnside, and let him come on Norfolk from behind—that is, from the south; to send them up James River to aid McClellan; or to seek another landing place out of

reach of the Merrimac. *I offered to take the Miami, if a tug of less draught, and capable, therefore, of getting nearer shore, could accompany me, and make an examination, in company with an officer, of the coast east of the Point.* Colonel Cram offered to go, and General Wool said he would accompany us. We started accordingly, and being arrived opposite a point which I mark 'A' on the poor draft I send you, sent a boat's crew on shore to find the depths of water. We had already approached within some five hundred yards in the Miami, and the tug had approached within perhaps one hundred, of the shore. The boats went very near the shore, and then pulled off, somewhat to my surprise. But when they returned to the boat, the mystery was explained. They had seen an enemy's picket, and a soldier standing up and beckoning to his companions to lie close, and they had inferred the existence of an ambush, and had pulled off to avoid being fired upon. When the officer of the boat and Colonel Cram came on board, they could still see the picket on horse-back, and pointed his position out to me; but I, being near-sighted, could not see. It was plain enough that there was no use in landing men to be fired upon and overcome by a superior force, and so the order was given to get under way to return to Fortress Monroe. We had, indeed, accomplished our main purpose, having found the water sufficiently deep to admit of landing without any serious difficulty. But just as we were going away, a white flag was seen waving over the sand-bank on shore, and the General ordered it to be answered at once, which was done by fastening a bed-sheet to the flag-line, and running it up. When this was done several colored people appeared on shore—all women and children. Fearing the flag and the appearance of the colored people might be a cover, intended to get our people within rifle-shot, I directed two boats to go ashore, with full crews well armed. They went, and pretty soon I saw Colonel Cram talking with the people on shore, while some of the men were walking about on the beach. Presently one boat pulled off toward the ship, and when she had come quite near I observed the colored people going up the sand-bank, and Colonel Cram preparing to return with the other boat. It occurred to me that the poor people must have desired to go to Fortress Monroe, and might have been refused. So I determined to go ashore myself, and jumping into the returned boat was quickly on the beach. The Colonel reported his examination entirely satisfactory, and I found from the colored people (one of whom, however, turned out to be a white woman, living near by) that none of them wanted to leave, and we all returned to the ship. These women were the soldiers who had alarmed our folks.

"We had made an important discovery—a good and convenient landing place, some five or six miles from Fortress Monroe, capable of receiving any number of troops, and communicating with Norfolk by quite passable roads, with a distance by one route of eight or nine, and by another of twelve or thirteen, miles.

"When I got back to Fortress Monroe I found the President had been listening to a pilot and studying a chart, and had become impressed with a conviction that there was a nearer landing, and wished to go and see about it on the spot. So we started again and

soon reached the shore, taking with us a large boat and some twenty armed soldiers from the Rip Raps. The President and Mr. Stanton were on the tug and I on the Miami. The tug was, of course, nearest shore, and as soon as she found the water too shoal for her to go farther safely, the Rip Raps boat was manned and sent in. Meantime, I had the Miami got ready for action, and directed the captain to go ashore with two boats and all the men they could take, fully armed. Before this could be done, however, the other boat had pulled off shore, and several horsemen, who appeared to be soldiers of the enemy, were seen on the beach. I sent to the President to ask if we should fire on them, and he replied negatively. We had again found a good landing, which at the time I supposed to be between two and three miles nearer Fortress Monroe, but which proved to be only one-half or three-quarters of a mile nearer.

"Returning to Fortress Monroe, it was agreed that an advance should at once be made on Norfolk from one of these landings. General Wool preferred the one he had visited, and it was selected. It was now night, but the preparations proceeded with great activity. Four regiments were sent off and orders given for others to follow. Colonel Cram went down to make a bridge of boats to the landing, and General Wool asked me to accompany him the next morning.

"Next morning (yesterday) I was up early, and we got off as soon as possible. As soon as we reached the place, I took the tug which brought us down, and went up the shore to where the President's boat had attempted to land the evening before. I found the distance to be only three-quarters of a mile, and returned to the Miami, where I had left the General. He had gone ashore, and I at once followed. On shore I found General Viele, with an orderly behind. He asked if I would like a horse, and I said yes. He thereupon directed his orderly to dismount, and I mounted. I then proposed to ride up to where the pickets had been seen the night before. He complied. We found a shed where the pickets had staid, and fresh horse tracks in many places, showing that the enemy had only withdrawn a few hours. Meantime, Mr. Stanton had come down, and on my return to General Wool, asked me to go with the expedition, and I finally determined to do so.

"Accordingly, I asked General W. for a squad of dragoons and for permission to ride on with General Viele ahead of him. He granted both requests. After going about five miles, General V. and myself came up with the rear of the advance (which had preceded us three or four hours), and soon heard firing of artillery in front. We soon heard that the bridge which we expected to cross was burnt, that the enemy's artillery was posted on the other side, and that Generals Mansfield and Weber were returning.

"About one-half or three-quarters of a mile from the burning bridge, we met them, and of course turned back. Returning, we met General Wool, who determined to leave a guard on that route and take another to Norfolk.

"There was now a good deal of confusion, to remedy which and provide for contingencies General Wool sent General M. to Newport News to bring forward his brigade, and brigaded the troops with

him, assigning General Viele to the command of one and General Weber to the command of the other. The cavalry and Major Dodge were in advance, General Wool and staff next, then a body of sharp-shooting skirmishers, then the main body of Viele's brigade, and then Weber's. We stopped everybody from whom we could obtain information, and it was not long before we were informed that the intrenched camp, where we expected the rebels would fight, if anywhere, had just been evacuated, and that the barracks were fired. This pleasant intelligence was soon confirmed by the arrival of one of Dodge's dragoons, who told us that the cavalry were already within it.

"We kept on, and were soon within the work—a very strong one, defended by many heavy guns, of which twenty-one still remained in position. The troops, as they entered, gave cheer after cheer, and were immediately formed into line for the farther march, now only two miles to Norfolk. General Wool now invited General Viele, General Weber, and Major Dodge to ride with us in front, and so we proceeded until we met a deputation of the city authorities, who surrendered the city in form. General Wool and myself entered one carriage with two of the deputation, and General Viele another, with others, and so we drove into town and to the City Hall, where the General completed his arrangements for taking possession of the city. These completed, and General Viele being left in charge as military governor, General Wool and myself set out on our return to Ocean View, our landing-place, in the carriage which had brought us to the City Hall; which carriage, by the way, was that used by the rebel General Huger, and he had, perhaps, been riding in it that very morning.

"It was sundown when we left Norfolk—about ten when we reached Ocean View—and near twelve when we reached Fortress Monroe. The President had been greatly alarmed for our safety by the report of General M., as he went by to Newport News; and you can imagine his delight when we told him Norfolk was ours. He fairly hugged General Wool.

"For my part, I was very tired, and glad to get to bed.

"This morning, as the President had determined to leave for Washington at seven, I rose at six, and just before seven came into the parlor, where Commodore Goldsborough astonished and gratified us that the rebels had set fire to the Merrimac, and had blown her up.¹ It was determined that, before leaving, we would go up in the Baltimore, which was to convey us to Washington, to the point where the suicide had been performed, and above the obstructions in the channel, if possible, so as to be sure of the access to Norfolk by water, which had been defended by the exploded ship. This was done; but the voyage was longer than we anticipated, taking us up the wharves of Norfolk, where, in the Elizabeth River, were already lying the Monitor, the Stevens, the Susquehanna, and one or two other vessels. General Wool and Commodore Goldsborough had come up with us on the Baltimore; and, as soon as they were trans-

¹*Sic.*

ferred to the Susquehanna, our prow was turned down stream, and touching for a moment at the Fortress, we kept on our way toward Washington, where we hope to be at breakfast to-morrow.

"So has ended a brilliant week's campaign of the President; for I think it quite certain that if he had not come down, Norfolk would still have been in possession of the enemy, and the Merrimac as grim and defiant, and as much a terror as ever. The whole coast is now virtually ours. There is no port which the Monitor and Stevens can not enter and take.

"It was sad and pleasant to see the Union flag once more waving over Norfolk, and the shipping in the harbor, and to think of the destruction accomplished there a little more than a year ago.

"I went to Norfolk last night by land with the army; this morning, by water, with the navy. My campaign, too, is over."

CHAPTER XXXI.

CHASE, M'DOWELL, HUNTER, FRÉMONT, POPE, AND M'CLELLAN.

MAY 14, 1862, our martial-minded Minister of Finance wrote as follows to Major General McDowell :

"MY DEAR GENERAL: I have time for but a word. Stanton told me he should release you from the prohibition against the advance yesterday. I hope he has done so. I have never exactly seen the cogency of the reason for withholding when you had the communication by Belle Plain as well as that by Acquia. But I am not military.

"It has been one of my prime objects of desire that you should advance towards and to Richmond.

"McClellan surrounded by a staff of letter-writers, gets possession of public opinion, and even those who know better succumb. Then he lags.

"If the President, Stanton, and myself had not gone to Fortress Monroe, all would have lagged there, too.

"You want to move, I understand, but it is not judged wise. Well.

"What I saw and heard at Fortress Monroe, on the march to Norfolk, and at Norfolk, taught me a little.

"I feel sure that you can get to Richmond if you are allowed to move, and do actually move. There are disadvantages, I know; but they are not insuperable.

"With 50,000 men and you for a general, I would undertake to go from Fortress Monroe to Richmond, by the James River, with my revenue steamers Miami and Stevens, and the Monitor, in two days.

"Excuse this disjointed letter. In great haste and exceedingly pressed.

Your friend,

"S. P. CHASE."

On leaving for Philadelphia, Saturday, May 16th, Mr. Chase wrote the following letter to the President:

"WASHINGTON, May 16, 1862.

"MY DEAR SIR: Obligated to go to Philadelphia this afternoon, I can not confer with you as I wish in relation to the military order of Major-General Hunter enfranchising the slaves in his department.

"Of course, I do not assume to judge of the military necessity; but it seems to me of the highest importance, whether our relations at home or abroad be considered, that this order be not revoked. It has been made as a military measure, to meet a military exigency.

and should, in my judgment, be suffered to stand upon the responsibility of the commanding general who made it.

"It will be cordially approved, I am sure, by more than nine-tenths of the people on whom you must rely for support of your administration.

"Pardon this brief and hurried note, and believe me,

"Most cordially and respectfully yours,
 "TO THE PRESIDENT. S. P. CHASE."

Lincoln answered thus informally :

"No commanding general shall do such a thing, upon *my* responsibility, without consulting me.
 A. LINCOLN."¹

June 2d, we have the letter to Samuel G. Ward, Esq. :

"SIR: Your letter, with copies of Mr. Forstall's protest against the seizure of \$800,000, alleged to be qualified property of Messrs. Hope & Co., of Amsterdam, but claimed by General Butler to be the property of the United States, and of General Butler's letter to the European consuls at New Orleans, is just received.

"You may assure your correspondents, unhesitatingly, that the United States will carefully respect the rights of private property in the subjects of friendly foreign powers; and that no apprehension need be felt that, in case the deposit of Mr. Forstall on account of Messrs. Hope & Co. with the Consul of the Netherlands shall be proved to have been made in good faith, and of coin, *bona fide* the property of the Citizens' Bank of Louisiana, and therefore subject to valid transfer by that bank, no loss by the parties interested will result from the seizure by General Butler.

"Of course I do not assume to decide, or even intimate an impression, upon any question of fact.

"*En passant*, permit me to express my regret that assurances

¹ David Hunter was born in Washington July 21, 1802. He was, therefore, less than six years older than the man with whom we have our chief concern; and about six years older than Abraham Lincoln. He is of Virginian antecedents, at least in the paternal line.

His father was an army chaplain. David was graduated at West Point in 1822. Appointed second lieutenant of the Fifth Infantry, he became first lieutenant in 1828, and captain in the First Dragoons in 1833.

He remained in the military service until 1833, when he resigned, in order to become a forwarder of goods and merchandise at Chicago. Five years afterwards he became paymaster in the army. In 1861, he was paymaster with the rank of colonel. May 14th, he was appointed colonel of the Sixth Cavalry, and at the first battle of Bull Run, he had a most important command, and was severely wounded in the neck.

By the way, accompanying Mr. Lincoln from Springfield, Illinois, *en route* to the National Capital, he suffered, at Buffalo, in the pressure of the crowd, a dislocation of the collar bone.

In the course of this work will be found some farther account of him and his ideas.

apparently reliable, reach me that prominent members of the house of Baring Brothers & Co. have manifested throughout our recent troubles a strong sympathy with the rebellion against the United States.

"With great respect and esteem, yours truly,

"S. P. CHASE."

On the 26th of June the Secretary dictated as follows:

"On Sunday morning, May 11th, the President, becoming uneasy on account of his long absence from Washington, determined to return forthwith. The explosion of the Merrimac, however, detained him long enough to go to the spot, ascertain the exact condition of things, and return to Fortress Monroe, whence we proceeded immediately toward Washington. On our way up, I remarked on the probability that a small force, say 5,000 men, embarked on transports and convoyed by gunboats, might contribute largely to the taking of Richmond, if sent immediately up James River. But nothing was determined on. After our return to Washington I frequently spoke of the matter, and urged the sending of General Wool up James River with all his disposable force. It was thought General McClellan could be reinforced more effectually in another direction.

"General McDowell was ordered to concentrate his whole corps, including Shields' division, at Fredericksburg, with a view to march upon Richmond from that point. Shields' division, which had been in the valley of the Shenandoah, was marched across the country and joined McDowell.

"On Friday, May 23d, the President and Secretary of War visited the army at Fredericksburg, and returned to Washington on Saturday morning, highly gratified by the condition of the troops, and anticipating an imposing and successful advance on the Monday following. On the afternoon of the same Saturday, I was sent for to the War Department, and found that intelligence had been received of the taking of Front Royal and the annihilation of Kenley's regiment on the preceding day. The enemy was reported to have pushed forward to Middleton and cut off the retreat of Banks, supposed to be at Strasburg. An order was immediately despatched to General Frémont to advance to Harrisonburg, and do all in his power for the relief of Banks. An order was also sent to General McDowell to detach 20,000—or one-half his force—sending them partly by land to Catlett's Station, and partly by water to Alexandria and Washington. To expedite these movements, I was directed to proceed immediately to Fredericksburg, and confer personally with General McDowell. I left accordingly, the same afternoon, and reached Fredericksburg about 1 o'clock Sunday. I found that General McDowell had given all the necessary orders for the movements directed by the President. The march began early the next morning, and successive divisions and regiments followed until, during the course of the day, the whole 20,000 were on their march. I returned to Washington Sunday night, accompanied by General Shields, and found the President, with the Secretary of War, Secre-

tary of State, and several senators and representatives, at the War Department. By this time intelligence had been received that Banks had retreated, early on Saturday morning, from Strasburg, reaching Winchester the same night, and that his retreat had been continued through Sunday, and that a portion of his troops had already arrived at Williamsport. General Saxton had been ordered to Harper's Ferry, and reinforcements had been and were still rapidly being pushed forward to that point.

"On Monday Shields' division arrived at Catlett's Station, and Geary's division, which had been stationed along the line of the Manassas Gap Railroad, had fallen back to Manassas. Ord's division followed, partly by water and partly by land, and, with Shields', was concentrated within a day or two at Manassas. McDowell came from Fredericksburg, at the instance of the President, and took command in person, having ordered King's division to advance toward Martinsburg as a supporting column. Shields pushed forward to Front Royal, which place he reached on Friday. McDowell followed, also reaching Front Royal on Saturday. The object of this movement was to cut off the retreat of Jackson through Front Royal.

"Meantime Frémont, observing the spirit though not the letter of his orders, had marched to Moorfield, and thence to Wardensville, and cut off the retreat of Jackson by that road. Unfortunately Frémont did not reach Strasburg until Jackson, defeated by Saxton on Friday in his attack upon Harper's Ferry, and being apprised, no doubt, of the movements in his rear, had passed through Strasburg, on his retreat down the valley.

"While this combined movement, intended to capture Jackson and his force was in progress, General McClellan was constantly asking for reinforcements at Richmond. *I had no confidence in his ability to handle a great army, but, inasmuch as the President was unwilling to give the command to any other General, I thought it of great importance that he should be reinforced as far as possible.* To this end, in the course of the week, I urged on several occasions that one-half of McCall's division be sent down to form a junction with McClellan's army, and that General Wool, with 10,000 of his force, be sent up from Fortress Monroe and Norfolk, by James River, to effect, if possible, the capture of Fort Darling, or at least to coöperate with McClellan, whose lines, I supposed, could be extended from Bottom's bridge to the James River. These reinforcements were not sent, partly, as I suppose, because the President was unwilling to weaken the advance at Fredericksburg, and partly because he was unwilling to order General Wool, who was at variance with McClellan, to a coöperate, which might lead to collision between the generals and so to unpleasant results.

"I also urged that, inasmuch as McDowell's force had been drawn over into and near the Shenandoah Valley, his three divisions—Shields', Ord's, and King's—should be massed and ordered forward to Charlottesville and Lynchburg. This movement had been proposed by General Shields, as a movement to be executed from Fredericksburg. General McDowell also had proposed the same. As

much reluctance was manifested against undertaking the movement as had been in respect to the reinforcement of McClellan.

"On Friday, June 14, the President determined to send 20,000 men to McClellan. To effect this object, he directed the embarkation of the whole of McCall's division at Fredericksburg, and annexed the Department of Virginia, which had been under General Wool, to the command of McClellan. Wool was transferred to Baltimore, and Dix to Fortress Monroe, to avoid the apprehended difficulties from placing the department, while under the command of General Wool, also under the command of McClellan. Most of the drilled troops of Fortress Monroe, of whom there were about 14,000, were sent to McClellan, and their places supplied mainly with new levies. Thus, long after I had proposed the reinforcement, the arrangement was made by which they were sent.

"On the same day, upon the President expressing his gratification that the reinforcements had been sent to McClellan, I replied to him that his satisfaction would be much increased if he would order McDowell, with his three divisions, strengthened, if necessary, by portions of Banks' and Frémont's commands, on the southward expedition to Charlottesville and Lynchburg. I endeavored to impress upon him the idea that this movement would be of great importance to McClellan by creating a diversion in his favor by cutting off the supplies which reached Richmond through Lynchburg from East Tennessee. I was not successful in impressing the President with the correctness of my views. I suppose that his difficulty arose, partly from a desire to have McDowell in a position from which he could directly reinforce McClellan, and partly from apprehension of disagreement between the major-generals commanding the separate bodies which it might be necessary to combine in the Charlottesville expedition. This, of course, is mere conjecture. What is certain is, that the expedition was not organized or attempted.

"Subsequently (June 24), the President, having become convinced of the necessity of combining these three bodies under one command, created the Army of Virginia (to consist of these three bodies), and placed it under the command of General Pope, who was junior in rank, though of the same grade as major-generals Frémont, Banks, and McDowell, who were made subject to his orders.

"I understand that the object of this consolidation was, to make the movement upon Charlottesville, which I had been so anxious to see attempted."

Here is an extract from the locked diary :

"MONDAY, July 21, 1862.

"Early this morning, Count Gurowski called and told me that yesterday, at a great dinner at Mr. Tassar's—the only Americans present being Governor Seward and Senator Carlile—Governor Seward remarked that he had lately begun to realize the value of a CROMWELL, and to appreciate the *coup d'état*; and that he wished

we had a Cromwell or a *coup d'état* for our Congress. The Count said that the diplomats present were very much disgusted, and that the language of Governor Seward injured the administration much in the estimation of all intelligent foreigners.

"After the Count left, I received a notice to attend a Cabinet meeting, at 10 o'clock. It has been so long since any consultation has been held that it struck me as a novelty."

Adam, Count Gurowski, was not a trustworthy witness, so far as what he said involved judgment.

Messrs. Speed, Holloway, and Casey called on Mr. Chase on the 21st day of July, 1862. The first was a distinguished lawyer, of Louisville, who was then postmaster of that city and had been State senator; the second was a large slave-holder in south-western Kentucky; Mr. Casey was a member of Congress from the south-western district. Messrs. Speed and Casey were decided in favor of the most decided measures in respect to slavery and the employment of negroes in whatever capacity they were fitted for. They assured Mr. Chase that Mr. Holloway (though a large slave-holder) was in favor of every measure necessary for success, and that he held no sacrifice too great to insure it. He would cheerfully give up slavery, if it became necessary or important.

Mr. Casey, Mr. Horton, and Gen. Pope dined with Secretary Chase that day. Mr. Horton condemned severely the conduct of the campaign on the Peninsula and the misrepresentations made to the public in regard to it. General Pope expressed himself freely and decidedly in favor of the most vigorous measures in the prosecution of the war. He believed that, in consequence of the rebellion, slavery must perish; and with him it was only a question of prudence as to the means to be employed to weaken it. He was in favor of using every instrument which could be brought to bear against the enemy; and while he did not speak of a general arming of the slaves as soldiers, he advocated their use as laborers in the defense of fortifications, and in any way in which their services could be made useful without impairing the general tone of the service. He said he was now waiting, by request of the President, the arrival of General Halleck, and he regarded it as necessary for the safety and success of his operations that there should be a change in the Army of the Potomac. He believed that General McClellan's incompetency and indisposition to active movements were so great that if, in his operations, he should need assistance, he could not expect it from him. He had urged upon the President the im-

portance of superseding General McClellan before the arrival of Halleck, representing the delicacy of Halleck's future position, and the importance of having the field clear for him when he assumed the general command. The President, however, had only promised that he (General Pope) should be present at his interview with General Halleck, when he would give the latter his opinion of McClellan.

From the same register, under the same date, are taken the following extracts :

"I went at the appointed hour, and found that the President had been profoundly concerned at the present aspect of affairs, and had determined to take some definite steps in respect to military action and slavery. He had prepared several orders, the first of which contemplated authority to commanders to subsist their troops in the hostile territory; the second, authority to employ negroes as laborers; the third, requiring that both in the case of property taken and of negroes employed accounts should be kept with such degrees of certainty as would enable compensation to be made in proper cases. Another provided for the colonization of negroes in some tropical country.

"A good deal of discussion took place upon these points. The first order was universally approved. The second was approved entirely, and the third by all except myself. I doubted the expediency of attempting to keep accounts for the benefit of the inhabitants of rebel States. The colonization project was not much discussed.

"The Secretary of War presented some letters from General Hunter, in which he advised the department that the withdrawal of a large proportion of his troops to reinforce General McClellan rendered it highly important that he should be immediately authorized to enlist all loyal persons, without reference to complexion. Messrs. Stanton, Seward, and myself expressed ourselves in favor of this plan, and no one expressed himself against it. (Mr. Blair was not present.) The President was not prepared to decide the question, but expressed himself as averse to arming negroes."

On the same day, Mr. Stanton brought forward a proposition to draft 50,000 men. Mr. Seward proposed that the number should be 100,000. The President directed that whatever number were drafted should be part of the 300,000 already called for. No decision was reached, however.

Tuesday, July 22d, 1862, has this record :

"This morning I called on the President with a letter received some time since from Colonel Key, in which he stated that he had reason to believe that if General McClellan found he could not otherwise sustain himself in Virginia, he would declare the liberation of

the slaves; and that the President would not dare to interfere with the order. I urged upon the President the importance of an immediate change in the command of the Army of the Potomac, representing the necessity of having a general in that command who would cordially and efficiently coöperate with the movements of Pope and others; and urging a change before the arrival of General Halleck, in view of the extreme delicacy of his position in this respect, General McClellan being his senior major-general. I said that I did not regard General McClellan as loyal to the administration, although I did not question his general loyalty to the country.

"I also urged General McClellan's removal upon financial grounds. I told him that if such a change in the command was made as would insure action in the army, and give it power in the ratio of its strength, and if such measures were adopted in respect to slavery as would inspire the country with confidence that no measure would be left untried which promised a speedy and successful result, I would insure that, within ten days, the bonds of the United States, except the five-twenties, would be so far above par that conversions into the latter stock would take place rapidly, and furnish the necessary means for carrying on the government. If this was not done, it seemed to me impossible to meet necessary expenses. Already there were \$10,000,000 of unpaid requisitions, and this amount would constantly increase.

"The President came to no conclusion, but said he would confer with General Halleck on all these matters. I left him, promising to return to Cabinet, when the subject of the orders discussed yesterday would be resumed.

"Went to Cabinet at the appointed hour. It was unanimously agreed that the order in respect to colonization should be dropped; and the others were adopted unanimously, except that I wished North Carolina included in the States named in the first order.

"The question of arming slaves was then brought up, and I advocated it warmly. The President was unwilling to adopt this measure, but proposed to issue a proclamation on the basis of the Confiscation Bill, calling upon the States to return to their allegiance—warning the rebels [that] the provisions of the act would have full force at the expiration of sixty days—adding, on his own part, a declaration of his intention to renew, at the next session of Congress, his recommendation of compensation to States adopting the gradual abolishment of slavery—and proclaiming the emancipation of all slaves within States remaining in insurrection on the first of January, 1863.

"I said that I should give to such a measure my cordial support; but I should prefer that no new expression on the subject of compensation should be made; and I thought that the measure of emancipation could be much better and more quietly accomplished by allowing generals to organize and arm the slaves (thus avoiding depredation and massacre on one hand, and support to the insurrection on the other), and by directing the commanders of departments to proclaim emancipation within their districts as soon as practicable; but I regarded this as so much better than inaction on the subject, that I should give it my entire support.

"The President determined to publish the first three orders forthwith, and to leave the other for some further consideration. The impression left upon my mind by the whole discussion was, that, while the President thought that the organization, equipment, and arming of negroes, like other soldiers, would be productive of more evil than good, he was not unwilling that commanders should, at their discretion, arm, for purely defensive purposes, slaves coming within their lines.

"Mr. Stanton brought forward a proposition to draft fifty thousand men. Mr. Seward proposed that the number should be one hundred thousand. The President directed that, whatever number were drafted, should be part of the three hundred thousand already called for. No decision was reached, however."

It appears to me that these and other entries furnish indications that too much attention was devoted by our hero to war measures and to military men. Perhaps he would have been better able to promote a financial reform had he been more devoted to finance and less to war.

We have, under date Friday, July 25, 1862:

"No Cabinet to-day. Went to War Department in the morning, where I found the President and Stanton. We talked about the necessity of clearing the Mississippi, and Stanton again urged sending Mitchell. The President said he would see him. Stanton sent for him at Willard's, and sent him to the President.

"In the evening, I called for Mitchell to ride, with H. Walbridge. Asked him the result. He said the President had asked him with what force he could take Vicksburg and clear the river, and, with the black population on its banks, hold it open below Memphis; and had bid him consider. He had replied that, with, his own division and Curtis' army, he could do it, he thought, but he would consider and reply.

"I told him now was the time to do great things."

The next entries to be offered read as follows:

"SATURDAY, July 26.

"Sent order to close and encrape the department, in respect to ex-President Van Buren, just deceased.

"The President came in to talk about the controversy between the Postmaster-general and sixth Auditor, in regard to rooms. Agreed to see the Attorney-general, for whom I afterward sent. The Attorney General had not heard of Rabe's removal, of which I spoke to him, and I directed Mr. Harrington to telegraph Rabe that the removal had been made without my knowledge or that of the Attorney-General.

"General Pope came in about 1 P. M., and went to photographer's with me and Colonel Welch. He talked as if McClellan might be retained in command, and retrieve himself, by advancing on Rich-

mond, which was now quite feasible, there being but few troops on the north side of the James. I replied that no such advance would be made; or, if made, and successful, would only restore undeserved confidence and prepare future calamities.

"Mitchell called. He had seen the President, who had postponed his decision until he could consult Halleck. Mitchell had all his orders ready for rapid movement. Told him his only course was to wait and see.

"Talked with Pope about Mitchell, who inclined to think him visionary. Asked him to get acquainted with him, which he promised.

"Wrote Mrs. E. in reply to letter received from her."

Saturday, July 27, has a notice of a telegram from General Morgan to the Secretary. In that dispatch, General M. advised Mr. Chase of his resignation, and signified his wish that the Secretary would procure its prompt acceptance.

"I went, therefore, to the War Department," records Mr. Chase, "wishing to oblige him, and also to secure Garfield's appointment in his place. Mr. Stanton was not in, but I saw Watson."

From the War Department, after a conversation with Mr. Watson, to which I have elsewhere asked attention, Secretary Chase betook himself to the President's, to whom he spoke of Morgan's resignation, and suggested Garfield's substitution. This, he says, seemed to please the President.

Conversing with the President on the 27th of July, the Secretary of the Treasury spoke "of the financial importance of getting rid of McClellan; and expressed the hope that Halleck would approve his project of sending Mitchell to the Mississippi." But the record says of the President: "On these points he said nothing."

Then the conversation turned on Jones, the sculptor; and Mr. Chase suggested the fitness of giving him some consulate in Italy which the President, we learn, "liked the idea of."

Mr. Lincoln read a statement (pronounced "very good" by Chase), which was in course of preparation, in reply to a letter, forwarded by Mr. Bullitt, from some one in New Orleans.

After some farther talk, and reminding the President of the importance of a talk between Halleck and Chase about finances, as affected by the war, Secretary Chase went home, too late for church.

A parenthesis of the paragraph from which I draw the last foregoing information, reads as follows:

"(By the way, he told me he desired Halleck to come and see me last Monday, but he didn't come.)"

Halleck was not without caution. He was a slow man—a real worthy—but a little slow.

Being, as we have just seen, too late for church, Mr. Chase read various books—among others, *Whitfield's Life*. “What a worker!” is the comment on the last perusal.

Spending the evening with his daughters, he read Beecher's last sermon in the *Independent*.

The conclusion of the entry here made tributary is as follows :

“Not a caller all day—*O si sic omnes dies!*”

CHAPTER XXXII.

HALLECK AND THE CABINET—MERITS OF GENERALS—TOWARD EMAN-
CIPATION.

AUGUST 1 is thus characterized :

"No events of much importance to-day. A Cabinet meeting was held, and a great deal of talk took place, but no results. Blair sent me his paper on colonization, to which he referred in our long talk of yesterday. A nice letter from my friend, Mrs. Eastman. Spent a few moments at the War Department—telegram came that the enemy had been shelling McClellan's position from Point Coggin. Wrote to General Pope and General Butler, touching, in both letters, the slavery question. Called on General Halleck in the evening, and talked a good while with him. Judged it prudent not to say much of the war. He spoke of Buell as slow but safe; of Grant, as a good general, and brave in battle, but careless of his command; of Thomas, he spoke very highly."

On the evening of the same day, Secretary Chase had several callers. Here is the close of the entry relating to that day, noticing the callers :

"Beebe, from Ravenna, a faithful friend; John R. French, Smith Homans, Chas. Selden, and some others. Selden says that, at Cincinnati, old Mr. Molitor and Rev. Edw. Purcell spoke very kindly of me."

Had not this man a kind heart? Was he a mere politician? Was his soul absorbed by ambition?

August 2, Secretary Chase went neither to the President's nor to the War Department. He was all day in his own department.

General Shields called and talked over the movement up the Shenandoah. "He told me," says Mr. Chase, "that when he received peremptory orders to return, he had held communication with Frémont, and Jackson's capture was certain. I told him of my urging that McDowell should be ordered forward with his entire command from Warrenton and from Front Royal to Charlottesville and Lynchburg; that the President was not ready to act; that McDowell himself was apparently disinclined, preferring concentration at Manassas, and then advance to Richmond. Plain

enough now, he said, that this was the true movement. He had himself telegraphed McDowell that Jackson would be Pattersonized by recall of troops from pursuit. The troops were nevertheless recalled; and, by peremptory order from the President himself, those of Shields were directed to return to Manassas, and those of Frémont to resume position as a corps of observation.

"Here," proceeds the record I am citing, "was a terrible mistake. It would have been easy to take Charlottesville and Lynchburg, very easy: the capture of Jackson, though not at the time seen at Washington to be practicable, was, nevertheless, within easy possibility; his defeat and the dispersion of his force certain. Our troops were called off when they were just upon him. The course of the whole movement was changed, for no reason that I could see. Charlottesville and Lynchburg were saved to the enemy, with their stores, and the railroads on which they are situated, forming the great east and west communications of the rebels. A wide door for Jackson to Richmond was opened—the very door through which, a little later, he passed; fell, in coöperation with the rebel army at Richmond, on McClellan's right, left unsupported as if to invite disaster; defeated it, and then, with the same army, pursued the Union main body to the James. Sad! sad! yet nobody seems to heed. General Shields and I talked all this over, deploring the strange fatality which seemed to preside over the whole transaction. He dined with us, and, after dinner, rode out with brother Edward and Nettie."

Next morning, General Shields came to breakfast and to visit the Ohio men of his command in the Cliffburne Hospital. "He told me," records Mr. Chase, "he desired greatly to have a command of 5,000 men, and be allowed to dash as he could, breaking the lines of communication of the enemy. My daughters went with him to the hospital. Soon after they left, I received a summons to a Cabinet meeting."

At the Cabinet meeting of August 3, 1862, "there was a good deal of conversation on the connection of the slavery question with the rebellion." Having so stated, Secretary Chase subjoins:

"I expressed my conviction for the tenth or twentieth time, that the time for the suppression of the rebellion, without interference with slavery, had long passed—that it was impossible, probably, at the outset, by striking the insurrectionists wherever found, strongly and decisively; but we had elected to act on the principles

of a civil war, assuming that the whole population of every seceding State was engaged against the Federal Government, instead of treating the active secessionists as insurgents and exerting our utmost energies for their arrest and punishment; that the bitterness of the conflict had now substantially united the white population of the rebel States against us; that the loyal whites remaining, if they would not prefer the Union without slavery, certainly would not prefer slavery to the Union; that the blacks were really the only loyal population worth counting; and that, in the Gulf States, at least, their right to freedom ought to be at once recognized; while in the Border States, the President's plan of emancipation might be made the basis of the necessary measures for their ultimate enfranchisement; that the practical mode of effecting this seemed to me quite simple; that the President had already spoken of the importance of making the freed blacks on the Mississippi, below Tennessee, a safeguard to the navigation of the river; that Mitchell, with a few thousand soldiers, could take Vicksburg; assure the blacks freedom on condition of loyalty; organize the best of them in companies, regiments, etc.; and provide, as far as practicable, for the cultivation of the plantations by the rest; that Butler should signify to the slave-holders of Louisiana that they must recognize the freedom of their work-people by paying them wages; and that Hunter should do the same thing in South Carolina.

"Mr. Seward expressed himself in favor of any measures likely to accomplish the results I contemplated, which could be carried into effect without proclamation: and the President said he was pretty well cured of objection to any measure except want of adaptedness to put down the rebellion, but did not seem satisfied that the time had come for the adoption of such a plan as I proposed.

"There was also a great deal of conversation concerning the merits of generals. I objected pretty decidedly to the policy of selecting nearly all the highest officers from among men hostile to the administration, and continuing them in office after they had proved themselves incompetent, or at least not specially competent, and referred to the needless defeat of McClellan and the slowness of Buell. Seward asked what I would do. I replied, 'Remove the men who failed to accomplish results, and put abler and more active men in their places.' He wished to know whom I would prefer to Buell. I answered that if I were President, or Secretary of War, authorized to act by the President, I would confer with the General-in-Chief; require him to name to me the best officers he knew of; talk the matter over with him; get all the light I could, and then designate my man.

"As much as anything, the clearing of the Mississippi by the capture of Vicksburg, was discussed. I reminded the President that after the evacuation of Corinth, it would have been an easy matter to send down a few thousand men and complete our possession of the river; and of his own plan of putting General Mitchell at the head of his own division and Curtis' army, and sending him to take Vicksburg, almost adopted more than two weeks ago. Mr. Usher suggested that, since General Halleck had decided against this plan, on the ground that Mitchell's division could not be spared from

Buell's command, and Curtis' army was needed to prevent a foray from Arkansas into Missouri, it might be well to raise a special force by volunteering for this one object, of taking Vicksburg, opening the Mississippi, and keeping it open. I heartily seconded the idea, and it was a good deal talked over.

"At length, the President determined to send for General Halleck, and have the matter discussed with him.

"The General came, and the matter was fully stated to him, both by Governor Seward and myself. He did not absolutely reject the idea, but thought the object could be better accomplished by hastening the new levies; putting the new troops in the positions now occupied by the old regiments, and setting these last to the work of opening the Mississippi. He expressed the strongest convictions as to the importance of the work, and his desire to see it accomplished at the earliest possible period. At this moment, however, the necessary troops could not be spared for the purpose. Taking into consideration the delay incident to raising a special force, equal perhaps to that demanded by General Halleck's plan, and the other disadvantages, it was thought best to drop the idea.

"In connection with this subject, General Halleck spoke of the distribution of troops in the West. He said that Hardee had broke up his camp south of Corinth, and transferred his army to Chattanooga, where he now had probably 40,000 or 50,000 men; that Price had attempted to cross the river into Arkansas, but had as yet failed to accomplish his purpose; that a considerable force was, however, advancing northward into Missouri; that he had sent a division and brigade, say, 7,000 men, to Curtis, (making his whole force about 17,000), and instructed him to prevent the invasion of Missouri; that he had also detached from Grant about 15,000, say three divisions, to take position at Decatur, to support Buell, if necessary; that Grant had still under his command about 43,000, of whom 7,000, under Jackson, had been ordered to the ———, to watch Price; that Buell had 60,000, with which force he was approaching Chattanooga. These numbers gave the whole force in the West, exclusive of troops occupying St. Louis, and various posts and camps north of the Ohio: Buell, 60,000; Grant, including detachments, except Curtis, 58,000; Curtis, 17,000; in all, 135,000 men—excellent troops. He stated McClellan's army at present, and fit for duty, at 88,000; absent on leave, 33,000; absent without leave, 3,000; present, but sick, 10,000; in all, say, 140,000. Another statement makes the number fit for duty 91,000; and the total, 143,000."

This book promises to make a rather lively contribution to the history of the great war against secession in the interest of slavery.

"The President," continues Mr. Chase, "read a communication from General H., proposing that 200,000 militia should be drafted for nine months, and that the 300,000 men to fill old and form new regiments should be obtained without delay; and, to prevent the evil of hasty and improper appointments and promotions, that a board of officers should be organized, to which all proposed action of that

sort should be referred. The General condemned, respectfully, but as decidedly, the inconsideration which has hitherto marked the action of the government in this respect, and stated one case where a colonel had been tried and convicted of gross misconduct, and was on the point of being dismissed, when he came on to Washington and returned with a brigadier's commission!

"The General commanded my sincere respect by the great intelligence and manliness he displayed, and excited great hopes by his obvious purpose to allow no lagging, and by his evident mastery of the business he has taken in hand. I can not agree with him as to the expediency of retaining McClellan and Buell in their important commands; and I was sorry to hear him say, in reply to a question by the President, as to what use could be made of the black population of the borders of the Mississippi, 'I confess I do not think much of the negro.'"

The conclusion of the entry relating to August 3d is as follows:

"Neither Mr. Stanton nor Mr. Blair was present at the meeting to-day.

"When the Cabinet council broke up, I proposed to Mr. Usher, who made a most favorable impression on me, to ride home in my carriage; but he was called back by the President, and I, finding my carriage had not come, rode home with Mr. Bates."

At the Cabinet meeting of August 3, Mr. Usher, Assistant Secretary of the Interior, "mentioned a report that the *Louisville Democrat* had come out openly for disunion, saying that it was now manifest that the government was in the hands of the abolitionists. The President said, this was equivalent to a declaration of hostility by the entire Douglas party of Kentucky, and manifested much uneasiness."

At the same Cabinet meeting the President spoke of the treaty said to have been formed between the Cherokees and the Confederates, and suggested the expediency of organizing a force of whites and blacks, in separate regiments, to invade and take possession of their country. Statistics of the Indians were sent for, from which it appeared that the whole fighting force of the Cherokees could hardly exceed 2,500 men. Mr. Usher, Assistant Secretary of the Interior, was not in favor of the expedition. He thought it better to deal indulgently with deluded Indians, and make their deluders feel the weight of the Federal authority. Most, on the whole, seemed to concur with him."

The Secretary of the Treasury, on the sixth of August, 1862, made a memorandum to this effect:

"Nothing much thought of to-day except the great war meeting—

which was immense. None of the Cabinet there except myself and Mr. Bates. The President, after Mr. Chittenden had finished, said to me (the people clamoring for him), 'Well! hadn't I better say a few words and get rid of myself?' Hardly waiting for an answer, he advanced at once to the stand. He was received with most uproarious enthusiasm. His frank, genial, generous face, and direct simplicity of bearing, took all hearts. His speech is in all the prints, and evinces his usual originality and sagacity."

The entry dated August 6th also contains the words:

"Professor Read and his son, Captain Read, and Assistant Secretary Usher dined with me. Mr. Bates and Dr. Schmidt came from meeting with me, and stopped at my house. After Mr. Bates went, I played chess with the Doctor, who was far my overmatch—he beating me with ease two or three times, while I, only by accident, beat him once."

Yet Chase was himself a veteran chess player.

August 7, Mr. Chase recorded as follows:

"Very little accomplished as yet, though much, I hope, in the train of accomplishment. Engaged nearly all day on selections for recommendation of collectors and assessors. Prepared letter to President, containing names, etc., of candidates, with my recommendations, for Connecticut; made up, in very small part, on my own personal knowledge, but mainly on the representations and advice—sometimes agreeing and sometimes not—of the senators, representatives, State officers, and Secretary Welles.

"In the evening, went to War Department, where I saw Curtis' despatch from Helena, urging the clearing out of the Mississippi, before attempting inland operations; and McClellan's, announcing advance of the enemy on Malvern Hill, and his purpose to order the retirement of Hooker's division; and those of various governors, announcing progress of volunteering and preparations for drafting—on the whole, very encouraging, and denoting the greatest possible earnestness and determination among the people.

"Horne, Taylor, Davis, and Hopper (all blacks) called. Wrote my friend E. and sent some pencil scribblings. Mr. Gest called, but not able to see him."

The next entry in the same book is under date of the next day. It runs as follows:

"Sent letter and scrap to my friend E., and sundry other letters to sundry people—particularly General Pope's recommendation of young Perkins, with my heartiest indorsement, to Governor Tod. Also sent General Pope, by Major Johnson, some photographs of himself and Colonel Welch, taken by the Treasury artist before he went to the field.

"Attended Cabinet meeting. Autograph letter from Queen Victoria, announcing marriage of Princess Alice. Seward gave account

of order prepared by General Halleck, Secretary Stanton, and himself, forbidding changes of domicile and granting of passports until after the draft. Nothing proposed and nothing done of any moment.

"Directed Connecticut abstract and my letter of recommendation to be sent to President."

Is not this a good indication ?

"WASHINGTON, D. C., *August 12, 1862.*

"MY DEAR SIR: Accept my thanks for the *Advertiser* containing your admirable address. Every word finds its echo in my deepest convictions.

"Have you considered whether it will not soon be necessary to terminate slavery, at least in South Carolina and the Gulf States, by a military order proceeding from the President, or by like orders from the commanding generals of the departments, acting under the President's direction? I resisted the conviction of this necessity a long time, hoping the war might be successfully terminated and slavery left to the disposition of the State authorities; but events of the last six months have expelled this hope, and that conviction is now established firmly in my mind.

"With the greatest respect and esteem,

"Yours very truly,

"HON. EDWARD EVERETT.

S. P. CHASE."

CHAPTER XXXIII.

CHASE AND M'DOWELL—THE WAR ON M'CLELLAN.

AUGUST 15th (Friday) is the next day distinguished by an entry in the diary of Mr. Chase. At the beginning of the entry are the characters, "p., and r. un peu de Marius." These characters appear to be a mixing of three tongues at least ; but, like "Bill Sykes, his mark," they may be simpler than they seem. About the meaning of the characters in association with them there can be no question. In plain, nervous English, we are told :

"Saw in *Republican* account of interview invited by President with colored people, and his talk to them on colonization. How much better would be a manly protest against prejudice against color! and a wise effort to give freemen homes in America! A military order, emancipating at least the slaves of South Carolina, Georgia, and the Gulf States, would do more to terminate the war and insure an early restoration of solid peace and prosperity than anything else that can be devised."

On the 15th of August Secretary Chase rode out with Mr. Parsons. At night, Judge Harris called while the Secretary and Mr. Boutwell were engaged on tax appointments. He was invited to breakfast the next morning.

The next day (Saturday) was written of as follows by our martial-minded, then most melancholy hero :

"Nothing in public affairs of special note to-day New regiments begin to arrive ; but what reason to hope more from new levies than old? None that I see, except General Halleck ; if he fails, all fails. Pope telegraphs that his whole force is as near the Rapidan as the nature of the country will permit, and that he is pushing strong reconnoissance beyond. Grant telegraphs that 15,000 men have gone to Decatur, to replace 15,000 sent to reinforce Buell ; that he is now weak, and may be attacked, though there is no indication yet of more than feints toward Missouri. Nothing from Burnside or McClellan."

The entry in Mr. Chase's diary of August 15th, already cited,

contains also this language, following remarks on the subject of the Connecticut tax appointments :

"No Cabinet to-day. Went to War Department. Stanton said Halleck had sent Burnside to James River to act as second in command, or as adviser of McClellan—in reality, to control him. He thought the experiment would fail, and wished I would go and see Halleck. Went. Asked about the mission of Burnside. Halleck said he could not disclose it, as it was uncertain what it would really turn out to be. Asked him what was the hostile force at Richmond? He thought 75,000 to 80,000 men. Before Pope? About 60,000. Whole army in Virginia? About 150,000. I thought it not possible, unless western force was much reduced. He thought a levy *en masse* had been made, and that it was possible for the enemy to bring 600,000 to 700,000 into the field. I thought the whole number could not, at this time, exceed 300,000 to 350,000; of which at least 180,000 to 230,000 were in the West, South-west, and South-east. I inquired about East Tennessee and the Mississippi River, but got no satisfactory information on either point. He said, however, that 15,000 men had been sent from Decatur to reinforce Buell, and 15,000 from Grant to Decatur; and that Curtis was needed to prevent further inroads into Missouri. The whole interview was very unsatisfactory, though the general was very civil. Left with him memoranda in behalf of Colonel Carrington.

"The papers show that the rebels mean to execute their threat of treating Pope's officers and soldiers as felons, and not as prisoners of war. This can not be permitted without shameful disgrace. When will the administration awake to its duty?"

The next letter, under date August 25th, introduces an unpleasant subject in this fashion :

"MY DEAR SIR: Your letter came too late. The President appointed Mr. Raymond, on my recommendation, which was founded in part on my personal knowledge and in greater part on the opinions of General Ashley and every other person, without an exception, I believe, to whom I spoke on the subject.

"Had any one intimated to me that Mr. Mott would accept the office I should certainly have hesitated before offering it to any other person. But he had declined a higher position, when I proposed it to him, and I had no thought of his accepting this.

"Only one thing would have caused me doubt as to my duty, and that is the unfortunate difficulties which have arisen in the Toledo district. General Ashley has been too faithful a representative in Congress of the great cause to which I have devoted my life, and too true a friend to myself, to allow me, without dishonor, to do anything which could be interpreted into distrust or disregard of him.

"Of course, he, as every other man, must take such positions as the people choose to give him; or, if they choose to give him none, acquiesce loyally in their decision. But, certainly no man in Congress less than he merits any mark of disapproval from his constituents,

or more deserves to have a fair hearing and unprejudiced judgment from them. Of course, there should be a hearty acquiescence of all in the decision of the majority concerning him.

"I have had neither time nor opportunity to inform myself correctly in respect to the present complications in the district; but my sympathies must be (knowing, as I do, what important services he has rendered our cause) with General Ashley.

"With sincere respect, I remain, very truly, your friend,
 "C. WAGGONER, Esq. S. P. CHASE."

Here is another letter of interest in the same connection, under date September 17th:

"MY DEAR JUDGE: I have seldom been so much surprised and pained, as by your letter of the 10th inst., and the copies of General Ashley's letters which came with it. I received also, by the same mail to-day, copies of the same letters in print.

"You know how warm a regard I have ever cherished for General Ashley, as a true friend and faithful advocate of our cause, and how glad I have always been to promote his advancement, believing that I was thereby promoting the great political principles which I embraced early and have defended perseveringly.

"I never dreamed until to-day that he was capable of seeking an appointment for anybody, stranger, acquaintance, or friend, upon any understanding, direct or indirect, that any share of its emoluments or opportunities for emolument should belong to him.

"I can never approve or attempt to justify any such understandings. He who enters into them must vindicate them if capable of vindication.

"It may be properly observed, however, and it may somewhat extenuate the culpability attaching to him, that very loose ideas on these matters have been current in Washington; the prevalence of which may be attributed, in large part, to the system of parcelling out executive patronage to members of Congress—a system against which I have constantly and earnestly protested.

"His letters can not have appeared to General Ashley as they appear to me, and I am confident that, once impressed with a sense of their impropriety, he will never expose himself again to such a censure. Indeed, an act of Congress, for which I believe he voted, now expressly forbids such transactions.

"Under these circumstances, I think, if I were a voter in his district, I should not withhold from him my support, to the detriment of our cause. I think I should do by Ashley what Clay once asked one of his constituents, whom he had displeased by voting for the compensation bill, to do by him, 'Pick the flint and try the old gun again.'

"You see I have answered your letter though you have asked for no answer. And I must not close without a word or two on other matters.

"We have fallen on very evil days. Under the influence of a shortsighted notion, that the old Union can be reconstituted, after a year's

civil war of free States and slave States, just as it was, the President has hitherto refused to sanction any adequate measure for the liberation of the loyal population of the South from slavery to the rebels. Hence we are fighting rebellion with one hand and with the other supplying its vital elements of strength. Then we have placed and continued in command generals who have never manifested the slightest sympathy with our cause, as related to the controlling question of slavery. These naturally have never been more than half in earnest; and, instead of *their* being impelled to the most vigorous action, their influence has been suffered to paralyze, in a great degree, the activity of the administration. In addition to this there has been enormous waste and profusion, growing out of high pay and excessive indulgence. All these causes tend to demoralization, and we are demoralized. I can not go into particulars, but the instances abound.

"It is some consolation to me that my voice and, so far as opportunity has allowed, my example has been steadily opposed to all this. I have urged my ideas on the President and my associates, till I begin to feel that they are irksome to the first, and to one or two, at least, of the second.

"What to do I know not. I confess I should like to complete the work of bringing in a sound system of national currency, and of relieving the people of the evils of our existing bank-note circulation. Besides this I see nothing for me to do here; and whether I should remain here for this is the question. What do you think of it?

"We have lost Harper's Ferry, but are hoping for good news from McClellan's main army. Many think the surrender of Harper's Ferry entirely unnecessary. It is a heavy blow, and may precede important events. I will not, however, anticipate.

"As ever most cordially your friend,

"HON. A. S. LATTY.

S. P. CHASE."

I do not propose to comment on these letters. Certainly, never having examined the evidence relating to the matters of fact, stated or referred to in them, I do not present them as affording indication against any one named therein. They serve to aid in characterizing the public spirit of their writer, and they serve so well that purpose that I do not feel at liberty to suppress them. On the other hand, I do not feel at liberty to use them without reminding readers of the presumption of innocence in every case, and warning them not to receive the letters in question as even tending to prove that any one was guilty of any wrong whatever.

On the whole, however, I can not set down to the *credit* of our hero the two letters relating to the Ashley matter. They belong, it seems to me, rather to the *debit* side of the account, all things considered. But of that each reader is to judge, with full ability to form his judgment for himself.

August 25, 1862, was marked by the writing of several pleasant letters, of which the following, addressed to A. A. Guthrie, Esq., is a fair sample :

"MY DEAR FRIEND: Your letter was duly received, and I thank you for it.

"Now and then I have the pleasure of calling into public service, without expectation or solicitation, a man of such integrity and capacity that his appointment honors the office.

"Among these instances it gives me real pleasure to place your appointment, which the President has kindly made at my instance. With best regards to all your family. Yours faithfully,

"S. P. CHASE."¹

But here is one which many residents of Ohio will regard with unutterably painful interest :

"WASHINGTON, D. C., August 25, 1862.

"MY DEAR STONE: I have recommended, and the President has appointed, you collector for the Seventh District, understanding that O'Harra did not desire to be a candidate in opposition to you.

"Please see that O'Harra does not suffer because of what I do. You know his merits, and will, I am sure, confer with him freely as to appointments of deputies. Do not overlook among them Powers, whose capacity and fidelity you know. Yours truly,

"HON. A. P. STONE.

"S. P. CHASE."

Of the Columbus life of our hero quite imperfect notice has been taken. One of the least creditable things therein was the hold that such men as A. P. Stone, then, somehow, managed to get on him.

August 28 yields this letter :

"WASHINGTON, D. C., August 28, 1862.

"MY DEAR SEWARD: Young Mr. Cameron, of Harrisburg, is here at the request of his father, to urge that leave be granted the general to come home on a furlough—say three or four months.

"I called on the President this morning about it. He seemed to think that the request must ultimately be granted, but expressed no opinion as to the expediency of granting it, saying that he desired

¹Here is another:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., August 25, 1862.

"MY DEAR FRIEND: It is a real pleasure to me to offer to you some positive evidence of my respect and friendship, in the form of an appointment as collector for the Eleventh District. The President, at my instance, has signed your commission, which will be sent you forthwith by the commissioner.

"With best regards to your family, I remain as ever,

"Faithfully your friend,

"JOHN CAMPBELL, Esq.

S. P. CHASE."

to do nothing until after consulting you. He proposed to wait till your return therefore. But as there has been a good deal of delay already I suggested I would write you. To this he assented, saying that I might say to you that he had no objection if you had none. I said, 'may I say that you think it best to grant the leave?' He replied, 'no, I wish to leave it to him.' I then said, 'have you any objection that I should say on my own account that I think it right?' And he answered, 'not at all.'

"On the whole it does seem to me best, and I hope you will concur with me, and if you do, grant the leave to go by next steamer.

"Yours very truly,

"HON. W. H. SEWARD.

S. P. CHASE."

August 29th is thus recorded:

"The Secretary of War called on me in reference to General McClellan. *He has long believed, and so have I, that General McClellan ought not to be trusted with the command of any army of the Union, and the events of the last few days have greatly strengthened our judgment.* We called on Judge Bates, who was not at home; called on General Halleck, and remonstrated against General McClellan commanding; Secretary wrote and presented to General H. a call for a report, touching McC.'s disobedience of orders and consequent delay of support to Army of Virginia; General H. promised answer to-morrow morning."

Saturday, August 30, affords the following:

"*Judge Bates called, and we conversed in regard to General McClellan, he concurring in our judgment.* Afterwards I went to the War Department, where Watson showed me a paper expressing it. I suggested modifications. Afterward saw Stanton. He approved the modifications, and we both signed the paper. I then took it to Secretary Welles, who concurred in judgment, but thought the paper not exactly right, and did not sign it. Returned the paper to Stanton.

"*Promised report from General Halleck was not made.*"

That last sentence looks not insignificant. But let that pass.

"Much busied at department to-day, although it is Sunday," says Mr. Chase, August 31, 1862, adding: "and spent much time with the President, endeavoring to close appointments under tax law."

The same day offers the record:

"David Dudley Field called and said we had sustained a serious defeat yesterday, and that the Secretary of War wished to see me. Went to the Department and found that General Pope had, in fact, been defeated partially, and had fallen back to Centreville. Fitz John Porter was not in the battle, nor was Franklin or Sumner, with whose corps the result would have probably been very different.

Little fighting to-day. Clerks went out to battle-field as nurses, Mr. Harrington with them."

On the same day, our hero wrote as follows to Hon. Thaddeus Stevens :

"I read your letter to the President, and he has concluded to send Senator Pomeroy to Chiriqui to report before conclusively doing anything.

"Colonization may do something in the way of creating an American-African state in Central America, but it will not solve our home problem, nor, in my judgment, does it suit our present exigencies.

"Pope, after a great success Friday, was compelled to fall back to Centreville yesterday. Neither Franklin nor Sumner were sent forward fast enough by McClellan to reach him. But I think they are with him to-day, and that he is stronger than the enemy.

"McClellan, at last, is reduced to the command of the residue of the Army of the Potomac not sent to Pope. This is late, but well, though not well enough."

September 1st, we have these letters :

"MY DEAR SIR: I presume the article from the *Bulletin* from 'B. G.' is from your pen.

"Its temper is excellent, and its advice, upon the information possessed, sound.

"No one gave to General McClellan more unreserved confidence than I. It was withdrawn only when painfully convinced that it was not warranted. Then, for a long time, I hoped it might be restored, but failure succeeded failure and mistake—to use the mildest word—mistake.

"I am now thoroughly satisfied that he ought no longer to be intrusted with the command of any army of the United States; and I do not see how I can reconcile my duty to the country, with sharing the responsibilities of the administration, if it continues to allow its military actions to be guided in any considerable degree by his counsel or control.

"My heart acquits me of all personal hostility to him. My country requires me to look only to capacity and will to serve her. He is my best friend who is her best friend.

"Your faithfully,

S. P. CHASE."

"MY DEAR MR. GALLAGHER: Your parcel of extracts from newspapers came to-day, and alarmed me a good deal; I supposed that each scrip chronicled some defeat, and that the aggregate would sum up in the loss of Missouri.

"But, unwilling to accept so unsatisfactory a conclusion without more examination, I patiently went to work and analyzed the whole mass, and was agreeably surprised to find that many papers related to the same affair, and that the summing up was, that the rebels had been routed every-where in Missouri, and driven out of the entire State, except in the north-east, where they could not maintain them-

selves against even a tolerably respectable force under any active leader—brave as well.

"Of course there is an unsettled condition of society—many robberies—not a few murders; but these things ought to be suppressed without the excitement of any alarm.

"It would be very satisfactory to me, and might be very useful, if I could have, from week to week, a chronologized account of events and incidents, with references to the paper extracts accompanying and sustaining it; just such as I have extracted from the extracts you have sent me—which I would send you as a specimen, if my abbreviations were legible. Can't you give me this?

"Yours truly,

"W. D. GALLAGHER, Esq.

S. P. CHASE,

"I see no danger here, but am not very well informed, and don't care to speculate."

Under the same date was written :

"This has been an anxious day. An order appears declaring command of his corps in Burnside; of that portion of the Army of the Potomac not sent forward to Pope, in McClellan; of the Army of Virginia and all forces temporarily attached, in Pope; of the whole, in Halleck. Reports from Pope's army state that its losses are heavy, but in good spirits—confirm that neither Franklin nor Sumner arrived, and that McClellan failed to send forward ammunition.

"On suggestion of Judge Bates, the remonstrance against McClellan, which had been previously signed by Smith, was modified; and, having been further slightly altered on my suggestion, was signed by Stanton, Bates, and myself, and afterward by Smith. Welles declined to sign it, on the ground that it might seem unfriendly to the President—though this was the exact reverse of its intent. He said he agreed in opinion, and was willing to express it, personally. This determined us to await the Cabinet meeting tomorrow.

"Meantime McClellan came up, on invitation of Halleck, and had personal conference with him and the President. Soon after, a rumor pervaded the town that McClellan was to resume his full command. Colonel Key called at my house, and told me that he supposed such was the fact."

Queer Colonel Key! How often he did harm where he was even over-earnestly endeavoring to do good! Yet he did great things and good things in his day.

September 2d furnishes this account :

"Cabinet met, but neither the President nor Secretary of War were present. Mr. F. W. Seward (the Secretary of State being out of town) said nothing. All others agreed that we needed a change in commander of the army. Mr. Blair referred to the report [support]

he had constantly given to McClellan, but confessed that he now thought he could not wisely be trusted with the chief command. Mr. Bates was very decided against his competency, and Mr. Smith equally so. Mr. Welles was of the same judgment, though less positive in expression."

How characteristic! Secretary Chase continues:

"After some time, while the talk was going on, the President came in, saying that, not seeing much for a Cabinet meeting to-day, he had been talking at the department and head-quarters about 'the war.' The Secretary of War came in. In answer to some inquiry, the fact was stated by the President or the Secretary, that McClellan had been placed in command of the forces to defend the Capital—or, rather, to use the President's own words, 'he had set him to putting these troops into the fortifications about Washington,' believing that he could do that thing better than any other man. I remarked, that this could be done equally well by the engineer who constructed the forts, and that putting General McClellan in command for this purpose was equivalent to making him second in command of the entire army. The Secretary of War said that no one was now responsible for the defense of the Capital; that the order to McClellan was given by the President direct to McClellan, and that General Halleck considered himself relieved from responsibility, although he acquiesced and approved the order; that McClellan could now shield himself, should anything go wrong, under Halleck, while Halleck could and would disclaim all responsibility for the order given. The President thought General Halleck as much responsible as before, and repeated that the whole scope of the order was, simply, to direct McClellan to put the troops into the fortifications, and command them for the defense of Washington. I remarked that this seemed to me equivalent to making him commander-in-chief for the time being, and that I thought it would prove very difficult to make any substitution hereafter, for active operations; that, I had no feeling whatever against McClellan; that he came to the command with my most cordial approbation and support; that until I became satisfied that his delays would greatly injure our cause, he possessed my full confidence; that, after I had felt myself compelled to withhold that confidence, I had (since the President, notwithstanding my opinion that he should, refrained from putting another in command), given him all possible support in every way, raising means and urging reinforcements; that his experience as a military commander had been little else than a series of failures; and that his omission to urge troops forward to the battles of Friday and Saturday evinced a spirit which rendered him unworthy of trust, and that I could not but feel that giving command to him was equivalent to giving Washington to the rebels. This, and more, I said. Other members of the Cabinet expressed a general concurrence, but in no very energetic terms. [Mr. Blair must be excepted, but he did not dissent.]

"The President said it distressed him exceedingly to find himself differing on such a point from the Secretary of War and the Secre-

tary of the Treasury; that he would gladly resign his place; but he could not see who could do the work wanted as well as McClellan. I named Hooker, or Sumner, or Burnside, either of whom could do the work better.

"At length the conversation ended, and the meeting broke up, leaving the matter as we found it.

"A few tax appointments were lying on the table. I asked the President to sign them, which he did, saying he would sign them just as they were, and ask no questions. I told him that they had all been prepared in accordance with his directions, and that it was necessary to complete the appointments.

"They were signed, and I returned to the department."

Wednesday, September 3, the record closes and narrates as follows:

"The getting the army into the works, and making general arrangements, went on to-day. General McClellan assumed the command, and returned to his old head-quarters as if the disastrous expedition of near eight months had been only the absence of a few days, unmarked by special incident; and, with the same old staff, except the French princes, Mr. Astor, and Mr. Gantt, he went out, as of old, to visit the fortifications and the troops. Pope came over and talked with the President, who assured him of his entire satisfaction with his conduct; assured him that McClellan's command was only temporary; and gave him reason to expect that another army of active operations would be organized at once, which he (Pope) would lead.

"In my department, nothing especial occurred; but the expenses are becoming enormous."

Thursday, September 4, witnessed this memorandum:

"McDowell came over to-day, and gave me a circumstantial account of the recent battles—attributing our ill-success to the conduct of McClellan in not urging forward reinforcements, and especially to the conduct of Porter, and his division, on the day of the last battle. He stayed all night."

The same day, Secretary Chase wrote, I know not to whom, this deeply interesting letter:

[Private.]

"WASHINGTON, September 4, 1862.

"MY DEAR SIR: I see the *World* connects me with General McDowell. Is it worth while to take any notice of it?

"I recommended General McDowell as I did General McClellan; neither more warmly than the other, and am perfectly willing to take my share, with others who recommended them just as I did, of the responsibility of their appointments.

"My expectations of General McDowell have been better satisfied

than those I formed of General McClellan ; but the latter is supported by all the enemies of the administration and by many of its friends, and the President declaring himself unable to do better, and acknowledging that he is not doing well, places McClellan in command of the troops and fortifications around Washington, so that, for the time being at all events, he is restored virtually to his position as commander-in-chief. Of course it is a good time for secession, semi-secession, anti-administration, and semi-administration papers to unite in laudations of McClellan and denunciations of McDowell.

"For my part, I know a large part of the truth, and my opinions are unchanged.

"McDowell has been unfortunate ; but he is a loyal, brave, truthful, capable officer. He is a disciplinarian. While he never hesitated to appropriate private property of rebels to public use, he repressed, as far as possible, private marauding as incompatible with the laws of civilized war, and equally incompatible with the discipline and efficiency of troops. He believes that the immense trains with which our armies move are fatal to rapidity of movements, and so dangerous to final success. He has sought, therefore, to cut them down to the lowest point compatible with the effective condition of the troops. From these two causes come a large share of the complaints against him. Then he never drinks, or smokes, or chews, or indulges in any kind of license. He is serious and earnest. He resorts to no acts of popularity. He has no political aims, and perhaps not any very pronounced political opinions, except the conviction that this war sprung from the influences of slavery, and that, whenever slavery stands in the way of successful prosecution, slavery must get out of the way. He is too indifferent in manner. His officers are sometimes alienated by it. He is too purely military in his intercourse with his soldiers. There is an apparent hauteur, no, that is not the word, rough indifference expresses better the idea, in his way towards them, that makes it hard for them to feel any warm personal sentiments towards him, unless they find, what they hitherto have not found, that he leads them successfully, and the honor of serving under him compensates for their griefs.

"A Colonel Tileston, who had the best opportunities of observation in the late battles, tells me that McDowell did his whole duty, and more than his share of the work, and it does seem to me that if Pope had been supported, as he should have been, by McClellan, the first success would have been a complete victory, and the last reverses would have been converted into successive triumphs.

"I meant to add something about the criticisms of my financial policy. Will those who condemn indicate a better ? I shall be glad to learn.

"Under difficult circumstances I have accomplished all I believe that could be accomplished. It is pretty hard to endure censures so completely undeserved, and I have often felt it would be well to retire and leave the administration to other hands."

The next day is marked by the following account :

"The President, at Cabinet meeting, read Pope's report, which

strongly inculcates McClellan, Porter, Franklin, and Griffin; and asked opinion as to its publication. All against it, on the score of policy under existing circumstances. President stated that Porter, Franklin, and Griffin would be relieved from command and brought before a Court of Inquiry; and also, I think, that the order had been made.

"The President had previously, at the department, told me that the clamor against McDowell was so great that he could not lead his troops unless something was done to restore confidence; and proposed to me to suggest to him the asking for a Court of Inquiry. I told him I had already done so, and would do so again. So, availing myself of a messenger from General Pope, who came during the meeting, I sent a note to McDowell, asking him to come over. He accordingly came in the evening, and I suggested the matter to him. He thought it hard to make the demand when there were no charges. I told him I thought he could assume the charge made by the Michigan officer, who, when dying, scrawled a letter, saying he died a victim to Pope's imbecility and McDowell's treachery. He reflected, and then said he would make the demand. He stayed again all night."

The same day affords this letter:

"MY DEAR SIR: Mr. Stanton has read me your telegram to him, and his answer.

"Perhaps it is well enough for me to say, that his answer is the only one which, in my judgment, he can give, without giving rise to more evils than the measure proposed will cure.

"General Mitchel ought to have fifteen thousand men to go with him to his department; but it seems impossible, just now, to get them furnished by General Halleck. But he ought not to wait for them. He ought to go immediately to his department, and avail himself of the authorities he has.

"The country ought to demand that he be fully sustained, and enabled at once to commence most vigorous operations in that quarter.

"There seems to be no immediate danger apprehended here. Indeed, I am inclined to think, that if our generals could have only acted in concert and harmony, the routed enemy would now be flying toward Richmond. But I know too little to have any confident opinion about any military matter. I do know, however, that if the *old* McClellan policy is to be resumed here, and not counterpoised by vigor elsewhere, the chance of ultimate success sinks near zero.

"Yours cordially,

"HON. GEORGE OPDYKE.

S. P. CHASE."

Is not that a remarkable conclusion? Here is a man coolly confessing that he knows too little to have any confident opinion about any military matter whatever, yet proceeding, in the very next sentence, to express an absolutely confident opinion about one of the most important military matters ever studied by an educated soldier.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE INTEREST DEEPENS—PURSE AND SWORD.

THE interest deepens as we go forward. Saturday, September 6th, furnished the matter of this memorandum :

"General and Mrs. Worthington breakfasted with me; also General McDowell and Mr. Haven.

"After breakfast, General McDowell read to me the draft of his letter, which I thought excellent, but suggested one or two modifications which he adopted. I then went to the department.

"Soon after, the President came in, and asked what McDowell had determined to do. I told him. 'Where is the letter?' He took it, intending to have it copied, I suppose. 'Well, it ought to be done immediately; for the corps must march, and General Halleck feels that he must be relieved, at all events, from command. Where can he be found?' 'I can not tell. An orderly, no doubt, can find him.' The President went away, and, later in the day, I heard that General McDowell had been relieved at his own request. He came in himself, afterward, stating the fact, and adding, 'I did not ask to be relieved—I only asked for a court.' I explained as well as I could, and he left me.

"Afterward, I started to War Department, but met Seward, who said Stanton was not there. Went to President's, where Stanton was. He spoke of McDowell's letter, and praised it in the strongest terms."

The same entry states :

"In the evening, General Pope came in. He expressed strong indignation against Fitz John Porter and McClellan, who had, as he believed, prevented his success. He wanted his report published, as an act of justice to himself and his army. I stated my objections to present publication on the ground of injury to service at this critical time; but said that a general order, thanking his army for what they had done, ought to be promulgated. He said this would be satisfactory (partially so, at least), but that Halleck would not publish one. I said I would see the President and urge it."

On the same day, in the morning, Mr. Barney came to see the Secretary of the Treasury about the last contract in New York. Concerning this, it seems, "quite a difference of opinion and interest" existed, "one or two of our most influential journals being con

cerned in its continuance. The question," according to the Secretary's version, "was, whether the contract, by its own terms, was not limited to three years, and whether an extension of it beyond that time would be, in reality, a new contract. Doubting on the point," Mr. Chase "referred it to the Attorney-General, who returned an answer expressing a decided opinion that the contract was so limited and could not be extended without a new contract." Before receiving this answer the Secretary had telegraphed to Mr. Field to "come on, if he desired to say anything further."

The conclusion of this variously interesting entry is as follows:

"Mr. Barney and others also called, B. having declined invitation to breakfast, but said he would come at 9, to meet Field, who telegraphed he would come and call at that hour. Major Andrews came in and spoke so of Colonel Crook, that I agreed to ask that he be made a brigadier-general. Major Andrews wrote a statement of what Crook did in Western Virginia."

Sunday, September 7, 1862, the Secretary made this record:

"Mr. Field called after breakfast, and proposed to go to War Department, and we went together. Met Gurowski, who denounced what he called military usurpation, saying that Franklin's corps, marching out, cheered McClellan. Found Stanton, Pope, and Wadsworth uneasy on account of critical condition of affairs. Spoke to Stanton about Crook, and he promised to give him a commission. Saw Halleck, and he approved.

"Went to President's, and spoke of general order commending Pope's army. He thought it due, and said he would speak to Halleck.

"Coming home, met McDowell and T. C. H. Smith. Smith came home with me and spoke of battles, eulogizing in strong terms both Pope and McDowell."

In the same entry I find the memorandum:

"Received, to-day, telegram from Paymaster-General of New York: 'Can not forward troops for want of means to pay State bounty. Will you exchange smaller United States notes for one thousand's and five hundreds' dollars to enable State to do it?' Answered, 'yes! Be as prompt in sending your troops;' and sent necessary directions to Mr. Cisco."

Then follow these two paragraphs:

"In the afternoon, McDowell called to say, 'Good-bye.' The Court of Inquiry demanded by him had been postponed, and he had fifteen days' leave of absence. He went away, feeling very sad, indeed.

"In the night, a large part of the army moved northward, following the force already sent forward to meet the rebels invading Mary-

land. Generals Burnside, Hooker, Sumner, and Reno in command (Burnside chief), as reported."

Under date September 7, we have also this account :

"Had long talk about labor contract, and dissatisfaction of our friends with Mr. Barney. So far as I could see, the dissatisfaction was unreasonable. I said I could not hold the contract to be continuing, unless the Attorney-General should reserve his opinion, of which there was too little probability to warrant postponement of action, and so virtual continuance, until his review of his decision. Said I would gladly oblige party friends, but not at the expense of any breach of public duty. Field and Barney left together, and soon after Harrington."

Monday, September 8, 1862, the Secretary made his diary say :

"Clay came in, and Cooke left. Clay and I rode toward department in wagon. Clay said he had made up his mind to take department, and that the President and Stanton were willing he should take that beyond the Mississippi. 'Would I go with him to see Halleck?' 'Certainly.' Halleck received us kindly, but was unwell. Showed no favor to the new department project.

"Returned to department and attended to general business. Nothing of special financial moment. Barney came in and said that *Stanton and Wadsworth had advised him to leave for New York this evening, as communication with Baltimore might be cut off before to-morrow.* He would be governed by my advice. Told him I did not think the event probable, but he had best govern himself by the advice received.

"After he had gone General Mansfield came in and talked very earnestly about the necessity of ordering up, from Suffolk, First Delaware and Third and Fourth New York, trained and disciplined now fourteen months, each 800 strong, say 2,400 men; and from Norfolk Nineteenth Wisconsin and Forty-eighth Pennsylvania, say 1,600 men; leaving at Suffolk, Forey's brigade of four diminished regiments, say 1,800 men in all, lato of Shields' division; Eleventh Pennsylvania cavalry (a full and good regiment), say 900 men; and Dodge's regiment of mounted rifles, except one company; and at Norfolk, Ninety-ninth New York, and one company of Dodge's, sufficient for military police. He favored leaving Keys and Peck at Yorktown. He said the defenses of the city were weak on the eastern side; and that there ought to be at least 65,000 good men to hold it if McClellan is defeated—to improve victory if he is successful

"He referred to old times. Was in Texas the winter before rebellion broke out. Saw Twiggs, who hated him because he was on a court-martial. Was then told by officer in Council of War of K. G. C., that Floyd and Cobb in Cabinet, and Jeff. Davis and Breckinridge, were members. In this Council of War, orders were given to seize navy-yards, forts, etc., while its members were yet Cabinet officers and senators. The Order of the K. G. C. ramified throughout the South. First offered services to Juarez, who refused them

because too dangerous. They then plotted the invasion of Cuba, which failed. Then declared themselves protectors of Southern rights, and levied a contribution upon all planters and slave-holders, some giving \$5 and some \$10, and some more or less. In this way they got large sums and commenced operations. They designed to seize Washington and inaugurate Breckinridge; and, with reference to this, Mason wrote Faulkner, advising him not to resign—this letter being now in Seward's possession. This plot only failed through the bringing of troops to Washington and the unwillingness of leaders to make a bloody issue so early. He spoke of General Scott. Said he had not treated him well—had placed McDowell in command over the river, last year, superseding himself; and, when he had asked for explanation he simply replied that his orders had been given. He felt himself wronged; but did his duty to the best of his ability. He was afterward treated badly by General Wool, who did not like him, though he treated him civilly. Had lately been in command at Suffolk (an insignificant post) until summoned here to Court of Inquiry. Wanted active employment, but was unable to get any. Had sent for his horses, and proposed to visit all the fortifications around the city on his own account.

"I was," records Mr. Chase, "a good deal affected by the manifest patriotism, and desire to do something for his country, manifested by the old general, and could not help wishing that he was younger, and thinking that, perhaps, after all, it would have been better to trust him."

The entry concludes as follows:

"After the general left, went to War Department, where I found the President, Stanton, and Wadsworth. The President said he had felt badly all day. Wadsworth said there was no danger of an attack on Washington, and that the man ought to be severely punished who intimated the possibility of its surrender. The President spoke of the great number of stragglers he had seen coming into town this morning, and of the immense losses by desertion.

"Returned home; Major Andrews and others called."

In the entry of next day, we have:

"Major Andrews came to breakfast. Told him I had seen Secretary of War, who had assured me that Colonel Crook's commission as brigadier had been sent him.

"Went to department. Directed commission for Tenth New York district to be sent to Hyatt. Directed Mr. Rogers to proceed to New York and expedite alterations in Exchange and Custom House, and make proper contracts for the same.

"Went to President's to attend Cabinet meeting; but there was only a talk. I proposed the creation of a department beyond the Mississippi, and that Clay be placed in command, with whom Frank P. Blair should be associated; and that an expedition should be organized to Petersburg, and afterward to Charleston."

General Van Rensselaer called to ask the interest of Secretary.

Chase for him as Paymaster-General; and Mr. Carroll to ask the same for General Griffin. We have these memoranda, under the same date:

"Went to War Department, where Watson told me that General McClellan had telegraphed, expressing doubt if there was any large rebel force in Maryland, and apprehension that their movement might be a feint. Watson dined with me. Read him Denison's letter from New Orleans about evacuation of Baton Rouge, Butler's black regiment, etc., etc.

"Just after dinner, Captain —— came in with Mr. G., who had been arrested near Soldiers' Home as a suspicious character; taken before General Wadsworth, to whom he said he was known to me; sent by General W. to me; identified and discharged. He is an Englishman, of a Manchester house, who brought a letter from Mr. Lagard to Acting-Minister Stewart, by whom he had been commended to me. Riding around to gratify curiosity, he had fallen into trouble."

Wednesday, September 10, has this most interesting statement:

"Mr. Skinner at breakfast. Soon after Mr. Hamilton (James A.) came, and we conversed about the condition of things. He said the committee from New York had arrived, representing the views of the five New England governors who met lately; and that they would insist on the resignation of Messrs. S. and B. I told him I thought the mission vain; that it might be useful if all the heads of departments were to resign, and that I was not only ready but anxious to do so, either with my associates or alone. He criticized severely some passages in Mr. Seward's diplomatic correspondence; especially those in the letter of April 10, to Mr. Adams, which concede the proposition that the Federal government could not reduce the seceding States to obedience by conquest, and affirm that 'only an imperial or despotic government could subjugate thoroughly disaffected and insurrectionary members of the State.' He said in them was the key to the whole temporizing policy, civil and military, which had been pursued. I could make no reply to this, except to say, that I had never known Mr. Seward to object to any *action*, however vigorous, of a military nature, though his influence had been cast in favor of harmonizing the various elements of support to the administration, by retaining General McClellan in command, and by avoiding action which would be likely to alienate the Border States. I added that in his wishes of harmony I concurred; and that I credited him with good motives in the choice of means to ends, though I could not always concur with him in judgment as to their adaptation."

Is not that an indication of a good heart and a clear head? There was no cultivated jealousy, no self-conscious envy, no uncharitableness, in the man whose wonderful career we are retracing.

After conversation with Mr. Hamilton about Seward, September 10, 1862, Mr. Chase went to the department and transacted the routine business. He also examined the tax law for insurgent States; sent for Commissioner Boutwell; read and approved regulations drafted by Judge Smith, and "determined to overcome the difficulties in the way of putting the law into operation, arising from the omission of any appropriation for the purpose by Congress, by applying, so far as the district of South Carolina is concerned, the necessary amount from a small fund legally at" his "disposal."

Then occur the words:

"Received letter from Birney, desiring that his brother should command Kearney's corps, and sent it to War Department with strong commendation.

"General Kane called to thank me for my support to his appointment as brigadier, to which I answered, most sincerely, that 'he was indebted for the appointment, not to my support, but to his own merits.' Indeed, while I will most gladly aid merit to place, and seek it out in order to give it place, I am resolved never, from sympathy or compliance, to help unfit persons to position. The condition of the country is too critical for it now, were it ever excusable."

Here is part of the very interesting entry, dated September 10:

"At dinner, Mr. Hamilton told me of the interview between the New York committee and the President. The committee urged a change of policy. The President became vexed, and said, in substance, 'It is plain enough what you want—you want to get Seward out of the Cabinet. There is not one of you who would not see the country ruined if you could turn out Seward.'"

After dinner, the Secretary "rode to Mr. Cutts", proposing to invite Mrs. D. to ride, and was very sorry to learn from her mother that she was much indisposed."

Thereupon he went to the War Department. He records:

"No satisfactory information yet from army, and no satisfactory account of numbers or position of the enemy. David Taylor called with Mr. Northcott, of Champaign, who wants to be commissary. Indorsed his paper, 'recommended.'

"Received telegram from McDowell, asking if it was right to publish his letter. Answered, 'Will see it done.'"

Next day, our warlike Secretary of the Treasury recorded as follows meditations of a gloomy mood:

"Two weeks since, Hooker drove Ewell at Bristow Station—and

what weeks! Ten days of battle, and then such changes—changes in which it is difficult to see the public good! How singularly all our worst defeats have followed administrative cr—; no, blunders! McDowell defeated at Bull Run, because the administration would not supersede Patterson by a general of more capacity, vigor, and devotion to the cause. McClellan defeated at Richmond, because the administration recalled Shields and forced Frémont to retire from the pursuit of Jackson, in order that McClellan's force might be concentrated at Manassas to be sent to McClellan before Richmond. Pope defeated at Bull Run, because the administration persisted in keeping McClellan in command of the Army of the Potomac, after full warning that, under his lead and influence, that army could not cooperate effectively with Pope."

The entry of September 11 contains also this passage:

"After breakfast, this morning. Mr. Hamilton took leave of me, and I prepared to go to Fairfax Seminary to visit Butterfield, who, according to the papers, is sick there. Before starting, however, I thought it best to send Bannister to the War Department to learn if any thing of importance had occurred. He returned with a note to the effect that nothing important had come from the army, but that an important question was for consideration and decision, and if I would come up he would send for General Halleck and the President. Went up immediately. It rained. On arriving at the War Department, found General Wright, of Pennsylvania, there, with a request from Governor Curtin to call into active service all the able-bodied men of the State. The President, General Halleck, and Mr. Stanton submitted the question, 'What answer shall be returned to Governor Curtin?' General H. thought the important thing was to mass all the force possible on this side the enemy, and defeat him; and that a general arming of Pennsylvania would not be sufficiently available to warrant the vast expense sure to be incurred. Mr. Stanton expressed no opinion as to defeat of the enemy from this side, but thought Governor Curtin's proposal too large to be entertained, and stated that the arms for such a general arming could not be furnished.

"I asked General H: 'What force, in your opinion, has the enemy?' 'From the best evidence I have—not satisfactory, but the best—I reckon the whole number in Maryland and the vicinity of Washington at 150,000.' 'How many in Maryland?' 'Two-thirds, probably, or 100,000.' 'What, in your judgment, as a soldier, are the designs of the enemy?' 'Impossible to judge with certainty. Suppose he will do what I would do, if in his place—rest, recruit, get supplies, augment force, and obtain all possible information; and then strike the safest and most effectual blow he can—at Washington, Baltimore, or Philadelphia. If not strong enough to strike a blow, he will, after getting all he can, attempt to recross into Virginia.' 'You think, then, there is no probability of an advance into Pennsylvania at present?' 'None, unless a raid.' Upon these statements, I expressed the opinion that, considering the situation of our troops sent out to attack the rebel army, it was not impossible that

a raid at least would be attempted into Pennsylvania, and that Governor Curtin was wise in making provision for it; that the proposition to arm the whole people was, however, too broad; and that I thought it would be well to authorize the governor to call out as many troops as could be armed with the arms he reported himself as having—say 30,000. The President said he was averse to giving the order, on the score of expenses, but would think of it till to-morrow.

"The President and Secretary Stanton having left the room, I took occasion to ask General Halleck what, in his judgment, were the causes of the demoralization of the troops. He replied, there were several causes: first, the incapacity of officers, from inexperience, or want of ability, or character; second, the want of proper discipline; third, a political cause—the action of the late Congress in its abolition and confiscation measures, which were very distasteful to the Army of the West, and, as he understood, also to the Army of the Potomac. I expressed my conviction that the influence of the last was exaggerated, and dropped the subject.

"I abandoned the idea of visiting Butterfield, and returned to the department, where I transacted usual routine business.

"In the evening, called to inquire for Mrs. Douglas, taking some ———"

Under date September 12 we have:

"Little of interest occurred at the department to-day. *Expenses are enormous, increasing instead of diminishing; and the ill-successes in the field have so affected government stocks that it is impossible to obtain money except on temporary deposit, and these deposits very little exceed ———.* We are forced, therefore, to rely on the increased issue of United States notes, which hurts almost as much as it helps; for the omission of Congress to take my measures to restrict bank-note circulation, makes the issue of these notes a stimulant to its increase, so that the augmentation of the currency proceeds by a double action, and prices rise proportionably. *It is a bad state of things; but neither the President, his counselors, nor his commanding general, seem to care.* They rush on from expense to expense, and from defeat to defeat, heedless of the abyss of bankruptcy and ruin which yawns before us. May God open the eyes of those who control us, before it is too late!

"Went over to the War Department about two. Found that no important intelligence of rebel movements had been received. The Secretary informed me that *he had heard* from General H. that the President is going out to see General McClellan; and commented with some severity on his humiliating submissiveness to that officer. It is indeed humiliating, but prompted, I believe, by a sincere desire to serve the country, and a fear that, should he supersede McClellan by any other commander, no advantage would be gained in leadership, but much harm in the disaffection of officers and troops. The truth is, I think, that the President, with the most honest intentions in the world, and a naturally clear judgment, and a true, unselfish patriotism, has yielded so much to Border State

and negrophobic counsels, that he now finds it difficult to arrest his own descent toward the most fatal concessions. He has already separated himself from the great body of the party which elected him; distrusts most those who represent its spirit, and waits. For what?"

Under the same date :

"Before I left the department, the Secretary kindly promised me a paymastership for Wm. D. Bickham; which will, when given, be a great gratification to a very worthy friend. We talked also of Port Royal and matters there. I advised the removal of Brannan, who is hostile to the plans of the department and the measures of Saxton. He said he would be ordered to the North; but did not seem inclined to talk much about it.

"Speaking of the number of rebels, he said he thought it could not exceed 100,000; but that his judgment was founded upon probabilities of supplies and transportation—not on reports."

The same entry contains this paragraph :

"Called on President, and spoke of leave of absence to Cameron. He referred me to Seward, to whom I went, and was informed that leave was sent by last steamer. We talked on many things—Barney's appointments, conduct of the war, etc., etc. Engaged to go together to-morrow, and urge expedition to C'n. He said some one had proposed that the President should issue a proclamation, on the invasion of Pennsylvania, freeing all the apprentices of that State, or with some similar object. I thought the jest ill-timed."

Judge Adams (Sixth Auditor), Mr. Burnam, of the Kentucky legislature, but then a refugee from his home, and Mr. Case, then of Portland, Maine, but formerly of Patriot, Indiana, dined with Mr. Chase. "The Kentucky slave-holders were more against slavery than the Northern conservative. Strange, yet not strange!" remarks our hero.

In the evening, Major D. Taylor, Mr. O'Harra, and Mr. Cooke called; later, Mr. Cummings. "General talk, and not very profitable."

Mr. Cooke and Mr. O'Harra wanted introduction to General Mitchell for Pitt Cooke and Mr. O'Harra, who, relates the diary, wanted "to buy cotton at Port Royal." It appears from the entry of the next day that a letter of introduction to General Mitchell was given, as requested, to Mr. Pitt Cooke and Mr. O'Harra.

"Colonel Kane called, and left note about Mr. McDowell. Mr. Cummings talked about '*Bulletin*;' about removal of one of the edi-

tors from custom house; about support to himself for assembly; about distribution of stamps, etc.; I got tired."

No wonder! All the wonder is that our hero did not kill himself by listening, or suffer death by being talked to, as the gentle reader pleases.

The next morning, Mr. Chase breakfasted alone, a thing he did too seldom. It would seem, however, that he had expected company. "What has become of Mr. Skinner?" he inquires.

After breakfast, he went to the Treasury Department. Having there attended to matters of routine, he went with Mr. Seward, by appointment, to the Navy Department, about expedition to Charleston. The visiting secretaries with Secretary Welles and Assistant-Secretary Fox, "examined chart." They learned that the "Iron-sides" and *Passaic* would be ready for sea by the first of October, which was more than two weeks longer than, ten days before that visit, Secretary Welles had given Mr. Chase to understand would be required.

We have this memorandum also:

"Fox thinks that James Island ought to have been held and that Hunter was wrong in withdrawing our force from it; but it is now commanded by our gunboats, so that a landing upon it is easy, and a force of 10,000 or 15,000 men would suffice for the reduction of Charleston. A land force, however, would have to act mainly independently of the naval; and no naval force but iron-clads could act with any efficiency, because the harbor being a *cul de sac*, wooden vessels entering it to bombard the town would be exposed to fire from all sides, and could not pass and repass the enemy's batteries as at Port Royal, and by motion, make the enemy's fire comparatively ineffectual. Iron-clads, however, such as the 'Passaic' and the 'Iron-sides,' could go right into the harbor, with little or no risk, and destroy the forts, batteries, and the town itself, if not surrendered. After all, it seemed to me that it would contribute greatly to the certainty of the result if a land force should be organized, and I determined to confer with the Secretary of War on the subject, as soon as possible. No time should be lost in making every arrangement for such overwhelming blows, just as soon as the iron-clads are ready, as will effectually annihilate the possibility of rebel success."

And this is the man who so distrusts his judgment as to matters appertaining to the art of war! Assuredly, one can not sufficiently wonder at so strange a spectacle of inconsistency in a man in general sufficiently consistent, of presumption in a man generally far from presumptuous.

The same entry, however, has this relieving passage:

"From the Navy Department, we went to head-quarters, where we found General Cullom, who said :

"We have got whipped again. We have just received a telegram that the rebels have defeated our people in Fayette county, Va., and are driving them down the Kanawha. The trouble is that our men won't fight."

"The style of remark did not suit me ; but it is too common among our generals. In my opinion, the soldiers are better than the officers."

God bless the sacred memory of the true-hearted pen for which we are indebted to those words of simple justice, perfect truth !

Chase goes on as follows :

"General Halleck came in, and we asked the situation. There was nothing new, he said, except confirmation that Burnside drove the rebels out of Frederick yesterday, and had renewed the fight to-day. Heavy firing had been heard from the direction of Harper's Ferry and the Frederick and Hagerstown road. We left head-quarters, and I returned to the department."

On the 13th of September we have also these words :

"Visited Mr. Clark's sealing and trimming machines for the ones and twos, and found them a perfect success ; and the ones and twos are sealed and trimmed by machinery, attended for the most part by women, with such prodigious advantage to the government that it seems difficult to imagine that coining, except in large masses, can be of much utility hereafter.

"Jay Cooke writes that he has visited New York and conversed with bankers, and thinks that \$10,000,000 in gold will be gladly deposited at four per cent. I think that in this way all the gold needed can be obtained at very small cost, and without affecting the market in any way. If it succeeds, it will form not the least remarkable chapter in the history of the financial success which has attended me thus far.

"Wrote to Katie and Nettie, and to Horton—to Katie, advising her not to return immediately ; to Horton about Pope.

"In the evening went to Willard's to call on General Schenck, but did not see him. Met Weed, and went to his room and talked of sundry matters. He says I have done as well in the New York appointments as was possible, and advises care as to securities taken ; which advice I think very good. He thinks the time has come for vigorous measures South ; and is for freeing the slaves, and arming them, as far as useful, without noise or excitement. He saw Hunter in New York, who says that if he had been sustained he would have emasculated the rebellion in South Carolina before now—which he (Weed) seemed to believe, and which I believe absolutely.

"Went to War Department. Telegraph men told me that telegraph was built to Point of Rocks, and several miles beyond the Monocacy toward Frederick, and that heavy, continuous firing was heard by the operator at the former place, from the direction of Harper's Ferry, till between three and four this afternoon ; and that

firing, though not so heavy, was also heard from the direction of Middleton, between Frederick and Hagerstown. There was also a rumor that we had captured a large wagon train, with a considerable number of prisoners. The inference from the firing heard is, that an attack has been made on Harper's Ferry by a large rebel force, and a stout defense with an unknown result; and that a less important conflict has taken place between the advance under Burnside and the rebel rear falling back toward Hagerstown or Harper's Ferry (probably the former), and that the rebels have been worsted.

"Telegram from Governor Curtin yesterday states that a reliable gentleman of Maryland, who had opportunities to converse freely with officers of the rebel army, says that the rebel force in Maryland is 190,000, and on the other side of the Potomac 250,000—in all, 440,000. This is a specimen of information collected and believed!"

"Came home, and Cooke called with Mr. Davis, General Birney's partner, who wants him made a major-general, with command of Kearney's corps. I think this should be done. We must advance all our Republican officers who have real merit, so as to counterpoise the too great weight already given to Democratic officers without much merit. They have been more pushed than the Republicans, and we have been more than just—more than generous even—we have been lavish toward them. It is time to change the policy."

On Sunday, September 14, 1862, the Secretary went to the Methodist church, where, according to his diary, Mr. Brown preached a good sermon. Afterward he called to inquire for Mrs. Douglas, who, he found, had passed a bad night, but was better. Then he went to the War Department, where he found that there were despatches from McClellan to the President, and also to General Halleck. Of these his diary gives the following account:

"First, complimentary—respects to Mrs. Lincoln; ladies' enthusiastic welcome of McClellan and his army, 'us.' The second states getting possession of Lee's order to Hill of 10th—troops from various directions to attack Martinsburg and Harper's Ferry on the 12th, capture both, and then reunite at Hagerstown. White had anticipated the enemy by joining Miles at Harper's Ferry, where the enemy made vigorous attack yesterday; courier from Miles says he can hold out two days, but enemy is in possession of Maryland Heights; McC. hopes before two days to relieve Miles—is already in possession of Middleton and Jefferson; estimates rebel force in Maryland at 125,000; thinks defeat of his army would be ruinous, and therefore better to spare all troops from Washington than suffer it; anticipates great battle to-morrow, Monday; enemy don't mean to go back to Virginia, but thinks Lee has blundered, and hopes to make him repent of it."

Next we have, in the same entry:

"Watson rode with me.

"Read several books, especially article in *Revue des deux Mondes*, on the soul. In the evening, Mr. Case called and talked of politics and spiritualism, especially the last, in which he is a firm believer. Says he receives letters from the inhabitants of the sixth and other spheres, among whom are Calhoun, Brutus, and others; that there is a council in the sixth, presided over by Washington, to which the control of this war is committed; that Richmond will be taken about December 1st, and Charleston early in the spring."

The climatic notions of those upper spheres appear to have been as much at fault as their vaticinations. Charleston should have been required to fall in winter, Richmond in the spring. That would have "convened" us better, *n'est ce pas?* But let us attend again to matters of exclusively terrestrial purport.

On the 15th of September, Secretary Chase, soon after 9 o'clock, A. M., went to the Treasury, stopping at Franklin's to buy glasses, but not field glasses.¹ After attending to important letters² and other matters, he discussed military things with Colonel Lloyd, of ——— Ohio cavalry, and Colonel Mason, of ——— Ohio infantry, and with two captains. Afterward he talked with Mr. Wetmore about cotton and tobacco. After mentioning these talks, the diary narrates as follows:

"Weed called, and we had a long talk. He expressed again his conviction that more decided measures are needed in an anti-slavery direction; and said there was much dissatisfaction with Seward in New York, because he is supposed to be averse to such measures. I told him I did not doubt Mr. Seward's fidelity to his ideas of progress, amelioration, and freedom; but that I thought he adhered too tenaciously to men who proved themselves unworthy and dangerous, such as McClellan; that he resisted too persistently decided measures; that his influence encouraged the irresolution and inaction of the President in respect to men and measures, although personally he was as decided as anybody in favor of vigorous prosecution of the war, and as active as anybody in concerting plans of action against the rebels. Mr. Weed admitted that there was much justice in my views, and said he had expressed similar ideas to Mr. Seward himself. He said he would see him again, and that Seward and I must agree on a definite line, especially on the slavery question, which we must recommend to the President. We talked a good deal about other matters—about the absence of proper Cabinet discussion of important subjects—about tax appointments in New York, with which he is well satisfied, etc., etc.

¹The minute adds: "Got a pair, not, I fear, exactly the best for me." Alas! our glasses of all kinds deceive us often and most grievously.

²One from Horace Greeley.

"Went to War Department between 3 and 4, and saw telegrams of McClellan. They state that the action of yesterday resulted in a decided success—that the enemy, driven from Mountain Crest, did not renew the action this morning, but retreated in disorder; that Lee confessed himself 'shockingly whipped,' with loss of 15,000 killed, wounded, missing, and prisoners; that he has 700 prisoners at Frederick, and that 1,000 have been taken by Hooker and held; that he proposed pursuit as rapidly as possible; that Franklin, on the right, in advance, toward Harper's Ferry, had succeeded as well as the troops on the right. News from the West also good. Nothing from Miles at Harper's Ferry, but it is believed that he still holds out."

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION—HOOKER AND M'CLELLAN.

UNDER date, September 15, 1862, we have the memoranda :

"Received letters from John Sherman, O. Follett, Horace Greeley, and others. Greeley assured me that he had no interest in the Labor Contract, which I was very glad to learn. Called on Attorney-General about citizenship of colored men. Found him adverse to expressing official opinion. Met Eliot, and Tabor, mayor of New Bedford, and invited them to dine with me. Commenced letter to Greeley; when I was reminded of my promise to accompany Mr. Case to the President's. Went with him. Found Eliot and Tabor in antechamber. Went in and found Blair with the President discussing affairs. Told him of the gentlemen outside, and was permitted to bring them in. Did so. Introduced Case, who shook hands, and we came away.

"Parted from Case at department. Finished letter to Greeley, and wrote Judge Mason about Rodney, promising to do what I could for trial. Several callers—among them Colonel Lloyd, of — Ohio cavalry, and Colonel Mason, of — Ohio infantry, with two captains. Lloyd said that the cavalry was very badly used; that forage was insufficient and irregular, and needlessly wasted; that sometimes a squadron, company, or regiment was ordered out early in the morning and left all day without any further orders. Pope, he said, had nominally about 2,000 cavalry when he went South, and when he returned had not 500 fit for duty. Sometimes the cavalry was ordered to march, when five or six horses in a company would die from sheer exhaustion. Artillery horses better cared for. Lloyd desired Mason to be made brigadier-general. Promised to make inquiries, and, if found all right, promote object.

"Mr. Wetmore called about cotton and tobacco. Proposed that government should take all cotton at 20 cents, and tobacco at — cents—pay the price, send it to New York, sell it for gold, keep account with each owner, and, at the end of the war, pay him the difference, if loyal. The idea struck me very favorably, and I promised to see him again to-morrow."

"Returned to the department;" "wrote the Secretary in his memorandum for September 15," closed the business of the day, and went home. Eliot, Taber, and Harrington dined with me. After dinner, rode with Harrington. Stopped at Mr. Cutts' to inquire for Mrs. Douglas; glad to hear she was better. Stopped also at War De-

partment. No further news. Stanton thinks Halleck begins to realize his mistake. Said he intended to make Birney major-general, but Halleck (or rather McClellan) had designated Stoneman. Told him that Birney had sent his letter of resignation to me, but I had declined to present it. Nothing new from the army, except report from operator at Point of Rocks of firing, apparently between that place and Harper's Ferry, which may indicate Franklin or Miles in that position. Nothing from McClellan since noon.

"Dropped Harrington at Ebbitt House, and called on General Schenck, at Willard's. Helped dress his wound, which looked very bad, but surgeons say he is improving rapidly, and will be able to sit up in a few days. His daughter is with him, and most assiduous and devoted.

"Home. Friends Butler and Benedict called, wishing to be introduced to the President, in order to present petition for exemption of society from draft. Promised to go with them, or write note tomorrow morning. Governor Boutwell called, and we talked of tax law, stamp distribution, etc."

The next morning, having had "Bannister at breakfast," the Secretary, never idle, went to his department, and thence with the deputation of Friends from Mount Pleasant, Ohio, and Wilmington, Delaware, to the President. He introduced the delegation to Mr. Lincoln, of whom he afterward asked "for Bishop McIlvaine" the appointment of Rev. Mr. Telford, as chaplain, at Camp Chase, which was directed.

Then the Secretary of the Treasury visited Mr. Welles and advised an expedition up the James River, and said, if General Wool or other good general could be sent, he would go himself as volunteer aid. Mr. Welles seemed pleased with the idea, and said the "Ironsides" and "Passaic" would be ready by the time troops could be, and might take Richmond as preliminary to Charleston.

Mr. Chase "spoke to the Secretary of Commodore Barbhead's remark to Harrington that the government ought to be superseded by McClellan."

Going to the War Department, the martial-minded Secretary of the Treasury found confirmation of the news of the surrender of Harper's Ferry. In his memorandum of the day he entered the words: "McClellan's victory of Sunday was probably over the rear of Longstreet's division, which made a stand."

The next paragraph reads thus:

"Weed called with Morgan, who wished to inquire about Texas bonds issued under authority of the rebel government. Told him they would not be recognized, and promised him copies of papers

relating to the subject from files and records of the department. Told Weed that we must have decided action, and that he could insure it. Was going to meeting of heads of departments, not to Cabinet. Went over to White House. Met Seward, who said the President was busy with General Halleck and there would be no meeting."

Next we have the paragraphs :

"Returned to department. Rode out to Siegel's camp, by way of Chain bridge, with Harrington and Dr. Schmidt. Saw Siegel and Schurz. They want to have corps organized for operations in the field. Siegel said scouts returned from Drainesville report large rebel force at Leesburgh.

"Home to late dinner. Harrington with me. Sent message to War Department for news. Nothing of importance."

Under date of the next day I find that, after breakfast, at which Major Bannister assisted, Secretary Chase finished, at the department, a "proclamation declaring States in insurrection, without the exception formerly made, with view to taking exclusive control of all purchases of cotton, sugar, tobacco, and rice in insurgent States."

On the same day Mr. Chase went with Judge Hoadly, of Cincinnati, to the War Department. It appears that the judge wanted generals appointed, and had other wants and wishes of a public nature. We are told that "Stanton promised the generals he wanted, but could promise nothing else."

Then we have the entry :

"Went also to General Halleck's. Found the President and Reverdy Johnson there, talking with a Union captain who was at Harper's Ferry at the time of its surrender. Says Maryland Heights were surrendered to the surprise of every one; that Miles was struck by a shell after surrender of the post, just as he had put the white flag in the hands of an orderly; that there was no necessity whatever for the surrender, and that the officers were very indignant."

Under the same date, we have these paragraphs :

"Warrants to-day enormous, over \$4,000,000, and unpaid requisitions still accumulating—now over \$40,000,000. Where will this end?

"General Hunter came to dine with me. Expressed his decided opinion that if his order had not been revoked he would now have had the whole coast lined with disciplined, loyal Southern men—black, to be sure, but good soldiers and true."

On the nineteenth of September, the Secretary noted the receipt of a letter "eloquently urging general emancipation." It was

penned by Robert Dale Owen. Mr. Chase handed it to the President.

On the same day the Secretary of War showed the Secretary of the Treasury a telegram from Halleck to McClellan, dated August 31. It was "substantially as follows: 'I do not know the terms of order. I expected to leave you in full command, except of troops temporarily detached to Pope. I beg you to come up and give me the benefit of your talents, experience and judgment at this critical moment. Am completely tired out.'

"This telegram," continues Chase, "announced the surrender of Halleck to McClellan. It saddens me to think that a commander-in-chief, whose opinion of his subordinate's military conduct is such as I have heard Halleck express of McClellan's, should, in a moment of pressure, so yield to that very subordinate. Good may come of it, but my fears are stronger than my hopes. How differently old General Scott would have acted! When up all night at the critical period immediately following the first battle of Bull Run, he was never heard to complain of being 'completely tired out,' or known to try to shift any part of his responsibility upon another."

Saturday, September 20th, having made the tender memorandum, "Katie came home this morning, looking very well," the "enigma" we are reading noted as follows:

"Nothing of special importance in any department. Mr. Garrett called expressing great uneasiness about the B. & O. R. R., and the probable invasion of Western Virginia if the enemy is not followed up. General Mason dined with me. He is extremely anxious to have a trial in the case of Rodney Mason, who was lately dismissed the service for the surrender of Clarksville. Received letter from Mr. Hamilton. He will come on Monday to see the President about proclamation.

"Received a letter from Miss Virginia Smith, asking my interest for Colonel Bulow's appointment as brigadier; to which I replied that I would say a good word for the colonel, and thought the prospect not desperate, as no man is safe, now-a-days, from being made a brigadier, not even a man of merit."

Sunday, September 21, Chase was at home under doctor's orders.¹ Mr. Montgomery, of Philadelphia, dined with him. We have the memorandum:

"Called on Harrington, to have Dr. F. go to see General Hooker

¹Dr. F.

if possible. Harrington made arrangements. Towards sundown, called at Mr. C's to inquire for Mrs. D., and was much gratified to find her so far recovered as to be in the parlor. Mr. Montgomery went to church with Katie.. Bannister, Taylor, and others called.

"Dr. F. spoke of having been to the President's, who, being very busy writing, could not see him.

"Thought to myself, 'Possibly engaged on proclamation.'"

September twenty-second, in the year eighteen hundred and sixty-two of the Christian annals, is to be remembered, age after age, as one of the supreme days of all time.

The hero of this work thus narrates the thing that made that day so memorable :

"MONDAY, *September 22, 1862.*

"To department about 9. State Department messenger came with notice to heads of departments to meet at 12. Received sundry callers. Went to White House. All the members of the Cabinet were in attendance. There was some general talk; and the President mentioned that Artemus Ward had sent him his book. Proposed to read a chapter which he thought very funny. Read it, and seemed to enjoy it very much; the heads also, (except Stanton) of course. The chapter was 'High Handed Outrage at Utica.'

"The President then took a graver tone, and said :

"Gentlemen : I have, as you are aware, thought a great deal about the relation of this war to slavery; and you all remember that, several weeks ago, I read to you an order I had prepared on this subject, which, on account of objections made by some of you, was not issued. Ever since then my mind has been much occupied with this subject, and I have thought, all along, that the time for acting on it might probably come. I think the time has come now. I wish it was a better time. I wish that we were in a better condition. The action of the army against the rebels has not been quite what I should have best liked. But they have been driven out of Maryland, and Pennsylvania is no longer in danger of invasion. When the rebel army was at Frederick I determined, as soon as it should be driven out of Maryland, to issue a proclamation of emancipation, such as I thought most likely to be useful. I said nothing to any one; but I made the promise to myself and [hesitating a little] to my Maker. The rebel army is now driven out, and I am going to fulfill that promise. I have got you together to hear what I have written down. I do not wish your advice about the main matter; for that I have determined for myself. This I say without intending anything but respect for any one of you. But I already know the views of each on this question. They have been heretofore expressed, and I have considered them as thoroughly and carefully as I can. What I have written is that which my reflections have determined me to say. If there is anything in the expressions I use, or in any minor matter, which any one of you thinks had best be changed, I shall be glad to receive the suggestions. One other observation I will make. I know very well that many others might,

in this matter as in others, do better than I can; and if I was satisfied that the public confidence was more fully possessed by any one of them than by me, and knew of any constitutional way in which he could be put in my place, he should have it. I would gladly yield it to him. But, though I believe that I have not so much of the confidence of the people as I had, some time since, I do not know that, all things considered, any other person has more; and, however this may be, there is no way in which I can have any other man put where I am. I am here. I must do the best I can, and bear the responsibility of taking the course which I feel I ought to take.'

"The President then proceeded to read his Emancipation Proclamation, making remarks on the several parts as he went on, and showing that he had fully considered the whole subject, in all the lights under which it had been presented to him.

"After he had closed, Governor Seward said: 'The general question having been decided, nothing can be said farther about that. Would it not, however, make the proclamation more clear and decided to leave out all reference to the act being sustained during the incumbency of the present President; and not merely say that the government "recognizes," but that it will maintain, the freedom it proclaims?'

"I followed, saying: 'What you have said, Mr. President, fully satisfies me that you have given to every proposition which has been made, a kind and candid consideration. And you have now expressed the conclusion to which you have arrived, clearly and distinctly. This it was your right, and, under your oath of office, your duty, to do. The Proclamation does not, indeed, mark out exactly the course I would myself prefer. But I am ready to take it just as it is written, and to stand by it with all my heart. I think, however, the suggestions of Governor Seward very judicious, and shall be glad to have them adopted.'

"The President then asked us severally our opinions as to the modifications proposed, saying that he did not care much about the phrases he had used. Every one favored the modification, and it was adopted. Governor Seward then proposed that in the passage relating to colonization, some language should be introduced to show that the colonization proposed was to be only with the consent of the colonists, and the consent of the States in which colonies might be attempted. This, too, was agreed to; and no other modification was proposed. Mr. Blair then said that, the question having been decided, he would make no objection to issuing the Proclamation; but he would ask to have his paper, presented some days since, against the policy, filed with the Proclamation. The President consented to this readily. And then Mr. Blair went on to say that he was afraid of the influence of the Proclamation on the Border States and on the army, and stated, at some length, the grounds of his apprehensions. He disclaimed most expressly, however, all objection to emancipation *per se*, saying he had always been personally in favor of it—always ready for immediate emancipation in the midst of Slave States, rather than submit to the perpetuation of the system."

I do not propose, at present, to advance the last word of this work about the remarkable man by whom the Proclamation here in question was produced, and remarked upon as we have just seen. But I wish to offer, at once, a few words of remark on Chase's account of the speech made by Abraham Lincoln to his Cabinet on that memorable 22d of September, 1862.

Of course, the report was made from memory. Does it show us Lincoln's oratory as it was? It seems to me it does.

Twice I heard Lincoln in public discourse, and once I had a few words of private conversation with him. Chase's account of his remarks, introductory to the reading of that famous Proclamation, reproduces to me the very manner of the orator, as I remember it, this moment, my remembrance being clear and vivid.

Lincoln seemed to me a born orator of the unfervid order. Clearness, great simplicity, straightforwardness, originality, sagacity, and quiet will, appeared to me his most marked psychical distinctions, as indicated in his public speaking. After he had fairly entered on a sentence of considerable length, one could foresee how it must go forward, how it must come to its unaffected close. He was, I would say, with the exception of lispings Caleb Smith, the most effective public speaker present in the scene on which we have been looking.

In a letter dated August 20, 1863, and addressed by Secretary Chase to Hon. Benjamin F. Flanders, appears this reference to a letter from Lincoln to General Banks:

"The letter was worded with that caution and respect for the opinions and wishes of others which is characteristic of the writer, and did not express his preference as strongly as he felt it."

Here, again, I find indication that, defective as Chase's reading of his fellow-men generally was, he could, in favorable circumstances, come to a very accurate conception of a character which he had time and taken pains to study. Certainly, caution, respect for the opinions and wishes of others, and a habit of expressing preference less strongly than he felt it, were remarkably characteristic of the man to whose distinctions we are here attending.

"After this matter was over," continues Chase, in the last quoted entry, "I stated to the Cabinet that it had been strongly recommended that all cotton, sugar, tobacco, and rice should henceforward be purchased only by government officers, paying to the owners, loyal or disloyal, a certain proportion of the price in New York, amounting to nearly, or quite the full price in the producing States;

and giving a certificate which would entitle the owner to the remainder of the proceeds, deducting taxes and charges, at the end of the rebellion, if loyal. I said I would like to have the matter reflected on, and that I should bring it up at our next meeting.

"Before going to Cabinet, and on my walk to Mr. Seward's room, I met Judge Pierpont, and invited him to dinner. Coming from Cabinet, I found a letter from Barney about Wadsworth's nomination and Weed's willingness to make it unanimous, if it is not to be considered a triumph over him, and wrote a note to the general, asking him also to dine. Both he and the judge came, and we had a pleasant time. Wadsworth had but one objection to saying he would be governor, if at all, of the State, and not of a section of a party; which was, that it might be considered as in some sort a pledge, which he would not give to anybody. Told Wadsworth, in confidence, that the Proclamation might be expected to-morrow morning which surprised and gratified him equally.

"Mr. Smith, chief clerk of the Third Auditor's office, his brother, associated with Fowler, and Dr. Smith called; also, Donn Piatt. A good deal of speculation about Proclamation, of which some said a rumor was current a day or two since. I said I thought we need not despair of one yet. Chief clerk Smith said he had eagerly looked at the newspapers, one morning lately, on the strength of the rumor, for it, and was really disappointed. I told him to keep looking.

"Donn Piatt wanted young Este made clerk. I told him I would be glad to do so, but could not promise. Mr. Piatt called to learn about Colonel Hays, and Dr. Harkness about his son-in-law."

Let us now go back a little to review the situation in war matters, as discerned by Secretary Chase. Two days before hearing the first reading of the Emancipation Proclamation, he wrote to Senator Sherman as follows:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., *September 20, 1862.*

"MY DEAR SIR: Thanks for your letter from Cincinnati. Let me often be so indebted to you.

"The future does not look promising to me; but it may be brighter than it seems likely to be.

"Since General Halleck has been here the conduct of the war has been abandoned to him by the President almost absolutely. We—who are called members of the Cabinet, but are in reality only separate heads of departments, meeting now and then for talk on whatever happens to come uppermost, not for grave consultation on matters concerning the salvation of the country—we have as little to do with it as if we were heads of factories supplying shoes or cloth. No regular and systematic reports of what is done are made, I believe, even to the President: certainly not to the so-called Cabinet.

"Of course we may hope for the best—that privilege remains. As outsiders, too, I suppose we may criticise, but I prefer to forego that privilege."

Indeed! A queer foregoing that! But Chase goes on to say:

"It is painful, however, to hear complaints of remissness, delays, discords, dangers, and to feel that there must be ground for such complaints, and to know that one has no power to remedy the evils and yet is thought to have. I saw the Neil House¹ on fire, and felt sick at heart to think I could do nothing to avert the progress of the conflagration. Comparing large things to small, I experience similar feelings now. The difference is that no one thought me responsible in any degree for the administration of the fire department of Columbus.

"Well, the rebel army is withdrawn from Maryland. That is something, but far less than we anticipated. We hoped it would not be permitted to withdraw, except in flight and utter demoralization. It is in fact, however, to-day relatively stronger than our own. It has lost less; it has taken more prisoners, more guns, more supplies of every sort. Still we must, I hope we shall, reduce the disparity from day to day, and soon shift the balance and complete the work. Let us hope in Providence.

"The surrender of Munsfordsville is a sad blow to our cause in the West, I fear. I look most anxiously for intelligence.

"Speaking of the West, I am reminded that within the last few days I heard an officer say that he heard your brother, the general, abuse you roundly at Corinth, as one of the —— abolitionists who had brought on this war, saying that he 'was ashamed to own you for a brother.' Is it possible that the pro-slavery views of West Point can have affected him in this way? I hear from all sources that nearly all the officers in Buell's army, and Buell himself, are pro-slavery to the last degree.

"With the greatest regard, yours faithfully,
 "HON. JOHN SHERMAN. S. P. CHASE."

Now I ask attention to this letter, written the day after the Emancipation Proclamation was put forth:

"WASHINGTON, *September 23, 1862.*

"MY DEAR GENERAL: I am delighted by your great success at New Orleans. You know, of course, that all I can do to promote it will be most gladly done. Happily, you are less oppressive in your demands on the treasury than any other of our generals in important positions. I wish you could have men enough to move up the Mississippi and clear it out. What a crown to your achievements that would be. When General Halleck came here the President requested him to call on me about the financial measures necessary to the prosecution of the war. I told him that the most important, in my judgment, were: First, the substitution of an active, energetic, fearless general, for McClellan, in command of the Army of the Potomac, then stranded on James River; and, second, the opening of the Mississippi. Another, less vitally important financially, seemed to

¹At Columbus, Ohio.

me equally important politically and militarily, and that was the prompt advance of Buell's army into East Tennessee. The first was not done, the second was not done, the third was not done; and to-day the treasury is almost \$36,000,000 behind, and almost without resources, except treasury notes, of which the faculty to issue only \$56,000,000 remains, and customs supply about \$200,000 per day. The bonds, on which, necessarily, our chief reliance must be placed, the 5-20 sizes, can not be negotiated.

"But we have something else—defeat before Washington, poorly compensated by the expulsion of the rebels from Maryland; Ohio and Indiana menaced; military stagnation throughout the South, with danger of expulsion from the points gained on the Atlantic coast; Tennessee nearly lost, and Kentucky nearly overrun. Was there ever anything like it?"

There was surely never anything like such writing, by such a man as Salmon Portland Chase to such a man as Benjamin Franklin Butler, about such men as Lincoln, Halleck, and McClellan—worthies each, however either of them may have erred.

We must do justice to McClellan, Halleck, and Lincoln, as well as to our hero. That this work discerns in Salmon Portland Chase a man whose memory, preserved in praise, should be immortal, has been clearly shown already. More decided indications of the same matter are presented in the final chapter. But I can not take too many opportunities of holding up to censure, rather than to praise, the conduct of our hero toward martial men and martial measures. Occupied as he was, he could not make the studies necessary to excuse writing, as we have just seen, to a man so hard, so shrewd, so capable of unbecoming things, and apparently so incapable of truly noble deeds and truly noble aims and aspirations, as the man to whom the letter here in question was addressed.

Whatever cultivated shrewdness without real wisdom may accomplish, men like Butler may, in favorable circumstances, bring to pass. But to no such man as he should Salmon Portland Chase have so written about Lincoln, Halleck, and McClellan. Had circumstances enabled Chase to study Butler as he studied Lincoln, never would such a letter to Butler have issued from the pen of Chase.

The document in question, however, thus goes on:

"Mr. Denison writes me in your praise. He says your administration is eminently successful, and that you are getting on admirably with your free-colored regiments; *enlisting without much inquiry into the status prior to enlistment. This is well.*"

Evil communications ever did corrupt good manners. Only think of Chase's antecedents, and then think of his writing the words just distinguished by italics. Does the end, then, justify the means? But this curious letter thus proceeds:

"You must anticipate a little the operation of the Proclamation in New Orleans and Louisiana. The law frees all slaves of rebels in any city occupied by our troops and previously occupied by rebels. This is the condition of New Orleans. Is it not clear, then, that the presumption is in favor of every man, only to be set aside in case of some by clear proof of continuous loyalty?"

This is too thin. It is a pitiful specimen of the thing which—perhaps unjustly toward the Society of Jesus—a society which, no doubt, has virtues as well as vices all its own—we call Political Jesuitism.

The conclusion of this remarkable letter almost makes me sick at heart. It runs:

"Yours faithfully,
S. P. CHASE."

"MAJOR GENERAL B. F. BUTLER.

Now we come to another matter which, it seems to me, can not be praised. The entry, dated September 23, contains the following account of a visit to General Hooker:

"At breakfast this morning I proposed to Katie to ride over to the Insane Asylum, and see General Hooker, to which she agreed; and she having provided a basket of grapes, peaches, etc., we went. We were very kindly received by Mrs. Nichols, who ushered us into the general's room. He was lying on a couch, but suffering no pain. He talked very freely, as far as time would permit, of the recent events. He said that at Richmond, when the order came to withdraw the army, he advised McClellan to disobey, and proposed a plan for an advance on Richmond. McClellan gave him the order to advance; but, before the time for movement came, recalled it, and gave orders for evacuation. When Hooker expected to march to Richmond, therefore, he found himself, to his surprise, compelled to fall back to the Chickahominy on his way to Aquia. I said to him, 'General, if my advice had been followed, you would have commanded after the retreat to James River, if not before.' He replied, 'If I had commanded, Richmond would have been ours.' He then spoke of the battle of Antietam, where he received his wound, and expressed his deep sorrow that he could not remain on the field three hours longer. 'If I could have done so,' he said, 'our victory would have been complete; for I had already gained enough and seen enough to make the rest of the enemy sure.' After he had been carried off, he said, McClellan sent for him again to lead an advance. The general impressed me favorably as a frank, manly, brave, and

energetic soldier, of somewhat less breadth of intellect than I had expected, however, though not of less quickness, clearness, and activity.

"While we were conversing, Dr. Nichols came in, and I had some talk with him in an adjoining room. He said the general's wound was as little dangerous as a foot-wound could be, the ball having passed through the fleshy part just above the sole and below the instep, probably without touching a bone. I suggested the trial of Dr. Forshé's balm. He made no special objection, but said the wound was doing as well as possible, without inflammation and with very little matter, and he thought it unnecessary to try any experiments. I could not help concurring in this, and postponed Dr. F. and his balm. The doctor said he first knew him when encamped below him last year; that he became deeply interested in him; that when he heard he was wounded, he went up to Frederick, seeking him; that he missed him; but that his message reached him, and he came down to the asylum himself. I asked, 'What is your estimate of him?' 'Brave, energetic, full of life, skillful on the field, not comprehensive enough, perhaps, for plan and conduct of a great campaign; but at least equal in this respect, if not superior, to any general in the service.'

"Mr. Rives (of the *Globe*), his daughter and son-in-law, came in, and we took our leave; Dr. Nichols having first strongly recommended to me to secure the appointment of Colonel Dwight, of Mass., as a brigadier-general."

On the 25th we have an entry that contains another account of conversation with Hooker. That account is worded after this fashion:

"In the afternoon went with Garfield to see Hooker, who was very free in his expressions about Mr. McClellan. He said it was not true that either the army or the officers were specially attached to him; that only two corps, whose commanders were special favorites and whose troops had special indulgences, could be said to care anything about him; that other officers—he himself certainly—thought him unfit to lead a great army; that he is timid and hesitating when decision is necessary; that the battle of Antietam was very near being lost by his way of fighting it, whereas, had the attack been simultaneous and vigorous on the enemy's right, center, and left, the rout would have been complete; that our force in the battle exceeded the enemy's by 30,000 men; and that the defeat of the enemy should have been final. He said also that when Pope had drawn off a large part of the rebels from Richmond and orders came to McClellan to withdraw, he urged him to give, on the contrary, orders for advance; that the orders were actually given and then revoked, much to his chagrin.

"This recalled to mind a conversation with General Halleck at that time. I said to him, that it seemed to me our people could now certainly take Richmond, by a vigorous push, as Pope had 60,000 of the rebels before him and at least half of the remaining 60,000 were south of the James, leaving only 30,000 with the fortifications on the north side; to which General Halleck replied, that it was too danger-

ous an undertaking. I said, 'If this can not be done, why not return to Fredericksburg, leaving Richmond on the left?' 'This,' he said, 'would be quite as dangerous—a flank movement, in which our army would be exposed to being cut off and and totally lost.'

"General Hooker said that the movement I suggested could have been executed with safety and success. He said, also, that he was somewhat reconciled to leaving the Peninsula by being told that it was a plan for getting rid of McClellan, and the only one which it was thought safe to adopt. This he thought so essential that any thing necessary to it was to be accepted."

It is impossible to praise the conduct of our "Fighting Joe" toward George Brinton McClellan. But what says the play about purchasing the indulgence of one's friends by showing none to the country's foes? I have no heart to write freely about the matter here referred to.

Here, however, is a pleasant paragraph:

"Returning from General Hooker's, as well as going, General Garfield gave me some very interesting portions of his own experience. This fine officer was a laborer on a canal in his younger days. Inspired by a noble ambition, he had availed himself of all means to acquire knowledge; became a preacher of the Baptist Church; was made the president of a flourishing literary institution on the Reserve; was elected to the Ohio Senate, and took a conspicuous part as a Republican leader. On the breaking out of the war he became a colonel; led his regiment into Eastern Kentucky; fought Humphrey Marshall, near Prestonburg; gained position rapidly; was made, at my instance, a brigadier; fought under Buell at Shiloh; and was now in Washington by direction of the Secretary of War, who proposes to give him the Department of Florida. A large portion of his regiment, he said, was composed of students from his college."

That I call a pleasant paragraph, yet I would not be understood to intimate preference of Garfield as between Garfield and Hooker. It appears to me that our hero's intimacy with Garfield, as well as his intimacy with our "Fighting Joe," caused far less good than evil. Garfield is an orator, and he seems to have been also a good soldier; but he never seemed to me a worthy of the finest type; and this is the most favorable judgment I could possibly pronounce respecting him were I required to judge him on my present information and belief.

Returning from the visit to General Hooker on the 23d of September, Mr. Chase went to the Treasury Department. There he found General Robinson, of Pittsburg; Mr. Platt, and Dr. Harkness. Mr. Harrington was sent with the two gentlemen last named

to the War Department. "Mr. Welles came in about appointment of Pease, in Wisconsin; and," says the man in the Treasury, "I asked him to write a note about it."

The entry goes on as follows :

Attorney-General Bates called, with Mr. Gibson, of St. Louis, about pecuniary aid to Mr. Gamble—both telling a very different story from Farrar and Dick. Promised to look at papers and answer tomorrow. Stanton came in about payment of paroled soldiers at Camp Chase, which I promised to provide for. Said that he proposed to make the Department of Florida, with Thayer as governor, and Garfield as commanding-general, if I approved of Garfield. I said I approved heartily. Said he had insisted on removal of Buell, and leaving Thomas in command. I could not disapprove of this, though I think less highly of him than he seems to think."

Such is the language. I suppose that Thomas is the him referred to in the last sentence.

Mr. Stanton having gone, Mr. Barney came in. Mr. B. declined invitation to dinner, but promised to call in the evening. The entry for the day concludes as follows :

"Mr. Hamilton, on invitation, came to our house to stay while in town.

"In the evening, many callers. Miss Schenck, General and Mrs. McDowell, General Garfield, and others. Young Mr. Walley came, with letters from his father, and I brought him in and introduced him to Katie and our guests."

The next day has the following account :

"The President called a special meeting of the Cabinet to-day, and asked our judgment on two questions :

"First. As to the expediency of treaties with governments desiring the immigration for voluntary colonization of blacks.

"Second. As to the proper answer to be returned to the letter from John Ross, excusing the treaty of the Cherokees with the rebels, and asking the protection of the United States, and the fulfillment of old treaties.

"On the first question there was the usual diversity of opinion. I, not thinking colonization in itself desirable, except as a means of getting a foothold in Central America, thought no treaties expedient; but simple arrangements, under the legislation of Congress, by which any persons who might choose to immigrate would be secured in such advantages as might be offered them by other states or governments. Seward rather favored treaties, but evidently did not think much of the wisdom of any measures for sending out of the country laborers needed here. The President asked us to think of the subject, and be ready to express our opinions when we [should] next come together.

"As to the Cherokee question, there seemed to be a general concurrence that no new pledges should be given them; but that, at the end of the war, their condition and relations to the United States should have just consideration."

Under date September 24 we have, however, the following memoranda:

"After Cabinet went with Stanton to War Department, and laid before him sundry applications for positions, with such verbal support as I thought due to them. Returning to the department, I found there young Mr. Walley, and gave him an earnest recommendation to Stanton, and was surprised, an hour or so after, to receive a note from him, thanking me for my kindness, but saying that Mr. Stanton told him there was no likelihood of his receiving an appointment; and that he was going to enlist as a private. Wrote note to Mr. Walley (his father) expressing my regret.

"Nothing at department but routine, except direction to Cisco to receive deposits of gold, and a call from Eli Thayer about his project for colonizing East Florida, with which I sympathize

"Had proposed to General Garfield to take him over and call on General Hooker; but it rained, and he did not come. After dinner, however, the sky cleared somewhat, and Kate and I rode out and called on him. He was still improving.

"An hour or two after our return a band of music, which had just serenaded the President by way of congratulation on the Proclamation, came to my house and demanded a speech, with which demand I complied briefly. General Clay, who was with me, responded more at length. After the crowd had passed on General Clay, Mr. Clarke, of Mercer, Pennsylvania; General Robinson, of Pittsburg; and Mr. Wm. D. Lewis, of Philadelphia, came in and spent a little time with me."

On the same day, our hero wrote as follows to an eminently worthy citizen—a man of culture and a man of large experience and observation—once distinguished as a journalist:

"MY DEAR SIR: I have read with great interest your last letter, and share the feelings you express. Some consolation in the review of the disasters we have experienced may perhaps be found in the supposition that they were necessary to convince the President and the country that a decided measure in relation to slavery was absolutely necessary. That measure has now been resolved upon and proclaimed.

"It now remains that military action be prompt, skillful, and decided. Whether it will be so, I am not able to say. Though charged with the responsibility of providing means for the vast expenditures of the war, I have little more voice in its conduct than a stranger to the Administration—perhaps not so considerable a voice as some who are, in law at least, strangers to it. I should be very well satisfied with this state of things, if I saw the war prose-

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE GOVERNORS AT ALTOONA—DEATH OF NELSON—GARFIELD'S STORY.

ON the 25th of September, 1862, the Secretary of the Treasury went to Seward's to dinner. There he met the Marquis of Cavendish and his brother, Colonel Leslie, of the British army, Mr. Stuart and Mr. Kennedy, of the British legation, General Banks, and Mr. Everett. General Banks was earnest against more separation of forces until the rebel army is crushed.

Going home, Mr. Chase found there General and Mrs. McDowell. Soon after, Captain and Mrs. Loomis came in. Mr. Chase remarks that he "could not help the captain, who wished to be quartermaster of General Siegel's corps."

The memorandum closes with: "To bed, tired and unwell."

Friday, September 20, Secretary Chase received a note from Secretary Seward asking him to name a consul to Rio. Mr. Chase named James Monroe. Another note from Mr. Frederick Seward, asked the Secretary of the Treasury to call at the State Department before going to Cabinet. He called accordingly, but Governor Seward had already gone.

At the Cabinet there was talk about colonization, in which the Secretary of the Treasury took no part. Mr. Stanton was not present. All the others, except Mr. Welles, expressed themselves "in favor of treaties."

Several of the loyal governors came that day

"In the evening," says Mr. Chase, "I called on them. Saw Yates at the National, and left card for Berry, of New Hampshire. Saw Kirkwood at Kirkwood House. Saw Salomon at Willard's, and left cards for Andrew, Bradford, Sprague, Tod, Blair, and Pierepont. At Governor Yates' room saw General McClelland, of Illinois, who made a very favorable impression on me."

The next morning, relates the diary:

"Governor Andrew came to breakfast. Laughed (vexed too) at

report in *Herald* of proceedings of governors at Altoona, which he ascribed to the exclusion of reporters. While at breakfast Colonel Andrews and Lieutenant Barber, both of Marietta, came in from battle-ground. The colonel handed me Cox's report, and informed me that Colonel Clark was killed, which left him lieutenant-colonel in actual command. He gave a very interesting account of the conduct of Cox's (late Reno's) corps, both at South Mountain and Antietam. The reports, however, were more full, and reflected the highest credit on Cox and the officers and men of his troops. Andrews said that McClellan and Burnside would recommend Cox for major-general—an object which I assured Colonel A. I would most gladly promote.

"Governor Andrew said he had called on General Hooker the evening before, and met Stanton and Tod. Hooker was unequivocal in condemnation of McClellan's inactivity. At department McClellan called, and my favorable impression of last evening was strengthened. Many things in a plan of campaign which he urged seemed admirable, especially the eastern movement from the Mississippi River.

"Saw the President, and asked him his opinion of McClellan. Said he thought him brave and capable, but too desirous to be independent of everybody else."

I know the general. He is a good thinker and a good talker. It appears to me that Lincoln's judgment of him hit the nail square on the head and drove it home.

The same entry contains also this paragraph :

"Later in the day received telegram from Bliss, paymaster-general of New York, asking for \$300,000 in small notes in exchange for the same amount of large ones, to enable him to forward eight regiments. It occurred to me that, by having these regiments sent to Louisville, and Mitchell's and Garfield's brigades brought from Louisville and sent to Port Royal, with one or two brigades in addition, a successful expedition against Charleston might be immediately organized; and I determined to speak to Stanton in relation to it to-morrow. Garfield spent the evening with me, and accepted invitation to make my house his home while in town."

Sunday, September 28, has this record :

"At Dr. Pyne's in morning—sermon excellent. Home in afternoon. In the evening went to War Department about expedition to Charleston; my idea being to have New York regiments sent to Louisville, and Mitchell's and Garfield's brigades drawn thence and sent to Port Royal with Garfield, when an immediate attack should be made on Charleston, which would be sure to fall. Did not find Stanton at Department. Went to Halleck's, and found him there. Had some general talk. Was informed by Halleck that the enemy was moving to Martinsburg. 'How many?' '150,000.' How many

has McClellan?' 'About 100,000.' 'Where Pennsylvania troops, said to have joined him, though raised only for emergency?' 'All gone back.' Had talk about draft. He showed me a letter to Gamble, insisting that all officers of drafted militia above regimental should be appointed by the President. I expressed the opinion that the principle of drafting militia was erroneous—that the law should have provided for drafting from the people an army of the United States. He agreed. I asked him his opinion of McClelland. He said he is brave and able, but no disciplinarian; that his camp was always full of disorder; that at Corinth he pitched his tents where his men had been buried just below ground, and with dead horses lying all around. The cause of the evil was that his officers and men were his constituents.

"Leaving Halleck, Stanton and I rode together to Columbia College, and back to his house. I stated my wish concerning the two brigades and Charleston. He said nothing could be done. The New York regiments must go to McClellan, who absorbs and is likely to absorb everything and do nothing. At Stanton's saw, for the first time, General Harney, who mentioned several matters to show Frank Blair's misconduct in Missouri matters. He said it was not necessary to fire a gun to keep Missouri in the Union. I thought him evidently mistaken."

On the 29th, the Secretary wrote as follows to a citizen of merit, prominence, and influence:

"MY DEAR CARSON: Your letter gives me a very interesting inside view of things. We must sacrifice everything to success, except success itself. That is to say, we must give up personal preferences and personal prejudices, and work like men who believe their cause is worth more than any one of its supporters; and we must not take men whose election will be defeat, because either of their real unfitness, or of such indifference or substantial hostility to our leading principles or their recognized representatives, that they can be depended on for nothing except virtual opposition or lukewarm half-support—about the same thing—after election.

"I have confidence in Colonel Key, and suggested his name because I thought it likely that more could be united on him than any one else. If this is not so, I am sure he would not himself desire to be nominated.

"Mr. Taft would be a good man—a very good man—and if, as you say, he can unite most votes, he ought not to hesitate a moment in giving his consent. I should indeed be very glad if I had so able and judicious a friend to consult with in reference to the public interests in my department. Of course, as he has long been a true friend to me, and that on public grounds, I should almost feel his nomination and election as a compliment to me, and an indorsement of my principles.

"With great regard, your friend,

"ENOCH T. CARSON, Esq.

S. P. CHASE."

Tuesday, September 30, 1862, yields an entry of quite tragic interest, as follows :

"The papers this morning confirm the news of Nelson's death. He died as the fool dieth. How sad! His early services to the Union cause in Kentucky—his generous and manly nature, his fine talents and great energy—compelled my admiration and esteem; while his cruelty, and passion, and tyranny, especially when excited by drink, often excited my indignation. Nothing from any quarter of much importance in a military point of view."

It is not easy to comment on this extract. The great cause of the Union was disfigured fearfully by the conduct of such men as Nelson, by the conduct of such men as Davis. If, in ordinary times, one could at least pardon Davis, his behavior in the circumstances was unpardonable. So was that of Nelson.

Often it appeared to me almost impossible to credit some of our soldiers with the least appreciation of their cause—the noblest cause that ever called to arms the patriotic volunteer.

The same entry contains also the following :

"General Garfield, at breakfast, related this: When General Buell's army was on the march to Nashville a regiment passed in front of the house of General Pillow's brother, where was a spring of good water and a little stream issuing from it. As the soldiers quenched their thirst and filled their canteens and watered their horses at the stream, Pillow came out and cursed the men, forbidding them to take water, and saying that if he were younger he would fight against the Yankees until the last man of them was killed or driven home. A lieutenant, commanding the company then [watering?], having expostulated with him without effect, and finding the army likely to be delayed by his interference, directed him to be put under arrest, and sent him to the colonel. It happened that this colonel was an admirer of Miss Stevenson—a young lady of Nashville, a niece of Pillow, and a violent secessionist—and had been in the habit of sending the regimental band to serenade her with 'Dixie' and the like, not playing any national airs. As soon as he understood who Pillow was, therefore, he discharged him from arrest, and apologized for it, and, at the same time, arrested the young lieutenant. Pillow returned to his house, mounted his horse, and rode to General Buell's head-quarters, and complained that a slave of his had escaped and was somewhere in the army. Buell gave him leave to hunt for him, and, with this warrant, he rode where he pleased. After fully satisfying himself, he went on to Corinth, and gave Beauregard a full account of Buell's force and rate of advance. This information led to the attack on Grant's division, which Beauregard hoped to destroy before Buell should come—and he almost succeeded in doing it.

"At department; received a note from Seward, with memorandum by Stuart, acting British Minister, of conversations with Seward

about cotton. From this memorandum it appears that Butler's order of August, authorizing free purchases even from Slidell, and Grant's order, annulling Sherman's prohibition of payments in gold, were, if not motived by Seward, fully approved by him, and made the basis of assurances that no hindrance to purchase and payment on cotton from rebels would be interposed by this government. Afterward, or about the time of these orders, Seward proposed the same policy of substantially unrestricted purchase for money to me; and I was, at first, in view of the importance of a supply of cotton, inclined to adopt it; but reflection, and information from special agents in the Mississippi Valley, changed my views. The subject was also brought up in Cabinet, and Seward proposed liberty to purchase 500,000 bales. Stanton and I opposed this, and the President sided with us, and the subject was dropped. I then proposed to frame regulations for trade to and from insurrectionary districts, in which was included prohibition of payments in gold.

"To this prohibition Stuart now objects, as in contravention of Seward's assurances connected with Butler's and Grant's orders.

"After considering the whole subject, I addressed a letter to Seward, declining to change the existing regulation as to payments in gold.

"Received letter from himself, stating difficulty between himself and agent Gallagher as to confiscation. Mellen thinking that antecedents of cotton, as to liability to confiscation in prior hands, and notice to present holders, should not be investigated; Gallagher contra. Wrote Mellen that his view is approved—thinking this may relieve Seward."

The next entry, dated October 1, relates as follows :

"Seward came to department and we talked over foreign relations, particularly as connected with cotton. Showed him my reply to his note of yesterday. He thought it would not answer, as his assurances, coupled with Butler's and Grant's orders, committed us too far. I said I would modify it. After he left, altered my reply and sent it.

"Examined regulations concerning trade with blockaded ports, and war orders."

The next day it appears Secretary Seward came to the house of our hero with a letter to Mr. Stuart, vindicating the course of the Treasury Department concerning trade orders and regulations. "I approved the whole," says Mr. Chase; but suggested that, as the regulations embraced the coal orders substantially, and as Great Britain took exception to that as particularly intended for her, he might say that, to prove the absence of such intention, and as a proof of the entire absence of any wish to vex trade, the coal order would be rescinded.

Cotton and coal seem innocent enough; yet what a history of them might be composed by a discerning, lively pen!

Cotton was, indeed, king for a long time. But coal, the type of Northern industries, has proved too strong for cotton.

October 4, Saturday, Mr. Harrington left for New York, instructed to hasten the increase of the issue of postage currency to \$100,000 per day. "Expects to go to Boston in 'Miami,'" says the diary.

Sunday, October 5, is marked by the record :

"At home to favor foot. Much better in the afternoon, and rode over to Insane Asylum to see Hooker. Was glad to find him much improved. He said we had plenty of good officers, and that all the courage, ability, and genius we needed could be found among our volunteer colonels. He then said that an *aide* of McClellan had been down to see him with an inquiry as to how soon he would be able to take the field, and expressing his confidence, with hints of important command of army moving from Washington. He expressed the belief that no decisive victory would be achieved so long as McClellan had command."

A part of the entry relating to Sunday, October 5, shows that before going out to visit General Hooker, Mr. Chase received a visit. Mr. John A. Stevens, Jr., called, wishing the Secretary of the Treasury to see Colonel Hamilton about Texas. Colonel Hamilton was thereupon invited to dine, that day, with Mr. Chase. He came, accompanied by Mr. Stevens. Having so stated, the record goes on in this fashion :

"Secretary Stanton, also, by accident, and Mr. Montgomery, by Katie's invitation. After dinner, Colonel Hamilton spoke fully of Texas—described his escape and hiding in the woods—said that many hundred loyal Texans were now concealed in Texas, or refugees—declared that the war was a war of the oligarchy upon the people—that slavery was the basis of the oligarchy, but that the perpetuation of slavery was not more their object than the despotic power of the class over the mass. I entered fully into his feelings; and promised to go with him to the President's to-morrow.

"After he went, Governor Morton came in and spoke very earnestly of the condition of matters in Indiana. Apprehends State defeat on the 14th, and loss of all the congressional districts, except Julian's, Colfax's, and perhaps Shanks'. Wants Indiana regiments in the State furloughed, so that they can vote. Thinks Buell utterly unfit for command of the great army under him—is slow, opposed to the Proclamation, and has bad influence every way. Wishes me to go with him to President's about the regiments, which I promised to do to-morrow."

Monday, October 6, Major Garrard called on Mr. Chase, "to speak about North Carolina and General Foster."

"Foster," says our diary, "has now Third New York cavalry; and

of infantry; Seventeenth, Twenty-fourth, and Twenty-fifth Massachusetts; Ninth New Jersey; Second Maryland and Fifth Rhode Island, supported by Albemarle and Pamlico fleet, say ten gunboats. Foster wants reinforcements—several regiments of infantry and another regiment of cavalry. Major Garrard desires that, if another regiment of cavalry is sent, Colonel Mix should be made brigadier.

"General Keyes and Major Bannister, with General Garfield and Major Garrard," proceeds Mr. Chase, "formed our breakfast party. General Keyes spoke of the disposition in the army (McClellan's) to disfavor Republican officers. General Garfield mentioned the case of a young Republican officer, ordered to Kansas in 1856, who was told by his colonel that he would not allow him to remain in the regiment if he remained a Republican. General Keyes spoke of the chaplain at West Point as the most perfect specimen of a Northern man with Southern principles he ever knew; and said that when the new regiments were organized under Jeff. Davis, as Secretary of War to Pierce, eleven out of fifteen officers were appointed from the South, and when he remarked upon it he was challenged to select eleven better men."

Having breakfasted, as we have seen, with General Keyes and others, Mr. Chase went to the Treasury Department. Thence he went with Governor Morton to see the President about furlough, to enable the Indiana soldiers in camp to vote. The furlough was promised.

Mr. Chase saw Colonel Hamilton, and "arranged interview for him. Met Wadsworth and Cochrane. Asked Cochrane to breakfast."

General Cochrane came accordingly next morning to break his fast with the warlike keeper of the public purse. After breakfast, it appears, the general "conversed freely about McClellan."

Ah! how many did that, when McClellan knew not of it, dreamed not of it! But this time the discourse was not unfriendly to the fearfully disparaged "young Napoleon."

General Cochrane, we learn, "said McClellan would like to retire from active command, if he could do so without disgrace—which could be accomplished, and a more active general secured, by restoring him to the chief command, where he would now act in unison with" the Secretary of the Treasury.¹ Mr. Chase relates as follows:

"I explained frankly my relations to McClellan—my original ad-

¹ The words are: "Where he would now act in unison with myself."

miration and confidence—my disappointment in his inactivity and irresolution—my loss of confidence and conviction that another general should replace him—my constant endeavor to support him by supplies and reinforcements, notwithstanding my distrust, when the President determined to keep him in command—my present belief that I had not judged incorrectly, but my entire willingness also to receive any correction which facts would warrant; and my absolute freedom from personal ill-will, and my entire willingness to do anything which would insure the earliest possible suppression of the rebellion. He said Colonel Key often expressed his regret that McClellan had not conferred with me and acted in concert with me. *I replied that I thought, if he had, that the rebellion would be ended now; but that I feared concert between us impossible, our views, dispositions, and principles harmonizing so little.*"

What is one to think of the words on which special stress has just been laid? Was vanity expressed therein? Let us think of that hereafter. Mr. Chase continues to relate as follows:

"He said he would talk with McClellan, and write me. I answered that I should be glad to hear from him, and was quite willing he should repeat to McClellan what I had said."

At Cabinet, October 7, "the President spoke of his visit to the army at Sharpsburg, and the battle-fields at Antietam and South Mountain. He said he was fully satisfied that we had not over 60,000 men engaged; and he described the position of the enemy and our own—the enemy's being much the best, his wings and center communicating easily by the Sharpsburg road, parallel with the stream. He expressed no opinion as to generalship, nor of results," remarks the diary.

"Seward," continues the same document, "asked what new of the expedition to Charleston? Secretary Welles [said] the necessary iron-clads could not be ready in less than a month. I was much disappointed by this statement, remembering that ten days of a month were up; and said at once that I hoped, then, we should not wait for the navy, but at once organize a land force sufficient to take the city from James Island. Mr. Stanton agreed in the importance of this, and proposed to order Mitchell's and Garfield's brigades from the West—send Garfield at once to South Carolina with these brigades, and two more regiments, and let Mitchell go to work immediately. He said, also, that he proposed at once to organize an expedition to open the Mississippi, and give the command of it to McClernand. The President seemed much pleased with both movements; but Halleck remained to be consulted. Would he oppose the President and Stanton? I thought not.

"I left the Cabinet with more hope than I have felt for months."

Under date October 7, we have also this paragraph :

"At the President's I met W. H. Aspinwall, and invited him to dine with me, which he did. In conversation I inquired what he thought of the idea of selling some \$50,000,000 of five-twenties at about the market rate? He thought it should be done, but doubted whether more than 97½ could be obtained. I said I hoped to get 99 or 99½. He then spoke of his visit to McClellan, and seemed greatly to desire my coöperation with him. He mentioned that Burnside had heard that I blamed him for having Porter restored to command; but thinks I would not if I understood all the circumstances."

The next document I think fit to offer is as follows :

"WASHINGTON, D. C., October 7, 1862.

"MY DEAR SIR: I have read attentively Mr. André Cochut's article upon American finances, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, a copy of which you kindly sent me. The *Revue* is taken in the department, and I usually look through it; but I might not have read the article of Mr. Cochut had not you directed my attention to it. I find it clear, able, and comprehensive. There are, of course, some errors of fact, and, consequently, some of deduction; but they are so trivial as not to impair the general merit of the piece.

"I beg you to express to Mr. Cochut my thanks for the interest he has manifested in our finances, and to ask his acceptance of the pamphlets which I inclose, from which he can gather at least a general notion of our financial movements since I have administered the department.

"If my hopes are realized in the action of Congress, our present financial state may be called a transition period. Our first period was that of payments in coin. I succeeded in borrowing, at reasonable rates for us, about \$175,000,000, in coin, in the course of my first eight months. By this time the impossibility of continuing payments in specie, and providing for the enormous expenses of the war, was manifest. The banks and capitalists could not furnish the required amount of coin, except at rates, for government bonds, which would enable them to resell in Europe. In fact, their inability to resell with profit the amount they actually did take, was the first thing which led them to contemplate the suspension of specie payments.

"The only possible mode of avoiding this was for me to sell the government bonds at prices which would insure their resale in the markets of Europe, or so tempt cupidity at home that investors in other securities would sell them, in order to obtain means for the purchase of the bonds of the United States. I saw clearly that if I attempted to go on by the sale of bonds they would rapidly depreciate, and the public debt, in a few months, become so great as to destroy all hope of obtaining the large amount of means necessary to carry on the war.

"There was but one alternative—to allow the banks to suspend and issue a national currency. This was borrowing to the extent of

the emission without interest; an advantage which more than compensated, perhaps, the rise in prices, inevitably following the increase in the volume of circulation, caused by the national emission. The result, however, has been far less unfavorable to the country than would have been the forced sale of bonds; the credit of the national securities has been maintained at a much higher rate, even compared with gold, than could possibly have been attained had the policy of forced sales been adopted; and the general business of the country has been conducted with much more satisfaction and benefit.

"Still, it is plain enough that a paper-money system can not be permanently relied on. To avoid the indefinite increase of a Federal circulation, Congress provided for the payment of interest in specie, and for the conversion of the notes into bonds, payable in twenty years, and redeemable after five. Conversions, however, did not answer expectation; and when I called on Congress for an increase of the emission beyond that already authorized, I proposed to substitute simple receivability, for all loans made by the government, in lieu of a legal convertibility into a particular loan, leaving to the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury the adjustment of the currency to bonds, by loans at such periods, and rates, as would insure the largest investment of the notes.

"Congress did not see fit to adopt my views; and the practical result has been that conversions, up to this moment, have been very slow and inconsiderable. I think the result would have been very different had my suggestion been adopted. Congress, no doubt, anticipated a much more vigorous and successful prosecution of the war; and, had this anticipation been realized, the convertibility feature would have worked better, though, still, not so well as receivability.

"I inclose a statement, from which you will see the exact condition of the national debt on last Cabinet day (Tuesday).

"Payments by the United States notes, and their consequent circulation, may be called the second period of our finances. I have already said that I regard it as a period of transition. 'Transition to what?' you may ask. I will proceed to explain.

"The United States notes now issued amounted, on Tuesday, to \$199,436,000. Of these, say \$25,000,000, being receivable for duties, the same as gold, are held, of course, at a high premium, and are out of circulation; \$22,080,376 more are in the Treasury proper, and with the Treasurer and the several Assistant Treasurers and depositories, to the credit of disbursing officers, leaving \$152,355,624 in circulation; i. e., in the vaults of banks and bankers and in the hands of the people. This circulation has not displaced that of the banks as yet; but, on the contrary, has actually caused its increase. It has, however, weakened it with the people, who are anxious for a national currency, uniform throughout the country, which no State bank can furnish.

"Anticipating this result, I proposed to Congress, at the last session, a general banking system for the United States, identical in its main features with the system organized in New York and adopted in Ohio. A bill, of which I send you a copy, was prepared with great care, and reported from the Committee of Ways and Means.

Its main features are the preparation and supply of a uniform currency by the United States; the issue of it by organizations, under the law, throughout the country; and the security afforded to the holders, by the deposit of United States bonds in the Treasury Department.

"This arrangement will bring to the support of the public credit the whole banking interest of the country. It can be carried into effect by the temporary use of United States notes, without any considerable jar or disturbance; it will furnish a perfectly secure currency to the country, restricted in its amount by actual capital and by the wants of business; it will open, with the gradual development of the country, a gradually enlarged market for the securities of the government, and thus sustain their credit at the highest point; and it will finally give to the government a present seignorage of about two per cent. of the circulation, while it will allow liberal compensation to the associations, who will distribute the circulation to the people, and, primarily at least, protect it by redemption on demand in coin.

"In my judgment, if the debt is kept within any reasonable limit, by active prosecution of the war and tolerable economy in expenditure, the adoption of this system will furnish all the money that is needed, at reasonable rates, and insure an early return to specie payments without any serious business convulsion. Even should the war be unhappily protracted beyond the current financial year, the adoption of this system, by uniting the capital of the country with the credit of the government, will probably avert great disasters otherwise to be apprehended.

"I do not know that I make myself quite intelligible to you; but if I do, you will see that I hope, not without some reason, to be able to convert our financial troubles into permanent benefits to the country; and that the succession of coin payments, of United States notes payments, and of payments, at last, in a mixed currency of coin and secured bank notes, are not only compatible with, but required by, the best interests of the country, involved as it is in a costly civil war.

"As to the war itself, its prosecution has neither equalled my expectations nor my hopes. It is not without reason, perhaps, that many think its delays and losses have been permitted by divine Providence, not merely as a punishment for our complicity with slavery, but as a stimulus to practical measures for the liberation of the enslaved. War, under our constitution, is, as you know, the only opportunity of freedom through national intervention. With the opportunity comes the duty. The course of events is in the hands of God; and it can not be questioned that they have been so shaped as to furnish the opportunity, and almost to coërcé the performance of the duty. It is remarked by many, that from the time of the revocation of General Hunter's order to the time of the Proclamation, we had no substantial success; and, that since the Proclamation, we have had, as yet, no substantial reverse; but, on the contrary, there seems to be now everywhere a more vigorous resolution to push the war, in every direction, to a successful issue, in the absolute suppression of the rebellion, than has been manifested for months past.

"I am not connected at all directly, and hardly at all indirectly, with the management of military matters; but what I see of determination and preparation greatly encourages me. Until recently, during the past eight weeks, I have almost despaired of our finances. I am now satisfied that if present appearances do not deceive me the war will be closed, and no debt left which can not easily be managed, and, in a few years, fully discharged. So mote it be.

"With great regard, very truly your friend,
 "JOHN BIGELOW, Esq., Paris. S. P. CHASE."

Our next reading is from the diary under date Friday, October 10, as follows:

"Went to Cabinet, taking Mr. Whittlesey to department. Found the President reading telegrams from Kentucky. McCook's division engaged with Bragg's army on the 8th, and hard pressed; but was reinforced, and the enemy repulsed. All the corps up at night and in position. Slight engagement with enemy's rear guard yesterday, but main body retreated to Harrodsburg. This from Buell, at Perryville, yesterday morning. Stager P. Cleveland telegraphs another great battle yesterday, and no mistake about victory this time. This came this morning at ten. So we hope the best.

"Nothing of much importance was discussed except Norfolk. I favored opening the port. Nothing was decided. Asked Stanton what he had done about McClelland's army for clearing the Mississippi, and he replied, 'Nothing.' Seward said he thought something had been done, and the President that something had been agreed on. It turned out that orders for the organization of the expedition had been given, but that nothing of importance was yet done."

What did that "nothing," then, denote? Not exactly nothing. It denoted, among other things, the gross unfitness of the "Carnot" of this country for his place.

These paragraphs are copied from the entry under date October 10, 1862:

"Home. Signed official letters and warrants. Directed regulations of trade with open ports to be sent to the Secretary of War.

"In the evening General Hunter, Major Halpin, Mr. Cowan, Major D. Taylor, and others called. Before dinner, Bannister came about Colonel A. J. Hamilton, of Texas, going to Ohio. Urged him to have him go, if possible.

"Directed \$10,000 postage currency sent to Cincinnati."

The next entry contains these words, under date October 11, Saturday:

"Surprised to read this morning that Stuart's cavalry have taken Chambersburg, Pennsylvania. What next?

"Received letter from John Cochrane, saying that McClellan appreciates my support while not approving his command, and could gladly coöperate with me and see me; and that there is no substantial difference between us on the slavery question."

Under date October 11, I find these notes:

"Also received letter from Aspinwall about five-twenty loan, which he advises. He thinks 98 may be obtained—equivalent to say, 75 in gold. Also a letter from Cisco, sending a \$10 United States note, purloined from National Bank Note Company and falsely filled and sealed. Wrote Cisco about detective; and inclosed Aspinwall's note and asked his opinion. Sundry other letters received and answered. Needham (Kentucky) called. I accepted Williams' declination as assessor, Louisville district, and agreed to appoint Needham in his place, he to resign collectorship.

"General Hunter, Major Halpin, Mr. Jay, and General Garfield (still our guest) at dinner. Major Halpin mentioned that McClellan had telegraphed head-quarters that not one of the rebels who have invaded Pennsylvania shall return to Virginia. Hope it may be so, faintly. Too many bills of the same sort protested for the credit of the drawer.

"After dinner talked a good deal with General Hunter, who is very well read. Asked him his opinion of Halleck. He said, 'He has ability and knowledge, but does not make an earnest study of the war—does not labor to get clear ideas of positions, conditions, and possibilities so as to seize and press advantages or remedy evils?' I then asked what he thought of the President? 'A man irresolute, but of honest intentions—born a poor white in a Slave State, and, of course, among aristocrats—kind in spirit and not envious, but anxious for approval, especially of those to whom he has been accustomed to look up—hence solicitous of support of the slave-holders in the Border States, and unwilling to offend them—without the large mind necessary to grasp great questions—uncertain of himself, and in many things ready to lean too much on others.' 'What of Stanton?' 'Know little of him. Have seen him but once, and was then so treated that I never desired to see him again. Think, from facts that have come to my knowledge, that he is not sincere. He wears two faces; but has energy and ability, though not steady power.' The conversation then turned on Douglas, whose ardent friend and constant supporter Hunter was—also on other persons and things. I found him well read and extremely intelligent.

"General Hunter tells me that he desires to retire from the army, and have some position in New York which will enable him to resume his special vocation as a writer for the press. He says he has written lately some leaders for the *Republican* and has aided the proprietor of *Wilkes' Spirit of the Times*."

CHAPTER XXXVII.

DOWNFALL OF M'CLELLAN—WEST VIRGINIA—THE PROCLAMATION.

OCTOBER 12, 1862, affords a very brief memorandum. This is all thereof :

"At home, all day, nursing inflamed foot—reading, and conversing with Katie and friends.¹"

On the 5th of November, the downfall of McClellan, as a soldier of the Union was complete.

Another chapter² offers a few words relating to our hero's due responsibility for that fall, as well as for the rise by which it was preceded.

A note, written on a card, was addressed as follows to our hero by the President :

The next document to which attention is invited reads as follows :

"WASHINGTON, D. C., October 29, 1862.

"MY DEAR SIR: It is stated to me that Mr. Conkling, the regular Republican nominee, is in danger of defeat through the running of another Republican, supported by custom-house employé's influences. Mr. Conkling has not been as cordial to me as I think he should have been, but one of the first duties of a member of an organization, is to support its regular nominees unless morally unworthy; and Mr. Conkling is not only not so, but is distinguished for integrity and ability.

"Yours truly,

S. P. CHASE.

"Speak to anybody concerned with whom you have influence, and beg them not to allow our candidate to be defeated by our friends.

"HIRAM BARNEY, Esq."

Then we have this letter:

"WASHINGTON D. C., October 30, 1862.

"MY DEAR SIR: Thanks for copy of proceedings of convention by which you were deservedly renominated.

"On the same day I was informed that some employé's of the custom house were opposing you by supporting another Republican candidate not regularly nominated.

"I at once wrote Mr. Barney the letter of which I inclose a copy.

"Yours truly,

S. P. CHASE.'

"HON. F. A. CONKLING.

*Post Chapter LVII.

"If Secretary of Treasury has written his part of message, please send over.

A. LINCOLN.

"November 24, 1862."

¹ I suppose that "part" to be as follows :

"The condition of the finances will claim your most diligent consideration.

"The vast expenditures incident to the military and naval operations required for the suppression of the rebellion, have hitherto been met with a promptitude and certainty unusual in similar circumstances, and the public credit has been fully maintained.

"The continuance of the war, however, and the increased disbursements made necessary by the augmented forces now in the field, demand your best reflections on the best modes of providing the necessary revenue without injury to business and with the least possible burdens upon labor.

"The suspension of specie payments by the banks, soon after the commencement of your last session, made large issues of United States notes unavoidable. In no other way could the payment of the troops and the satisfaction of other just demands be so economically or so well provided for. The judicious legislation of Congress securing the receivability of these notes for loans and internal duties, and making them a legal tender for other debts, has made them an universal currency; and has satisfied partially, at least, and for the time, the long-felt want of a uniform circulating medium, saving thereby to the people an immense sum in discounts, and exchanges.

"A return to specie payment, however, at the earliest period compatible with due regard to all interests concerned, should ever be kept in view. Fluctuations in the value of currency are always injurious, and to reduce these fluctuations to the lowest possible point, will always be a leading purpose in wise legislation. Convertibility—prompt and certain convertibility—into coin is generally acknowledged to be the best and surest safeguard against them; and it is extremely doubtful whether a circulation of United States notes payable in coin and sufficiently large for the wants of the people can be permanently, usefully, and safely maintained.

"Is there, then, any other mode in which the necessary provision for the public wants can be made and the great advantages of a safe and uniform currency secured?

"I know of none which promises so certain results, and is at the same time so unobjectionable, as the organization of banking associations under a general act of Congress well guarded in its provisions. To such associations the government might furnish circulating notes on the security of United States bonds deposited in the Treasury. These notes, prepared under the supervision of proper officers, being uniform in appearance and security, and convertible always into coin, would at once protect labor against the evils of a vicious currency and facilitate commerce by cheap and safe exchanges.

"A moderate reservation from the interest on the bonds would compensate the United States for the preparation and distribution of the notes, and a general supervision of the system, and would lighten the burden of that part of the public debt employed as securities. The public credit, moreover, would be greatly improved and the negotiation of new loans facilitated by the steady market demand for government bonds which the adoption of the proposed system would create.

"It is an additional recommendation of the measure, of considerable weight in

And now I offer a most interesting series of letters in this fashion:

"TREASURY DEPARTMENT, *December 20, 1862.*

"SIR: I resign the office of Secretary of the Treasury, which I have had the honor to hold under your appointment.

"Whatever service my successor may desire of me in making him acquainted with the condition and operations of the department will be most cheerfully rendered. "Yours truly,

"THE PRESIDENT.

S. P. CHASE."

"Secretary of the Treasury, please do not go out of town.

"December 20, 1862.

A. LINCOLN."

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, *December 20, 1862.*

"Hon. William H. Seward and Hon. Salmon P. Chase:

"GENTLEMEN: You have respectively tendered me your resignations as Secretary of State and Secretary of the Treasury of the United States. I am apprised of the circumstances which may render this course personally desirable to each of you; but, after most anxious consideration, my deliberate judgment is, that the public interest does not admit of it. I therefore have to request that you will resume the duties of your departments respectively.

"Your obedient servant,

A. LINCOLN."

my judgment, that it would reconcile, as far as possible, all existing interests by the opportunities offered to existing institutions to reorganize under the act, substituting only the secured uniform national circulation for the local and various circulation, secured and unsecured, now issued by them.

"The receipts into the Treasury from all sources, including loans and balance for the preceding year, for the fiscal year ending on the 30th June, 1852, were \$583,885,247.06, of which sum \$49,056,397.62 were derived from customs; \$1,795,331.78 from the direct tax; from public lands, \$152,203.77; from miscellaneous sources, \$981,787.64; from loans in all forms, \$529,692,460.50. The remainder, \$2,257,065.80, was the balance from last year. The disbursements during the same period were, for congressional, executive, and judicial purposes, \$5,939,009.29; for foreign intercourse, \$1,339,700.35; for miscellaneous expenses, including the mints, loans, Post-office deficiencies, collection of revenue, and other like charges, \$14,129,771.50; for expenses under the Interior Department, \$3,102,985.52; under the War Department, \$394,368,407.36; under the Navy Department, \$42,674,569.69; for interest on the public debt, \$13,190,324.45; and for public debt, including reimbursement of temporary loan and redemptions, \$96,096,922.09; making an aggregate of \$570,841,700.25, and leaving a balance in the Treasury, on the 1st day of July, 1862, of \$13,043,546.81.

"It should be observed that the sum of \$96,096,922.09, expended for reimbursement of debt, being included also in the loans made, may properly be deducted both from receipts and expenditures, leaving the receipts for the year \$487,788,324.97, and the expenditures \$474,744,778.16.

"Other information on the subject of the finances will be found in the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, to whose statements and views I invite your most candid and considerate attention."

"DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, *December 21, 1862.*

"MY DEAR SIR: I have, this morning, sent to the President a note, of which the inclosed is a copy.

"Yours very truly,

"THE HON. S. P. CHASE.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD."

"DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, *December 21, 1862.*

"Sunday morning.

"MY DEAR SIR: I have cheerfully resumed the functions of this department, in obedience to your command.

"With the highest respect, your humble servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

"THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES."

"CORNER E AND SIXTH STREETS, *December 21, 1862.*

"MY DEAR GOVERNOR: I have received your note, and also a call from Mr. Nicolay, to whom I have promised an answer to the President to-morrow morning.

"My reflections strengthen my conviction that, being once honorably out of the Cabinet, no important public interest now requires my return to it. If I yield this judgment, it will be in deference to apprehensions which really seem to me unfounded. I will sleep on it.

"Very truly yours,

"HON. WM. H. SEWARD.

S. P. CHASE."

"TREASURY DEPARTMENT, *December 22, 1862.*

"SIR: On Saturday afternoon I received your note addressed to Mr. Seward and myself, desiring us to assume the charge of our respective departments.

"I had just written you a letter expressing quite another judgment; and that you may fully understand my sentiments I now send it to you.

"Your note, of course, required me to reconsider my views; and the next day a further reason for reconsideration was furnished by the receipt, from Mr. Seward, of a copy of his reply to a note from you, identical with that sent to me, announcing his resumption of the duties of the State Department.

"I can not say that reflection has much, if at all, changed my original impression; but it has led me to the conclusion that I ought in this matter to conform my action to your judgment and wishes.

"I shall resume, therefore, my post as Secretary of the Treasury; ready, however, at any moment to resign it, if in your judgment, the success of your administration may be in the slightest degree promoted thereby.

"With the highest esteem and respect, yours truly,

"THE PRESIDENT.

S. P. CHASE."

"WASHINGTON, *December 20, 1862.*

"MY DEAR SIR: I intend going to Philadelphia this afternoon; but shall, of course, observe your direction not to go out of town.

"Will you allow me to say that something you said or looked, when I handed you my resignation this morning, made on my mind the impression that having received the resignations, both of Governor Seward and myself, you felt that you could relieve yourself from trouble by declining to accept either, and that this feeling was one of gratification.

"Let me assure you that few things could give me so much satisfaction as to promote, in any way, your comfort, especially if I might promote, at the same time, the success of your administration, and the good of the country which is so near your heart.

"But I am very far from desiring you to decline accepting my resignation—very far from thinking, indeed, that its non-acceptance, and my continuance in the Treasury Department, will be most for your comfort, or for the benefit of the country.

"On the contrary, I could not, if I would, conceal from myself that recent events have too rudely jostled the unity of your Cabinet, and disclosed an opinion too deeply seated, and too generally received in Congress and in the country, to be safely disregarded, that the concord in judgment and action, essential to successful administration, does not prevail among its members.

"By some, the embarrassment of administration is attributed to me; by others to Mr. Seward; by others still to other heads of departments. Now, neither Mr. Seward nor myself is essential to you or to the country. We both earnestly wish to be relieved from the oppressive charge of our respective departments; and we have both placed our resignations in your hands.

"A resignation is a grave act: never performed by a right-minded man without forethought or with reserve. I tendered mine from a sense of duty to the country, to you, and to myself; and I tendered it to be accepted. So did, as you have been fully assured, Mr. Seward tender his.

"I trust, therefore, that you will regard yourself as completely relieved from all personal considerations. It is my honest conviction that we can both better serve you and the country at this time as private citizens than in your Cabinet.

"Retiring from the post to which you called me, let me assure you that I shall carry with me even a deeper respect and a warmer affection for you than I brought with me into it.

"With the truest respect and regard, yours sincerely,
S. P. CHASE."

"THE PRESIDENT.

More and more a vitally important truth comes out. Whatever the defects of Lincoln or of Chase (and both had great defects), and whatever proved to be the incompatibility between them, the general tendency of all that took place between them made them more and more respect each other. Now and then, indeed, they may have fancied otherwise; but I am sure that, at heart, they learned more and more to esteem and trust each other.

Well they might. If ever two real worthies were closely related

to each other in administration, we see in the relation of Chase and Lincoln a fine illustration of that truth.

I now invite attention to a very interesting document, which has this tenor :

“TREASURY DEPARTMENT, *December 29, 1862.*

“SIR: My thoughtful attention has been given to the questions which you have proposed to me, as the head of one of the departments, touching the act of Congress admitting the State of West Virginia into the Union.

The questions proposed are two :

“1. Is the act constitutional?

“2. Is the act expedient?

“1. In my judgment the act is constitutional.

“In the convention which framed the constitution the formation of new States was much considered. Some of the ablest men in the convention, including all, or nearly all, the delegates from Maryland, Delaware, and New Jersey, insisted that Congress should have power to form new States within the limits of existing States without the consent of the latter. All agreed that Congress should have the power with that consent. The result of deliberation was the grant to Congress of a general power to admit new States, with a limit on its exercise in respect to States formed within the jurisdiction of old States, or by the junction of old States or parts of such, to cases of consent by the legislatures of the States concerned.

“The power of Congress to admit the State of West Virginia, formed within the existing State of Virginia, is clear, if the consent of the legislature of the State of Virginia has been given.

“That this consent has been given can not be denied, unless the whole action of the Executive and Legislative branches of the Federal Government, for the last eighteen months, has been mistaken, and is now to be reversed.

“In April, 1861, a convention of citizens of Virginia assumed to pass an ordinance of secession; called in rebel troops, and made common cause with the insurrection which had broken out against the government of the United States. Most of the persons exercising the functions of State government in Virginia joined the rebels, and refused to perform their duties to the Union they had sworn to support. They thus abdicated their power of government in respect to the United States. But a large portion of the people, a number of members of the legislature, and some judicial officers, did not follow their treasonable example. Most of the members of the legislature, who remained faithful to their oaths, met at Wheeling and reconstituted the government of Virginia, and elected senators in Congress, who now occupy their seats as such. Under this reconstituted government a governor has been elected, who now exercises executive authority throughout the State, except so far as he is excluded by armed rebellion. By repeated and most significant acts the government of the United States has recognized this government of Virginia as the only legal and constitutional government of the whole State.

"And, in my judgment, no other course than this was open to the national government. In every case of insurrection involving the persons exercising the powers of State government, when a large body of the people remain faithful, that body, so far as the Union is concerned, must be taken to constitute the State. It would have been as absurd as it would have been impolitic to deny to the large loyal population of Virginia the powers of a State government, because men, whom they had clothed with executive or legislative or judicial powers, had betrayed their trusts and joined in rebellion against their country.

"It does not admit of doubt, therefore, as it seems to me, that the legislature which gave its consent to the formation and erection of the State of West Virginia was the true and only lawful legislature of the State of Virginia. The Madison papers clearly show that the consent of the legislature of the original State was the only consent required to the erection and formation of a new State within its jurisdiction. That consent having been given, the consent of the new State, if required, is proved by her application for admission.

"Nothing required by the constitution to the formation and admission of West Virginia into the United States is, therefore, wanting; and the act of admission must, necessarily, be constitutional.

"Nor is this conclusion technical, as some may think. The legislature of Virginia, it may be admitted, did not contain many members from the eastern counties. It contained, however, representatives from all counties whose inhabitants were not either rebels themselves, or dominated by greater numbers of rebels. It was the only legislature of the State known to the Union. If its consent was not valid, no consent could be. If its consent was not valid, the constitution, as to the people of West Virginia has been so suspended by the rebellion that a most important right under it is utterly lost.

"It is safer, in my opinion, to follow plain principles to plain conclusions, than to turn aside from consequences, clearly logical, because not exactly agreeable to our views of expediency.

"2. And this brings me to the second question: Is the act of admission expedient?

"The act is almost universally regarded as of vital importance to their welfare by the loyal people most immediately interested, and it has received the sanction of large majorities in both houses of Congress. These facts afford strong presumptions of expediency.

"It is, moreover, well known that, for many years, the people of West Virginia have desired separation on good and substantial grounds; nor do I perceive any good reason to believe that consent to such separation would now be withheld by a legislature actually elected from all the counties of the State, and untouched by rebel sympathies.

"However this may be, much—very much—is due to the desires and convictions of the loyal people of West Virginia. To them, admission is an object of intense interest; and their conviction is strongly expressed that the veto of the act and its consequent failure, would result in the profound discouragement of all loyal men and the proportionate elation and joy of every sympathizer with rebellion. Nor is it to be forgotten that such a veto will be regarded

by many as an abandonment of the views which have hitherto guided the action of the government in relation to Virginia; will operate as a sort of disavowal of the loyal government; and may be followed by its disorganization. No act not imperatively demanded by constitutional duty should be performed by the Executive if likely to be attended by consequences like these.

"It may be said, indeed, that the admission of West Virginia will draw after it the necessity of admitting other States under the consent of extemporized legislatures, assuming to act for whole States, though really representing no important part of their territory. I think this necessity imaginary. There is no such legislature, nor is there likely to be. No such legislature, if extemporized, is likely to receive the recognition of Congress or the Executive. The case of West Virginia will form no evil precedent. Far otherwise. It will encourage the loyal by the assurance it will give of national recognition and support; but it will inspire no hopes that the national government will countenance needless and unreasonable attempts to break up or impair the integrity of States. If a case parallel to that of West Virginia shall present itself, it will doubtless be entitled to like consideration; but the contingency of such a case is surely too remote to countervail all the considerations of expediency which sustain the act.

"My answer to both questions, therefore, is affirmative.

"THE PRESIDENT. S. P. CHASE, *Secretary of the Treasury.*"

Next is the letter to the President:

"TREASURY DEPARTMENT, *December 31, 1862.*

"SIR: In accordance with your verbal direction of yesterday, I most respectfully submit the following observations in respect to the draft of a Proclamation designating the States and parts of States within which the Proclamation of the 22d September, 1862, is to take effect according to the terms thereof.

"I. It seems to me wisest to make no exception of parts of States from the operation of the Proclamation, save the forty-eight counties designated as West Virginia. My reasons are these:

"1. Such exceptions will impair, in public estimation, the moral effect of the Proclamation, and invite censures which it would be well, if possible, to avoid.

"2. Such exceptions must necessarily be confined to some few parishes and counties in Louisiana and Virginia, and can have no practically useful effect. Through the operation of various acts of Congress, the slaves of disloyal masters in those parts are already enfranchised, and the slaves of loyal masters are practically so. Some of the latter have already commenced paying wages to their laborers, formerly slaves; and it is to be feared that if, by the exceptions, slavery is practically reestablished in favor of some masters, while abolished by law and by the necessary effect of military occupation as to others, very serious inconveniences may arise.

"3. No intimation of exceptions of this kind is given in the September Proclamation, nor does it appear that any intimations otherwise given have been taken into account by those who have partici-

pated in recent elections, or that any exceptions of their particular localities are desired by them.

"II. I think it would be expedient to omit from the proposed Proclamation the declaration that the executive government of the United States will do no act to repress the enfranchised in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom.

"This clause in the September Proclamation has been widely quoted as an incitement to servile insurrection. In lieu of it, and for the purpose of shaming these misrepresentations, I think it would be well to insert some such clause as this: '*Not encouraging or countenancing, however, any disorderly or licentious violence.*' If this alteration be made, the appeal to the enslaved may, properly enough, be omitted. It does not seem to be necessary, and may furnish a topic to the evil-disposed of criticism and ridicule.

"III. I think it absolutely certain that the rebellion can in no way be so certainly, speedily, and economically suppressed as by the organized military force of the loyal population of the insurgent region, of whatever complexion. In no way can irregular violence and servile insurrection be so surely prevented as by the regular organization and regular military employment of those who might otherwise probably resort to such courses.

"Such organization is now in successful progress; and the concurrent testimony of all connected with the colored regiments in Louisiana and South Carolina is that they are brave, orderly, and efficient. General Butler declares that without his colored regiments he could not have attempted his recent important movements in the La Fourche region, and General Saxton bears equally explicit testimony to the good conduct and efficiency of the colored troops recently sent on an expedition along the coast of Georgia.

"Considering these facts, it seems to me that it would be best to omit from the Proclamation all reference to the military employment of the enfranchised population, leaving it to the natural course of things already well begun; or to, state distinctly, that in order to secure the suppression of rebellion without servile insurrection or licentious marauding. Such numbers of the population declared free as may be found convenient will be employed in the military and naval service of the United States.

"Finally, I respectfully suggest that on an occasion of such interest there can be no just imputation of affectation against a solemn recognition of responsibility before men and before God, and that some such close as follows will be proper:

"And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the constitution, and of duty, demanded by the circumstances of the country, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God.'

"I have the honor to be most respectfully and truly yours,

"S. P. CHASE."

Here is the draft prepared by Secretary Chase:

"WHEREAS, On the twenty-second day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, a Proclama-

tion was issued by the President of the United States, containing, among other things, the following, to-wit :

“Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, by virtue of the power in me vested as commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States in time of actual armed rebellion against the authority and government of the United States, and as a proper and necessary war measure for suppressing said rebellion, do, on this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and in accordance with my intention so to do publicly proclaimed for one hundred days, as aforesaid, order and designate as the States and parts of States in which the people thereof are this day in rebellion against the United States, the following, to-wit :

“Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia, except the forty-eight counties designated as West Virginia.

“And, by virtue of the power and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States, and parts of States, are and henceforth forever shall be free; and that the executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons—not, however, encouraging or in any way sanctioning any disorderly conduct or licentious violence; to prevent which, and secure the earliest possible termination of the insurrection with the least possible injury to persons and property, such portions of the population hereby declared free as may be found convenient and useful will be employed, under suitable organization, in the military and naval service of the United States, as well as in other avocations for which they may be adapted and required.

“And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the constitution, and an act of duty demanded by the circumstances of the country, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God.”

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

CONGRATULATION OF ROSECRANS—THE HURTT-COOKE SCANDAL.

IT is not till the 29th of August, 1863, that I can again quote a register in the nature of a diary. The first document to which this chapter asks attention reads as follows :

“WASHINGTON, D. C., *January 6, 1863.*

“MY DEAR GENERAL: I congratulate you, from my inmost heart. Your country owes you an immense debt. God grant that you may quadruple the obligation. Yours most truly,

“MAJOR GENERAL ROSECRANS.

S. P. CHASE.”

Here is another letter of like interest :

“WASHINGTON, D. C., *January 6, 1863.*

“MY DEAR RALSTON: Your letter gave me a great deal of pleasure; and especially as it showed so much confidence in your generals. How grandly it has been justified. When I read of the death of poor Garesché, I trembled for you, but, as the telegraph does not report wounded or missing, I suppose you are safe, and am thankful.

“The success of Rosecrans has lifted a fearful weight from the breast of the country, and it seems to me that the success was emphatically his; to be sure, his brave officers and men were indispensable but, as I read the accounts, his own genius and courage and indefatigable persistence won the day. You can hardly imagine what a personal gratification it is to me—but the personal gratification is as nothing compared with that which the benefit to the country inspires.

“Oh! that he may only go on as he has begun, with vigor, judgment, and skill combined! Write as fully as you can.

“In haste, affectionately yours,

“RALSTON SKINNER, Esq.

S. P. CHASE.”

Here is a tribute to a very interesting, genial, highly-cultivated man, Professor Monroe, now in Congress :

“WASHINGTON, D. C., *January 9, 1863.*

“MY DEAR GENERAL: My friend, Prof. Monroe, takes the place of my friend, Colonel Parsons, as consul. Though a gentleman of somewhat different type, you will find him very intelligent, very genial,

and very upright. You will like him, I am sure, and I am equally sure he will like you.

"The correspondence between Mr. Whittlesey and yourself filled me with regret, my esteem for both was so great. The last letter to you, as well as the first, went without having been seen by me, and neither would have gone unaltered, by my consent, if seen. Mr. Whittlesey is now, I trust, in a better world. He died yesterday, having touched the verge of fourscore. Your friend,

"GENERAL JAMES WATSON WEBB.

S. P. CHASE."

What a transition must be made from the thoughts and emotions, nay the aspirations, which that letter so naturally suggests, to the subject that must next, alas! engage attention in this faithful history.

Often, since this work was, as I supposed, finished and in order for the printer, I have read or heard something of our hero that has tempted me to think in my heart: "After all, this man, the hero of this work, was not a real worthy. He was but a pious, patriotic knave! He had too much of the evil communications which corrupt good manners; and he came to be an unworthy Citizen and a false Christian."

But let us bear in mind all the best that we have seen in him; and let me promise to show, that if there was a period when he was not a real worthy, he became, toward the last, what was promised by his youth and early manhood.

Since this volume was, as I supposed, entirely ready for the publisher, the eyes of its composer had to be wounded by reading these words in the Washington correspondence of the *Cincinnati Gazette*, the correspondent being General Boynton:

"WASHINGTON, *March 3.*

"An incident in the preliminary steps taken to secure an investigation of the affairs of the District of Columbia first suggested an examination of the startling history which follows. The records which set it forth first became known to the present administration the week preceding the inauguration of General Grant. Its minor details were vaguely understood in a limited circle during the war, and part of the facts were published at the West. But the whole power of the War Department, and the influence of several of the most prominent politicians, were actively exerted to suppress all knowledge of the real facts brought to light.

"Much was said in Cincinnati of the dissolution of the first court, and severe criticisms of the authorities indulged in. These finally caused a second court to be convened early in the following year, and before this court, upon charges which left out all that would involve any parties of position except the Cookes, Hurtt was con-

victed and dismissed. Just before the proceedings in his case were ready to publish, the general distribution of courts-martial orders was stopped by direction of the War Department, and little ever became known of this disgraceful case.

"Many readers will ask why did a man of Mr. Stanton's iron nerve hesitate to put all these offenders, high and low, on trial at once? The reason given by one acquainted with all the facts as they were known here, is significant: *He was driven in the opposite direction by military necessity.* His first impulse was to try all concerned, but men so high in the nation's counsels, and in the confidence of the people, were compromised, that to uncover their iniquity, perpetrated in the very darkest days of the war, would result, as he feared, in destroying the confidence of the people.

"Just in the darkest days of the whole war these men had been pressing their diabolical schemes. The defeat at Chancellorsville had enabled Lee to invade the North. Vallandigham was exciting rebellion from the Canada border. There were peace flags flying in the North; there was resistance to the draft in Ohio and Indiana, and in the latter State the Sons of Liberty were planning an outbreak. There was great gloom everywhere, and it may shake the confidence of loyal people beyond restoration, reasoned Mr. Stanton, if they are allowed to know that the financial agents of the government and some of its most prominent political supporters had been in such a league for plunder during the darkest days of the war. And so he strove to cover the most startling points from the public eye. And so the court was dissolved, and the officer who knew all the facts, and who had the full confidence of his commanding general, was obliged to leave with his family, in the dead of winter, for the most distant point on American soil, lest the facts in regard to a band of robbers, holding high position, should by any possibility come to light.

"The documents given below were copied from the originals, now in the files of the War Department. Even these are but the outline history of the great outrage which men high in position and high in the confidence of the loyal people conspired to perpetrate, and executed in part.

"The papers given were connected with the trial of F. W. Hurtt, a purchasing and disbursing quartermaster of volunteers, who was stationed at Cincinnati, and whose trial, exciting great interest at the time, was concluded at that place in March, 1864. The most strenuous exertions were made there then to obtain the reports and evidence in the case; but the authorities and politicians succeeded in concealing nearly everything.

"A preliminary review of the case will make the reading of the official papers presented quite clear.

"Hurtt was commissioned assistant-quartermaster of volunteers October 31, 1861. He had hardly reached his post before he began to speculate in forage and supplies, in connection with persons associated with him in the *Ohio State Journal*. This he continued with the same parties in purchases for Camp Chase, and afterward at Cincinnati. But all this was insignificant compared with the great villainy which began in the spring of 1863 at Cincinnati.

"He then entered into correspondence with Henry D. Cooke,

formerly of the *Ohio State Journal*, then the Washington representative of the great firm of Jay Cooke & Co., the confidential financial agents of the government, and these two, with other members of that firm, and with such political influence as they could command, conspired to speculate in quartermasters' supplies, and to defraud the government on a gigantic scale.

"After Cooke had sent a man to Cincinnati to represent the Washington interest, and immense transactions were in progress, they became bolder and joined hands and the influences they could command to secure the removal of Captain John H. Dickerson, the senior quartermaster at Cincinnati, both because his honesty endangered present operations and limited their extent. They determined to remove him, put Hurtt in his place, and associate with him Captain C. W. Moulton, a quartermaster and brother-in-law of Senator Sherman, to the end, as expressed in one of the specifications upon which Hurtt was convicted, that he (Hurtt) 'might be charged with the heaviest possible disbursements of the government funds.' Nothing was to stand in the way, and the Quartermaster-General himself was to be removed, if necessary to accomplish their ends.

"This last movement was in progress, and their speculations and swindlings going on upon a great scale, when General Burnside, who had taken command of the Department of the Ohio, became convinced that the government was being defrauded, and on the 28th of July, 1863, ordered Major N. H. McLean, an assistant adjutant-general of the regular army, to take possession of Hurtt's papers, and investigate his transactions. Major McLean made his report, the terrible nature of which will appear below, September 28, 1863, and on November 23 a court was ordered to try Hurtt. All the influential parties in interest were instantly alarmed, and in seven days after the court was ordered it was dissolved upon an order telegraphed from the War Department, and all the papers were sealed and sent to Washington, as directed. Time had scarcely elapsed for an examination of the papers at the War Department, when Major McLean was peremptorily ordered from his post at Cincinnati, and directed to report for duty at Fort Vancouver, in Washington Territory. The extraordinary haste exercised in getting Major McLean out of the country will appear in the orders copied below."

It was under the head-lines, "Startling Disclosures—Chapter of Secret War History—The Great Hurtt Frauds Brought to Light," that the *Gazette* gave this matter to its readers. But it was with some of the subheadings, if I may so express myself, that I felt most concerned. These ran, in part, as follows:

"A Conspiracy to Ruin Honest Men and Swindle the Government. The Private Correspondence of Hurtt with his Backers. Henry D. Cooke and Associates. The Strings that were Pulled. Senator Sherman, Governor Dennison, Secretary Chase, and other Prominent Men, use their Influence."

We have seen, thus far, nothing to charge the hero of this work

with guilty knowledge. But here are two letters, taken from the series given by General Boynton :

"CINCINNATI, *January 23, 1863.*

"DEAR COOKE: I wrote you some time ago, asking your ideas about financial matters, etc., hoping to obtain some new data upon which I could found an opinion as to the pecuniary policy of holding on to the *Journal*. I have since decided to hold on to it for reasons independent of financial matters, so far as they concern me personally just now. I am doing all I can for Chase's financial scheme, both in our paper and here in Cincinnati. You notice the Cincinnati *Gazette* came out in favor of it yesterday. We have been doing all we can to be effectual. I am not versed in such matters very much, but I pointed out the barriers in the way to Mr. Mellen, whom I have seen several times lately, which have since appeared, and I fear now they will prove more formidable than I have anticipated up to this time. Chase's war has just begun. What a great mistake it was not carried through last winter. Now reasons for not entering upon it with great zeal will arise, especially in the West, which would then have made the author of them shudder. What was treason then is becoming now, in an undercurrent of feeling, unconscious, at least unexpressed, conviction. The people dare not, as yet, acknowledge to themselves the undercurrent of unbelief of the stability of the government. What is there yet in store for us? I am anxious to know how you people near the throne feel. Is Governor Chase hopeful now? Do you think he will get through safely? Some of my friends are in my vouchers enough to ruin them. No money and no certificates just now. They are suffering materially. If I had \$200,000 it would only save them, yet the government can't give us any. Do you think Chase will give any more certificates of indebtedness? Do you think he can give our department any of the \$100,000,000 he is now issuing? A full answer will much oblige me, and you may give me valuable hints about what Chase desires, as well as his hopes. My business is very slack just now, and I am worked down. I have not been out of my room for three days. My purchases are heavy enough, but they trouble but little, except in the advance prices on account of the poor market for vouchers.

"(Regards, etc.)

Very truly yours,

F. W. HURTT."

"WASHINGTON, D. C., *March 14, 1863.*

"MY DEAR HURTT: I have but a few moments to drop you a hint of what is going on. I did not let your matter drop, but went to work at once. Governor Chase will say *all you could ask him to say* to Stanton. He is warmly your friend. Sherman took hold of the matter with zeal. He went to Edward Stanton the next day after you left, dwelt upon your admirable business qualifications, integrity, etc., and urged you upon Stanton for promotion and assignment to duty at Cincinnati in place of Dickerson. Stanton got out the list of quartermasters, and when he found your name remarked that you were very far down on the list—your commission being No. one

hundred and something, so there are a large number ahead of you. To this, Sherman urged that what the department wanted was a *good man for the position*, and that this object ought not to be defeated by so trifling a consideration as a mere difference in the dates of original appointments of different officers. To this Stanton assented, and thereupon made a minute opposite your name on his private list.

"Stanton told Sherman that he had ordered Moulton to Cincinnati with a view to his superseding Dickerson, and to this end he had Moulton transferred to the regular army. But Sherman protested against Moulton being sent to Cincinnati, as it might embarrass him (Sherman), he being a brother-in-law of Moulton's, and accordingly Moulton is to be sent out West. Stanton did not promise to give you Dickerson's *place*, but he did say that he was sorry he had not seen Sherman before the vacancies in the regular army appointments had all been filled.

"Sherman is satisfied that your standing at the War Department is now all right, and thinks your chance good of getting a fair show in the purchasing department at Cincinnati.

"I have not seen your friend Wrightson since you were here. I think if he and Gurley had pushed the matter it might have been clinched. In regard to brevet rank, the Senate passed over the *entire list* of brevet promotions without confirmation.

"Please remember me to Mrs. Hurt and the boy, and believe me, as ever,
Yours truly, H. D. COOKE."

"Governor Chase will say all you could ask him to say to Stanton." What did those words mean to him to whom they were addressed? It is in the light of the circumstances in which these words were written and received that they are now to be construed.

The context is, in part, to be resorted to for ascertaining some of those interpretive circumstances; and part of the context is the sentence:

"He is warmly your friend."

But was that true? It was, no doubt, intended to be true; but it involved not fact but judgment. Henry D. Cooke judged that Salmon Portland Chase was warmly the friend of graceless Captain Hurtt.

Perhaps, indeed, that judgment was correct. Had not our hero been the friend of Stone? Did he not to the last continue to be the partial friend of more than one unworthy character?

How my heart sickens as I make up the long list of knaves or fools in whom the hero of this work confided! But I half recover when I begin to make up the still longer list, the greatly longer list,

of the good men who believed in him, and in whom he believed and trusted; and I go but a little way in making up that longer list when I am wholly well again, and tempted to lift up a song of gladness and of triumph.

I knew our hero well. He thought, himself, that I knew him well; and I believe that, in that behalf, he was well warranted in his opinion.

Let us now go calmly back to that Hurtt-Cooke correspondence. Let us narrowly examine its true indications.

Cooke, does not even say to Hurtt: "Governor Chase tells me that he is warmly your friend, and that he will say all you could ask him to say to Stanton." Not at all. Even so, the evidence against our hero would fall far short of proof. But this is not all. Suppose that Chase had, with his own lips or with his own hand, addressed Hurtt thus: "I am warmly your friend, and I will say to Stanton all that you could ask me to say." What then? Even then there would only be another indication of misplaced friendship and confidence on the part of a man so prone to such mistakes that he was almost a laughing-stock to men of ordinary judgment on that account. There would still be nothing even tending to show that Chase had guilty knowledge of Hurtt's heartless, villainous design.

Chase loved and trusted Cooke. He so loved and trusted Cooke that, long after the dates here in question, he made that wretched weakling the executor of his last will and testament.

Cooke says to Hurtt, in another letter:

"I fear I am not in a position to do you much good by any personal effort I might make with Stanton. I am finally drifted out of the political current, and Stanton knows my fealty to Governor C., and that he could expect nothing from me where it would conflict with the governor. You know I am always positive in my choice of men, so there may be no doubt as to my position."

Were the theme less grave, what laughter might not be the proper commentary on that sentence about positiveness!

I know too well the immeasurable weakness of the man who wrote those words about himself. And it seems that others know at least a little of his weakness. He is painted in this fashion by a friendly hand:

"Henry D. Cooke is a short, thick-set man of about fifty. He has one of the kindest faces ever put in front of any brain, and his nature does not belie his appearance. His life has been one of great

purity, and his business career one of high-toned integrity. He is the most thoughtful, and really, the ablest, of the Cookes, in which I differ from the majority—Jay Cooke being regarded as the head of this remarkable family. The one great obstacle in the way of Henry D. is his utter inability to say 'no.' When that monosyllable becomes necessary Henry D. retreats behind Jay or Huntington. He shrinks from giving pain, and has hosts of warm personal friends. His face is more attractive than striking, and on an introduction the look at him is given after the name is heard. Through his kind disposition, or good nature, he is apt to be imposed upon; but no one knowing Governor Cooke ever dreams of charging him with an intentional shortcoming."

Donn Piatt, in his *Capital*, says that the letter from which I take this extract "is evidently from the pen of some Bohemian, who has his organ of reverence considerably knocked in." But that portrait of Cooke seems to me, after all, a fearfully flattered likeness; and I have had reason, more than once, and long ago, to study the original with care.

But is it not a little hard that this volume has to defend its hero's memory against the man in whom he so confided that he made him the executor of his last will and testament?

Yet it is not my purpose here to intimate that he has not some amiable qualities. And I do not undertake to pronounce judgment, as to the indications furnished by the just quoted letter, as to the characteristics of its author's morals and his public spirit. I desire only to guard readers against doing wrong to Chase's memory, on account of the Cooke-Hurtt correspondence.

On the 5th of February Mr. Chase composed this note:

"DEAR SIR: I am always happy to receive and give such consideration as my pressing engagements permit, to intelligent suggestions concerning public finances. Of course, I shall be glad to receive yours. I desire all attainable light from whatever quarter.

"Yours truly S. P. CHASE.
"JAS. MONROE, Esq., box 5142, P. O. New York."

How free from arrogance the writer of that note!

Here is a most creditable and decidedly characteristic letter:

"TREASURY DEPARTMENT, February 27, 1863.

"SIR: I learned to-day at the Senate chamber that the nomination of Mark Howard, as collector of internal revenue for the District of Connecticut, was rejected by that body.

"It is due to Mr. Howard to say that no more faithful, capable, or honest man has been appointed to any collectorship under the law;

and that he has performed the responsible duties of the office to the entire satisfaction of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue and myself.

"I am told by senators that Mr. Howard's nomination was rejected at the instance of Senator Dixon, and merely in deference to his personal wishes, notwithstanding the unanimous report of the committee on finance in favor of confirmation, and without the slightest impeachment of the character or capacity of the nominee.

"Such, I have no doubt, is the fact; and I feel bound by my duty to an honest man, to your administration, and to the public interests placed under my charge in this department, to protest, most respectfully, against the appointment to the vacancy created by this rejection of any person recommended by the gentleman who procured it. Such an appointment would, indeed, manifestly tend to the grossest abuses; for if gentlemen hostile to a particular nominee, or eager to secure his place for some favorite, can expect to control the appointment, after rejection, it is manifest that confirmations will depend less on merit than on animosity or favoritism.

"In my judgment Mr. Howard should be renominated in order that the Senate may have an opportunity to reconsider its action, calmly and dispassionately. His renomination, indeed, under the circumstances, seems to me a simple act of justice to him, and a proper assertion of your own right to have your nominations considered on their merits.

"I, therefore, send a renomination for your consideration, and your signature, if approved.

"Should your judgment differ from mine on this point, I shall ask permission to recommend some other person, selected on the same considerations which governed my original recommendation of Mr. Howard, namely: capacity, integrity, and fidelity to the country and to your administration. With great respect, yours truly,

"THE PRESIDENT.

S. P. CHASE."

Lincoln, however, answered:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, *March 2, 1863.*

"*Hon. Secretary of the Treasury:*

"MY DEAR SIR: After much reflection, and with a good deal of pain that it is adverse to your wish, I have concluded that it is not best to renominate Mr. Howard, for collector of internal revenue, at Hartford, Connecticut. Senator Dixon, residing at Hartford, and Mr. Loomis, representative of the district, join in recommending Edward Goodman for the place, and, so far, no one has presented a different name. I will thank you, therefore, to send me a nomination, at once, for Mr. Goodman.

"Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN."

Next we have this document:

"TREASURY DEPARTMENT, *March 3, 1863.*

"SIR: Finding myself unable to approve the manner in which

selections for appointment to important trusts in this department have been recently made, and being unwilling to remain responsible for its administration, under existing circumstances, I respectfully resign the office of Secretary of the Treasury.

"With great respect, yours, etc.,
 "THE PRESIDENT. S. P. CHASE."

This paper was never actually sent to Mr. Lincoln. It is autographically indorsed: "S. P. Chase to President Lincoln, Washington, March 3, '63. Resignation—withheld."

Here is a letter that was actually sent to the President:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *March 2, 1863.*

"MY DEAR SIR: It was on Friday, I think, that you directed me to send you a letter embodying the views concerning the appointment of collectors (with especial reference to the vacancy created by the rejection of your nomination for the Hartford district, in Connecticut), which I had expressed in conversation.

"The letter was prepared; but before it could be sent, I received a note from Senator Dixon, expressed in terms of great personal respect and kindness, to which I replied in the same spirit. This circumstance induced me to withhold the letter I had written to you, under the expectation that matters would take a turn which would relieve you from all embarrassment.

"This morning I received your note directing me to send the nomination proposed by Mr. Dixon and Mr. Loomis, and was about to reply to it when the senator [called] and we talked the matter over. The result of our conversation was an agreement to call on you as soon as practicable, and submit the matter to your further consideration. I do not insist on the renomination of Mr. Howard; and Mr. Dixon and Mr. Loomis, as I understand, do not claim the nomination of his successor.

"I shall be glad if this shall prove agreeable to you. My only object—and I think you so understand it—is to secure fit men for responsible places, without admitting the rights of senators or representatives to control appointments, for which the President and the Secretary, as his presumed adviser, must be responsible. Unless this principle can be practically established, I feel that I can not be useful to you or the country in my present position.

With the greatest respect and esteem, yours very truly,
 "THE PRESIDENT. S. P. CHASE."

In *Memories of Many Men and of Some Women*, a book of which more than passing notice has been already taken in the present work, I find¹ these words ascribed to Mr. Lincoln, and said to have been spoken in 1864:

"Some time after this there was a collector of customs on the

¹ Page 802.

Pacific coast, one of Chase's men, who was represented to me to be a worthless vagabond, and even a defaulter. I spoke to Chase about him; but he had entire confidence in him, and refused to listen to anything to his disadvantage. While matters stood thus, Chase one day told me that he felt overworked, and proposed taking a little trip down the Potomac, but that he would not be gone longer than two days. I said 'All right, Mr. Secretary,' and we shook hands and parted. As luck would have it, I was waited upon the very next day by a delegation of all the gentlemen from the Pacific coast, both official and unofficial, who then happened to be in Washington. They filed formal charges with me against the collector to whom I have referred, and demanded his immediate removal. I told them that the Secretary of the Treasury was out of town; that it would be discourteous to him if I acted upon the matter in his absence, but that he would return in one or two days at the latest, and I invited them to call upon me again, in about a week, when I promised, under all the circumstances, a definite answer to their report. A week passed. No Chase. The delegation returned, and as I was thoroughly convinced of not only the propriety of, but even the necessity for, the act, I removed the collector, and appointed another in his stead. The first notice that I received of Chase's return was about three days afterward, when I found his resignation lying upon my table. I waited until evening and then ordered my carriage and drove to his house. I found him in the office to the left as you enter the door. I went directly up to him, with the resignation in my hand, and, putting my arm around his neck, said to him, 'Chase, here is a paper with which I wish to have nothing to do; take it back, and be reasonable.' I then explained to him what had occurred while he was away. I told him that the man whom I appointed happened to have been dead several weeks; that I couldn't replace the person whom I had removed—that was impossible—but that I would appoint any one else whom he should select for the place. It was difficult to bring him to terms; I had to plead with him a long time, but I finally succeeded, and heard nothing more of that resignation."

As already hinted, I consider that there is good reason to scrutinize all the accounts given by that book of its author's talks with Lincoln; but the foregoing statement ought to go for what it may be worth. And it may be proper to subjoin, that it is preceded by these words, the first sentence of which relates to our hero's final resignation as Secretary of the Treasury:

"But there is a history behind all this, which I don't mind telling you. Are you aware that this was the *fourth* time that Chase had tendered me his resignation? No? Well, it was."¹

Now, here is a matter of unquestionable authenticity. The President, on the 8th of May, 1863, wrote as follows:

¹Page 302.

"Hon. Secretary of Treasury :

"MY DEAR SIR: Please send me, at once, an appointment of Henry Clay Wilson, of Washington Territory, to be collector of customs for the Puget Sound district, in place of Victor Smith.

'Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN."

And on the same day, the President wrote this little letter :

"Hon. S. P. Chase :

"MY DEAR SIR: I address this to you personally, rather than officially, because of the nature of the case. My mind is made up to remove Victor Smith as collector of the customs at the Puget Sound district. Yet, in doing this, I do not decide that the charges against him are true. I only decide that the degree of dissatisfaction with him there is too great for him to be retained. But I believe he is your personal acquaintance and friend; and, if you desire it, I will try to find some other place for him.

"Yours as ever,

A. LINCOLN."

Secretary Chase did not immediately answer. As we shall presently see, all that fine story about his having been overworked, and his going down the Potomac for a day or two, and staying away for a week and more, is a fiction of somebody's fancy; but the fact was, that the Secretary, having gone, on business, to some of the Eastern cities, did not return to Washington till Friday night, May 8. Why did he not answer on Saturday? That which is entirely certain is, that he allowed Saturday and Sunday to pass without responding to the President. Perhaps that fired the Presidential pride a little; who knows? At least, it is quite certain that he next addressed our hero, on Monday, May 11, in this fashion :

"Hon. Secretary of Treasury :

"MY DEAR SIR: I have just learned that Henry C. Wilson, whom I had appointed as the successor of Victor Smith, at Puget Sound, is dead. Please send me a commission for Frederick A. Wilson.

"Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN."

That drew out this letter from the stiff-necked Secretary of the Treasury :

"TREASURY DEPARTMENT, May 11, 1863.

"DEAR SIR: Some weeks ago you verbally directed me to investigate the papers connected with the case of the collector of the Puget Sound district, and to report the result to you.

"Almost immediately afterward, important business of my department called me to the Eastern cities. On leaving, I directed the Assistant-Secretary to examine all the papers, arrange them in proper order, and make a brief of the contents, so that, on my return, I could at once make the investigation you required.

"I came back on Friday night (8th), and was informed by the Assistant-Secretary that you had already directed him to make out and send to you a commission for a new collector.

"This information surprised and greatly pained me; for I had not thought it possible that you would remove an officer of my department without awaiting the result, although somewhat delayed, of an investigation, directed by yourself, and appoint a successor, for whose action I must be largely responsible, without even consulting me on the subject.

"To-day, I have received your note, stating that the person for whom, in my absence, a commission was prepared, is deceased; and directing one to be made out for another person of whom I know absolutely nothing.

"It has been and is my ardent desire to serve you, by faithful service to the country, in the responsible post to which you have called me; but I can not hope to succeed in doing so if the selection of persons to fill subordinate places in the department is to be made, not only without my concurrence, but without my knowledge.

"I can ask, of course, nothing more than conference. The right of appointment belongs to you; and if, after fair consideration of my views, in any case, your judgment in relation to a proper selection differs from mine, it is my duty to acquiesce cheerfully in your determination; unless, indeed, the case be one of such a character, as to justify my withdrawal from my post. I have, however, a right to be consulted. That right was virtually conceded to me when you invited me to assume the charge of the department and make myself responsible for its administration.

"The blank commission which you direct me to send you is inclosed; for to obey your directions, so long as I shall hold office under you, is my duty. It is inclosed, however, with my most respectful protest against the precedent, and with the assurance that if you find anything in my views to which your own sense of duty will not permit you to assent, I will unhesitatingly relieve you from all embarrassment, so far as I am concerned, by tendering you my resignation.

With very great respect, yours truly,

"THE PRESIDENT.

S. P. CHASE."

The next document I find relating to this matter has the tenor following:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, May 13, 1863.

"Hon. Secretary of the Treasury:

"MY DEAR SIR: I return the letters of General Garfield and Mr. Flanders. I am sorry to know the general's pet expedition under Colonel Straight, has already been captured. Whether it had paid for itself, as he hoped, I do not know. If you think it proper to fill the agency mentioned by Mr. Flanders, by all means let Mr. F. be the man.

"Please send me over the commission for Lewis C. Gunn, as you recommend, for collector of customs at Puget Sound.

"Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN."

On the legal principle relating to the reconciliation of conflicting statements, it is just to Mr. Field, the author of the quoted book, entitled, *Memories of Many Men and of Some Women*, to note the probability that there was, between the 11th and 13th of May, 1863, an interview of some kind, somewhere, between the President and Mr. Chase. And it is possible, if not probable, that, at that interview, the President absolutely hugged our hero. But if Mr. Lincoln, in 1864, made the statement we have found Mr. Field ascribing to him, it is reasonably certain that, in that statement, Mr. Lincoln did not tell the truth. Did he forget the facts? or did he wilfully misstate them? I can not believe that he forgot the facts. Still less can I believe that he wilfully misstated them. It is much easier to believe—much more rational to suppose—that Mr. Field's account is, like so many other accounts of hearsay, given long after the time when the alleged conversation happened. But, as already intimated, I expect to show that there are yet other reasons for carefully scrutinizing Mr. Maunsell B. Field's account of that talk with Lincoln.

It is proper, I conceive, to anticipate somewhat by offering at once this letter, showing how our hero "stuck" to Victor Smith:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., January 5, 1865.

"MY DEAR SIR: I return your printed letter to Mr. Fessenden. What I suggested was a brief, uncolored statement of facts—not an impeachment of anybody—with reference to securing the aid of the department in obtaining from Mr. Merryman the amount embezzled, or lost, during his charge of the office at Port Townsend. I fear the letter you have prepared, and especially the putting of it in print, will not advance that object. I hope I may be mistaken.

"I believe I am your true friend; but I can not look at everything as you do; and perhaps can not feel exactly as you would wish, or as I should were your temperament mine.

"If any word of mine would make you collector again you would be reappointed; but I think you are mistaken as to the influence of my words.

Sincerely your friend,

"VICTOR SMITH, Esq.

S. P. CHASE."

The author of this work knew Victor Smith quite well. He seemed to me as honest as the average of men; but I considered him a special moralist and a "weak brother."

Chase had wonderful idealizing faculty. He could idealize the most prosaic character. He could neglect his truest friends to win the doubtful friendship of weak men. Bad men as well as good

men saw the weakness here alluded to. He was, indeed, sought less by strong men and by good men than by weak men and by bad men.

But of that more must be said hereafter. Here is a thoroughly characteristic note from the President to our hero :

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, *June 25, 1863.*

"*Hon. Secretary of Treasury :*

"MY DEAR SIR: Hon. William Kellogg will tell you plainly what he wants; and I wish him obliged so far as you can consistently do it. Please strain a point for him, if you do not have to strain it too far. Yours truly, A. LINCOLN."

Next, attention is invited to this document :

"*June 28, 1863.*

"MY DEAR SIR: There are two or three circumstances which perhaps I should have mentioned, this morning, when the subject of General Hooker's request to be relieved was talked about. I suggested that the request was properly attributable to General Hooker's persuasion that he could not rely on cordial coöperation from General Halleck, and mentioned the receipt from the latter by the former, when I happened to be with him, of a telegram authorizing General Hooker to issue commands direct to troops in the department of General Heintzelman and General Schenck, from which I drew an argument, which I urged on General Hooker, that General Halleck, far from being unwilling, was really anxious to support him.

"I forgot to say what struck me at the time the telegram came—that it was quite general in its terms, and did not except from the authority given the troops essential for the immediate defense of Washington and Baltimore so distinctly as would have been desirable.

"Might not this written telegram have conveyed to General Hooker a larger notion of his authority than was intended? I thought at the time that it would lead to difficulties through misapprehension.

"After the receipt of it, I have learned at the War Department that General Hooker issued an order to the general commanding at Alexandria, which was disobeyed. General Hooker directed him to be placed in arrest; but it turned out that the officer was simply obeying an order from General Heintzelman, at head-quarters of the army, to *disregard* all orders not proceeding from one or the other of these sources. You will readily understand what distrust this conflict of orders might give rise to. A day or longer afterward, General Hooker ordered the commanding officer at Poolesville to proceed to Harper's Ferry. I believe the order was obeyed; but just such an order as was addressed to the commanding officer at Alexandria, was addressed to General Heintzelman at head-quarters, was addressed to the commanding officer (Colonel Jewett, I believe) at Poolesville; this act again was most unfortunately calculated to impair confidence.

"Then, finally, came the order detaining a large force at Harper's

Ferry against General Hooker's urgent call for them in his advance. I know nothing of the military reasons for it; but can easily imagine that an army occupying a position like that of the Maryland Heights would be of little use, when the main army was in advance of them and would fall back and reoccupy the position should it become necessary.

"I mention these matters for your consideration, and in order that no injustice may be done to anybody. Yours truly,

"THE PRESIDENT.

S. P. CHASE."

The next offering I make is a great temptation to my heart and my pen. But the temptation is resisted. I will only say, by way of farther introduction, that had I not written, though I have never dared to publish, a little book which Chase decidedly encouraged me to put before the public, it is to me, at least, most probable that I would not have written the present work. The first form of that little book was entitled *Ernest and the Flag he Followed*, in respect to which Chase wrote to me as follows:

"August 15, 1863.

"MY DEAR JUDGE: Your letter of the 14th is before me. I send you a copy of Grant's official report in the '*War [Army] and Navy Gazette*,' though you have doubtless already seen it. I shall be very glad to see your biography of Ernest. The obituary which you sent failed to reach me. What sacrifices are made of our noblest youth for the suppression of this accursed rebellion, and yet what memories will be kept greener than theirs! *God grant that the suppression may be so effectual and thorough that such sacrifices need never be repeated.*

Cordially, your friend,

S. P. CHASE.

"HON. R. B. WARDEN, Cincinnati, Ohio."

Here is another letter on the same sad subject:

"October 23, 1863.

"MY DEAR JUDGE: Yours of the 20th is just received, and touches me deeply. The loss of your noble son moves my profoundest sympathies, and it is fit that just such a monument as your book will make for him should be constructed by your hand. *It is the will of God that the precious blood, poured out in this terrible struggle, shall nourish the vine which He planted in America to fresher, nobler growth? I reverently hope so.* The effects of the fiery trial to your mind and many other spirits of like reach and culture confirm the hope. It is a real gratification to be assured that any words of mine have contributed to your present convictions.

"*I was never an Abolitionist of that school which taught that there could never be a human duty superior to that of the instant and unconditional abolition of slavery. HE WHO SEES THE TOWER IN THE QUARRY AND THE OAK IN THE ACORN REQUIRES NO IMPOSSIBLE TASK FROM HIS CREATURES.* But, for more than half my life, I have been an abolitionist of that other school, which believed slave-holding

wrong, and that all responsible for the wrong should do what was possible for them, in their respective spheres, for its redress. I shall be very glad to see your book.

"Sincerely, your friend,
"HON. R. B. WARDEN, *Cincinnati, Ohio.*"

S. P. CHASE.

August 29 furnishes the following:

"Received from A. C. Wilson, President of the Continental Bank Note Company, his charges against Mr. Clark, and referred them to Mr. C. for explanation or answer. The charges seem to be inspired by no public reason, but by hostility to Mr. Clark because of his supposed animosity and injustice to the company.

"Conferred with Mr. McCulloch on the subject of deposits with the national banks, and determined that the clerk having special charge of this business and its correspondence, shall take a desk under Mr. McC. and be attached to his bureau.

"Mr. Smith, chief clerk of the Third Auditor's Office, was consulted on the subject of the selection of the chief clerk in his place, in view of his probable appointment to some outside position."

In the afternoon the President came in, with letters from General Grant and Banks in relation to the arming of negro troops, and read them to Mr. Chase. General Banks stated that he had already about 12,000 in about twenty-five regiments of 500 each, which number he regarded as most likely to secure good discipline and drill, and the greatest efficiency of the regiments when filled to their maximums, which he expected to accomplish by degrees. He thought he had now organized about all the blacks who could be obtained till a larger extent of country should be occupied. General Grant's was much to the same effect, except that he did not contemplate any other original organization as to numbers than that of the white regiments, nor did he specify the numbers actually enlisted. Both generals express confidence in the efficiency of these troops and clear opinions in favor of using them. These letters gave much satisfaction to the President, and Mr. Chase suggested to him that not only was the public sentiment of the loyal people of Louisiana in favor of negro troops, but also in favor of the revocation of the exception in his Proclamation of the two districts, including New Orleans, from its operation, and told him that some weeks ago, after talking with him on this subject, though more particularly in reference to the expected Virginia districts, he (Mr. Chase) had prepared the draft of a proclamation revoking the exceptions, which, with his permission, he would hand to him. The President received it kindly, and said he would consider it further.

In the evening of the same day Mr. Mellen and Mr. Risley went to Mr. Chase's house, and they with him read through the new regulations of trade and concerning abandoned property, and completed their revision. Mr. Mellen was then to return to his agency, and Mr. Risely to supervise the printing of the new regulations.

Next I ask attention to a matter which appears to me of more than ordinary interest :

On Sunday, August 30, 1863, Mr. Covode called at Mr. Chase's house after church, and desired to know Mr. C.'s opinion as to the proper course to be taken in Pennsylvania. Mr. Chase replied there seemed to him but one course to be taken, and that was to give a hearty support to the reëlection of Governor Curtin. Mr. Covode thought Governor Curtin and his friends designed that he should be brought forward as a candidate for the Presidency, and that if elected Governor he would shape matters in Pennsylvania so as to secure its delegates in the convention, while a majority of the loyal men of Pennsylvania preferred Mr. Chase, and that the vote of the State controlled by Curtin would not be given to Chase unless under some arrangement which would pledge to Governor Curtin and his friends the patronage in Pennsylvania. To this Mr. Chase replied that no speculations as to Governor Curtin's future course could excuse the loyal men from supporting him now; that the future must take care of itself. *That he, Mr. Chase, was not anxious for the Presidency. That there was but one position in the government which he really would like to have, if it were possible to have it without any sacrifice of principle or public interest, and that was the Chief Justiceship;* and that, should the wishes of these political friends incline to him as a nominee for the Presidency, these wishes must certainly be of a public nature; for he certainly would never consent, under any circumstances, to make pledges as to appointments to office, but would insist upon being left entirely free to avail himself of the services of the best men in the country. Mr. Covode approved of these sentiments, and said that he would confer with a number of prominent citizens opposed to Mr. Curtin, the next evening, at Philadelphia, and endeavor to secure united action in his favor.

After Mr. Covode left Mr. Mellen called and dined with the Secretary. Mr. Mellen's agency was, in part, the theme of conversation. Mr. Chase records that he considered his guest "active, intelligent, and faithful," and thought if any one could accomplish

the work of regulating trade without prejudice to military operations, and at the same time to the satisfaction of honest people engaged in it, and for the benefit of the people of the rebel States within our military lines, Mr. Mellen could do it.

Mr. Mellen is dead. He died since the death of Chase.

We find the following entry dated August 31, 1863:

"Business at the department for to-day was chiefly routine. Wrote to Mr. Cisco, directing him to ascertain whether the banks and bankers of New York would subscribe \$35,000,000 for five per cent. treasury notes, payable in a year, and made a legal tender for their face. Addressed similar letters to the assistant treasurers at Boston and Philadelphia, asking for a subscription of ten millions at Boston and five millions at Philadelphia. I am not at all sanguine in the expectation that success will attend these applications. It is substantially a proposition to the capitalist to loan money to the government for a year at about $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., with a privilege, however, of being repaid at any time after 30 days when the treasury notes can be delivered.

"A note from Senator Henderson apprised me that a delegation from St. Louis desired to call upon me with reference to the regulations of the river trade. I replied that I would see them to-morrow at ten or two o'clock, as best suited them. I afterward received a note from the senator, saying they would call at two to-morrow afternoon."

In the afternoon of August 31st Mr. Chase called at the President's, and found him listening to representations of Senator Bowdoin and Representatives Chandler and Segur, of Virginia, and Dr. ———, of Northampton county, concerning the tax imposed by order of the War Department on the people of that county to pay for the rebuilding of a light-house lately destroyed by rebels. The object of these gentlemen was to induce the President to revoke that order, on the ground that the people of Northampton were thoroughly loyal, and that the destruction of the light-house was without the least privy of theirs, but by rebels who came from that portion of Virginia still controlled by rebels. After these gentlemen took their departure, the President said to Mr. Chase that he felt inclined to revoke the order. Mr. C. suggested that perhaps it would be well to suspend the exception of Northampton and the other counties of Virginia from his Proclamation, and accompany that revocation by the revocation of the order imposing the tax, inasmuch as the first revocation would insure the loyalty which the people of the county professed.

Turning from this subject, Mr. Chase asked the President to ap-

point Mr. Shellabarger Governor of Dacotah if he should determine not to give that place to Judge Bliss, and if he should, then to give the Chief Justiceship to Mr. Shellabarger. He also asked the President, in case Mr. Bingham should decline the judgeship at Key West, to give it to Judge Lawrence, of Logan county, Ohio. The President received these requests favorably, but promised nothing.

Mr. Chase then called at the War Department and, not finding the Secretary, left a request that he would call at the Treasury Department. He then went to the Navy Department, to inquire if there was any necessity for a judge at Key West. Secretary Welles was absent at the North, but Assistant-Secretary Fox informed Mr. C. that the want of a judge at Key West occasioned great inconvenience, and risk of public and private injuries; but that he thought Judge Marvin would hold the court, if requested, until his successor could arrive in November. Mr. Fox informed Secretary Chase that there were at that time between sixty and seventy naval vessels undergoing repairs at New York, and the loss in consequence of the poor timber necessarily employed in their construction was enormous. Mr. Chase inquired if any steps had been taken toward purchasing tar, pitch, and turpentine, and ship timber, in North Carolina, the export of which he (Mr. Chase) had prohibited, in order to give the Navy Department an opportunity to buy at reasonable rates. Mr. Fox replied that orders had been given to purchase, except as to ship timber. Mr. Chase then inquired the cause of such frequent violations of the blockade at Wilmington, to which Mr. Fox answered that the blockage there was now weak, in consequence of the withdrawal of so many of the ships for Charleston, and for repairs; but that in a few days it would be greatly strengthened. Mr. Chase then returned to the department. Mr. Stanton soon called, and Mr. C. suggested to him to propose to the President the revocation of the Proclamation exceptions in Virginia in connection with the suspension or revocation of the Northampton tax order. Mr. Stanton seemed disinclined to connect the two, but was disposed to insist on the tax. They discussed the question briefly and left it unsettled. Mr. Chase represented to Secretary Stanton the great importance of prompt and vigorous military action; that the following day the amount of suspended requisitions, including the pay of the whole army for July and August, would approach \$35,000,000, of which Secretary Chase said he could not command, in or-

dinary ways, over \$5,000,000, and that unless the war could be pushed more vigorously, and with greater certainty of early and successful termination, there was cause for serious apprehension of financial embarrassment. Mr. Stanton replied that the delay of General Rosecrans was the principal cause of difficulty; that he (General R.) commanded a full third of all the effective force of the country, and did nothing, comparatively, with it. That in a week's time he could, if he would, penetrate those portions of Georgia and Alabama in which the negroes had been taken by their masters, and where the gathering of large bodies of negro troops would be easy. He said that he had represented these things to the President, but so far without much effect.

"At the house, in the evening," continues the entry here drawn from, "Major Taylor, Dr. Schmidt, and Mr. Wright of California, called. Dr. Schmidt warned me, in his way, against Mr. Clark and Dr. Gwinn; to which I answered that, if facts were presented to me instead of vague generalities, they would be considered. Mr. Wright said he should like some position at my hands some fourteen months hence; to which I replied that, at that time, it was not likely I should have any to give. He then went into a statement of his connection with the Frémont campaign in 1856, and of the election of Mr. Lincoln in '60, and expressed his conviction that I would be the nominee in '64, and that it was his wish to promote that result. I replied that nothing could be more uncertain than the currents of popular sentiment; that I was by no means anxious that they should turn toward me; and that, if they did, and the result should be such as he predicted, it must be without any pledges from me in relation to appointments; for no man could honorably take charge of the administration under any obligations than those of duty, and exercise its power for the best good of the whole country, in conformity with the principles upon which, and, in general, with the aid of the best men by whom he had been elected."

CHAPTER XXXIX.

MARTIAL MEASURES AND FINANCIAL MATTERS—HABEAS CORPUS.

SEPTEMBER 1, 1863, a committee from St. Louis, of whom Mr. Breckinridge appeared to be the chairman, handed Mr. Chase a letter, and withdrew.

"On reading the letter," says our hero, "I found it an indictment against the course of the government in respect to Western trade, with a demand that the river be opened to the same freedom of trade as in times of peace, except so far as restoration might be necessary at points of distribution within the rebel States. I sent for Mr. Barnitz, and consulted with him on this subject. He prepared a draft of a reply to the committee.

"I directed Mr. Plantz¹ to prepare an abstract of the papers relating to the compensation of Jay Cooke as general subscription agent for the sale of five-twenties."²

Next, I call attention to the following statement under date September 2, 1863:

"Nothing of note transpired during the day.

"In the evening General Schenck called, and conversed freely about the court of inquiry called nominally to investigate the conduct of General Milroy, but which subjected to its investigations *his* conduct, as well as all the circumstances connected with the evacuation of Winchester. He was much dissatisfied with these proceedings, which gave him no notice, and allowed him no opportunity for proper defense. He said he should call upon the President, and have the matter set right. I tendered him my services, so far as they might be useful."

Under date September 3 the same record says:

"Mr. Risley came to breakfast, bringing with him the still unfinished regulations. I could give but little attention to them, being compelled to prepare an answer to the St. Louis committee, which I wrote after breakfast and took to the department to be copied.

"Governor Pierpont called, and talked about Virginia affairs. He

¹ Private secretary.

² There is this: "Note—This draft was not used."

thought a majority of the members of the legislature would be in favor of calling a convention to amend the constitution so as to make it a free labor State. He said he had not yet sent a written request to the President for a revocation of the exception of the south-eastern counties in his Proclamation; and that though he had originally asked for this exception, he became fully satisfied that it was unwise, and had represented to the President his wish to have it revoked. I told him that if he would put this wish in writing, and place his wish on grounds of military necessity, the revocation would probably be made; and I suggested to him some grounds of military necessity which seemed to me important. He replied that, if I would make a draft of a letter he would use it in framing a request to the President for the revocation. I told him I would do so within the next half hour. At the expiration of that time he called, and I handed him the draft."

¹Indorsed, "Draft of letter, Governor Pierpont to the President, asking revocation of exceptions to Emancipation Proclamation," is a paper, of which the contents, in the handwriting of Mr. Chase, are transcribed as follows:

"SIR: The exception of the two eastern shore counties of Virginia, and four other counties on the other shore, including the two cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth from the operation of your Proclamation of the 1st of January, has not been attended with the beneficial consequences you anticipated. Instead of inducing a return to loyalty, it has, in my judgment, encouraged disloyalists; while the military necessity which warranted the Proclamation was as urgent in the excepted counties as in any other.

"That military necessity has now become even more obvious than it was then. Within the last few weeks, the Cape Charles light-house has been destroyed by rebels or by traitors. No such outrage could be perpetrated if the exception were revoked and the necessary military force for protection, by recruits from any class disposed to enlist. Blacks enough to form a substantial defense and security for the public property and the commerce protected by the light-house, could be easily enlisted, if the exceptions were revoked.

"It is admitted, now, by nearly all, that the recruiting of black troops, sanctioned by you, is a wise and necessary measure. In few places could more or better men, in proportion to the whole population, of this description, be obtained than in Norfolk, Portsmouth, and the excepted counties, if the exception were revoked. As long as it continues, it is a discouragement and embarrassment to such enlistments.

"The fact of the existence of the exception has greatly emboldened opposition to the government in its efforts to suppress the rebellion. Had there been no exception, it is hardly too much to say that the murder by Dr. Wright of an officer, for the reason that he commanded colored troops, would not have occurred. Certain it is that if it be revoked, military administration in Norfolk and its vicinity will be much easier, and military operations in that region be much safer and much less liable to be thwarted or defeated.

"I respectfully submit that these reasons fully justify, and, indeed, require the revoking of the exceptions, on the ground of military necessity; and I will not now advert to other reasons, which, not being precisely of a military nature, should not influence your action, but which, nevertheless, are very strong with the loyal

The register goes on as follows :

" Judge Whittaker, of New Orleans, dined, and afterward took a ride, with me. We conversed fully about the state of things in Louisiana, and he expressed himself as being satisfied that slavery was virtually abolished, and that the constitution of the State should be so formed as to prohibit it permanently. He was not, at first, as decided in these sentiments as he became toward the end of our conversation. Indeed, I had expected to find him, from the representations of Mr. Dennison and Mr. Plumley, much farther advanced than I did.

" In the evening, Messrs. McJilton, Meredith, Turner, and Snowden called, to converse about matters in Maryland. They stated that Mr. Swann would probably be a candidate against Mr. Davis on the part of the Conservative Union men; and that, on the other hand, the Radicals would probably nominate candidates in the several districts where the Conservatives had succeeded in carrying the conventions. All these gentlemen seemed to belong to the Conservative side, but were desirous that Mr. Swann should not be a candidate; and, on the other hand, that the candidates who had been nominated by the Conservatives should not be opposed. I expressed my great regret that the division had occurred, but said that I felt it was founded in differences too radical to be overcome. I could see no remedy, unless both sides could agree to call a convention upon a platform satisfactory to each, and support the candidates that were already or might be nominated, and accept it in good faith. Mr. McJilton thought if some of the leaders would come together and talk matters over in a patriotic spirit of accommodation, that some good might come of it, and some common ground be found. I begged him to do what he could to accomplish this result, and especially to call, with some others of Mr. Swann's friends, and represent to him the impossibility of supporting him, if he should be a candidate, and induce him, if possible, not to consent to such a use of his name. He promised to do this, and the gentlemen left me.

" Mr. Taft and Mr. French, of Cincinnati, also called, to talk over Ohio affairs and political matters generally. Mr. Parker, of St. Louis, also called, about his express company, with a letter from Mr. McKee. Sent word to him to call at the department to-morrow."

Under date September 4 appears the entry :

" At the meeting of the Cabinet (so called), to-day, Mr. Bates stated that the restrictions on trade created a great deal of inconvenience; that he thought the river should now be free to trade as in times of peace, except at points occupied by our troops, and that care should be taken that supplies did not reach rebels. He admitted that some few thousands of dollars worth of goods would get to them under the system he proposed, but he thought this evil would be trivial compared with the evils of restriction. I stated briefly the law and the

citizens of Virginia, for desiring that all parts of the State be placed precisely on the same footing in respect to exemption from slavery."

executive action on the subject, and that the change proposed by Mr. Bates was disapproved by Generals Banks and Grant. I added that I had been revising the regulations, and hoped soon to have them complete; that they had been modified in favor of trade as far as the improved condition of affairs would allow, but would not, I feared, meet the sanction of the generals, whose views and wishes were entitled to the most consideration. Mr. Stanton stated that a letter had been recently received from General Grant, in which he proposed to prohibit all trade except in certain articles through post-sutlers; that he did not agree with General Grant in this view, believing that sutlers should be confined to furnishing supplies to the army, and that all trade with citizens should be under the regulations of the Treasury Department. After some observations from the President and others, the subject was dropped."

The President then called the attention of Mr. Stanton to the order prohibiting the export of arms; and, after some conversation, it was agreed that all arms imported into the country should be allowed to be exported to the place from which they were shipped. Mr. Chase then called Mr. Stanton's attention to the order prohibiting the exportation of live stock, and he consented that the order should be modified so far as to allow exportation from ports on the Pacific. On returning to the department, in order to avoid delay, Mr. Chase drew up an executive order modifying the former order, so as to allow exportation of imported arms to the place from which they were originally shipped, and the exportation of live stock from the ports of the Pacific, and sent them to Mr. Stanton for his approval, and then to the President for his signature; and he then telegraphed the collector at San Francisco that the exportation of live stock was permitted.

Mr. Scudder, of Memphis, called, to whom Mr. Chase read the letter of the St. Louis committee and his reply. Mr. S. approved the letter, and expressed the opinion that no greater liberty of trade than Mr. Chase proposed could be allowed safely at present.

Then we have the statement:

"Mr. Tilton, of the New York *Independent*, came to dinner, and rode with me afterward. I endeavored to impress upon his mind that there were but two practical ways of reconstructing the proclamation States so as to [protect] them against the reëstablishment of slavery; one by the organization of provisional governments; the other by encouraging the loyal citizens to reëstablish State governments under constitutions prohibiting slavery. He inquired much concerning men and things, and I endeavored to give him correct information. The Rev. Mr. Turner (colored) called for a letter to Mr. Stanton, recommending him as chaplain, which I gave him. Professor Hedrick also called to talk about North Carolina matters."

Under date, Saturday, September 5, we have what follows :

"Telegraphed the collector at San Francisco, congratulating him on the result of the California election.

"Received a telegram from Judge Bond, desiring to have an interview arranged with the President for Mr. Goldsborough, and other Maryland gentlemen. Sent to the President a commission for Mr. Stewart, in place of Mr. Ridgeley, who was removed because of his hostility to the President's policy."

Sunday, September 6, Mr. Heaton took breakfast with Mr. Chase, and gave him a full account of the progress of the emancipation sentiment in North Carolina. He represented the hostility to the Proclamation to be confined principally to the former slave-owners, who wish to reënslave the emancipees, but the poorer classes, and many of the middle class, desire freedom and with it education and progress. On talking with men who came in to sell a barrel of turpentine, sometimes bringing it in a boat for several miles, or to sell watermelons from an old cart, he found them always quick to understand the cause of their troubles and their poverty, and anxious for the removal of slavery, in order that their children might have the advantages of education, which had been denied to them by the aristocracy.

In the afternoon of the same day Mr. Stickney called. He had just arrived from Florida, and lastly from Morris Island. He said that it was easy at that time to take possession of Florida ; that five thousand men could accomplish it. General Saxton desired the command, and General Gilmore approved the expedition, and was willing to spare one or two regiments to aid it. If the business could be promptly taken hold of and pushed vigorously, Mr. Stickney was confident that Florida could be restored as a free State by the 1st of December.

Friday, September 11, Mr. Galloway breakfasted with Secretary Chase. They talked of Ohio affairs. Mr. Galloway spoke encouragingly of the political prospects at home ; but what of that ? What did "Sam. Galloway" ever thoroughly learn about either politics or politicians ? If possible, he was even a worse politician than our hero.

Mr. Chase called on the President immediately after breakfast to obtain his approval of the revised regulations of trade. The President referred him to the Secretary of War, wishing that the Secretary's order to officers to observe the regulations should precede his

approval. Going then to the War Office, Mr. Chase obtained Mr Stanton's order, and at the Navy Department obtained that of Secretary Welles. Mr. C. then returned to the President's, where the President read to him the rough draft of a letter to Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, urging immediate measures to reconstitute that State, and to so amend the constitution as to insure emancipation, and promising him that the reconstituted State government, so framed as to exclude the possibility of rebels regaining the ascendancy, would be recognized and sustained by the national government. Immediately after this, Secretaries Stanton and Fox and General Halleck came in. Some conversation took place about the farther steps for the reduction of Charleston. Fox expressed the opinion that the harbor outside of Charleston had been closed by the rebels so as to be inaccessible to our ships, except through a narrow passage, in which they kept a ship ready to be sunk, so as to close it completely. He said he thought that, if such proved to be the fact, the only course would be to reduce the batteries on Sullivan's Island, so as to command that portion of the inner harbor outside of the obstructions. Gilmore had told him, he said, before going on the expedition, that he could reduce Fort Moultrie from Cumming's Point. Mr. Stanton doubted the existence of the obstructions, and said that the admiral should try immediately what could be done. After Fox left the President mentioned the resignation of General Burnside, received the day before. He said he was not willing to accept it—at present, at any rate—as Burnside was then doing very well, and was very loyal and true-hearted. He proposed to say to him that he could not be spared just then; but that, after a while, should success still attend us, and his private affairs should make his retirement necessary, his resignation would be accepted. General Halleck then spoke briefly of affairs in Tennessee. He thought Rosecrans should advance, so as to hold the mountains between him and Atlanta; but not attempt to advance on Atlanta until the movements of the rebels were more fully developed; that Burnside should also hold the country toward the eastern limits of Tennessee, but not attempt a farther advance till more certain intelligence concerning the enemy and their designs.

While Mr. Chase was at the War Department, Mr. Stanton told him he would endeavor the next day to prevail on the President to revoke his exceptions in Virginia, and to adopt some settled principles respecting the enlistment of negroes held as slaves, and that

he, Mr. Stanton, wanted Mr. Chase to be present. He wished him also to see Seward and ask him to use his influence with the President to have Farragut sent to Charleston.

After Stanton and Halleck had left, Mr. Chase explained briefly the trade regulations to the President, who said, "You understand these things—I do not," and signed the approval.

At the department little of interest occurred. General Blair called, with Colonel Sanford, and Secretary C. promised to speak to the Secretary of War in Sanford's behalf. General Cameron called and told Mr. Chase he was about leaving town, and could not dine with him. The Secretary gave him a designation for Mr. Minor. Directed payment of the ten per cent. gold loan in full. Called on Governor Seward and spoke to him about sending Farragut to Charleston, and he promised to see the President on the subject.

In the evening Mr. Chase had several callers, as usual; among others Reese, who promised to bring Judge Edmonds, which Mr. C. told him to do at any time; and Brand, whom the Secretary promised to assist in obtaining promotion, if practicable; and Field, who gave him an account of the bank discussion in the bank meeting about the loan.

Monday, September 14, Governor Andrew breakfasted with Mr. Chase. Afterward they went to the President's, where they found Secretary Stanton, to whom Mr. Chase recommended "Scotty" for a medal, as he had promised him. Stanton said he would order one engraved as soon as Chase sent him the name and inscription. At eleven a meeting of Heads was held. The President said that the applications for discharges by drafted men and deserters were very numerous, and were granted under circumstances which show that the judges were disposed to defeat the objects of the law. He expressed the opinion that State courts had no authority to issue a writ of *habeas corpus* for any person in the custody of United States officers, claiming to act under the national law. He proposed, therefore, to direct officers holding persons in such custody to make a return of the fact that they were so held, and to refuse to obey the writ; and if force should be used to overcome it by force. Mr. Seward favored this action, and there was no expression against it until Mr. Chase remarked that he had always been accustomed to regard the writ of *habeas corpus* as a most important safeguard of personal liberty. "It has been generally conceded," he went on to say, "or at least such has been the practice, that State courts may

issue writs of *habeas corpus* for persons detained as enlisted soldiers, and to discharge them. Several cases of this kind have occurred in Ohio, and the proceeding of the State court was never questioned to my knowledge. Of course, a proper exercise of the power does not justify its improper exercise. If the writ is abused with a criminal purpose of breaking up the army, the persons who abuse it should be punished as any other criminals are. But before taking any action which seems to set aside the writ, a clear case should be made, which will command the concurrence of the people and their approval. I suggest, therefore, that the Secretary of War should make a statement of the number of persons discharged from military service under the writ, with such notes of the circumstances as will show the abuse of it; after which such action can be taken as the case requires." Mr. Blair and Mr. Usher coincided substantially with these views, Mr. Blair remarking that he had often, when a judge in Missouri, discharged soldiers on *habeas corpus*. The President thought there was no doubt of the bad faith in which the writ was now being used. Mr. Seward thought it indispensable to assert the authority of the government at once; and Mr. Bates expressed the opinion that the President, as head of the army, could not be interfered with by any civil authority whatever, but was, in his action as Commander-in-Chief, superior to any process; and this without any suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*, except as incidental to the exercise of his legitimate authority. Mr. Stanton thought prompt action necessary. The President ended the discussion by saying he would prepare such an order as he thought best, and would see the gentlemen the next day at half-past two. The conversation then turned upon writs of *habeas corpus* issued from Federal courts, when it appeared that the number of discharges made by two Federal judges in Pennsylvania—Cadwalader, at Philadelphia, and McCandless, at Pittsburg—largely exceeded the number discharged by all the State courts put together. So it appeared that an order to reach the State courts only would be inefficient.

After leaving the President, Mr. Chase returned to the department, and attended to its ordinary duties; the principal that day being that of drawing upon the banks for ten per cent. of their subscription for treasury notes, and the beginning of the distribution of the revised regulations concerning trade.

On Tuesday, September 15, Mr. Chase went to the President's at

half-past nine, and met there young Mr. Stephen, nephew of the English lawyer, and Mr. Gillespie, of Illinois.

Most all of the heads of departments having come in, the President read his order. It was a direction to the military officers holding persons in custody as soldiers, deserters, or drafted men, to make return to the writ of *habeas corpus*, from any court, that the principal in the writ was so held, and refuse obedience; and that if force should be used to compel obedience, to overcome it. After the order was read, the Secretary of War made a statement showing the great number of persons discharged by *habeas corpus*, principally by the two Federal judges, Cadwalader and McCandless, and stated some very gross proceedings under color of judicial authority, manifestly intended to interfere with the recruiting and maintenance of the army. The President remarked that the order he had read was the same he had proposed the day before, only modified so as to apply to Federal as well as to State courts.

Secretary Chase then remarked: "This is an important matter. The statement made by the Secretary of War clearly shows a design to defeat the measures which Congress and the Executive have thought necessary to maintain the army. The only question, then, is, in what mode should this attempt be met? You, Mr. President, have believed that you have the power to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus* without being authorized by Congress, and in some cases have acted on this belief. After much consideration I have come to the conclusion that your opinion and action are sanctioned by the constitution. Whatever doubt there may have been as to your power to suspend the writ, it has been removed by express legislation. The act of 3d March last, approved by you, authorizes you to suspend the writ in any case during the existing rebellion, when in your judgment the public safety may require it. The order you have just read does not suspend the writ in terms, though it probably does in effect. It leaves the question of suspension open to debate, and will lead to serious collisions probably, with the disadvantages on the side of the Federal authority. In my judgment, therefore, instead of this order there should be a proclamation distinctly suspending the writ of *habeas corpus*, so far as may be necessary to prevent the great evil of virtually disbanding the army, and when once issued any attempt to interfere with the organization should be punished, under the act of Congress, promptly and decisively, no matter who the offender may be, whether governor or

judge, or any less conspicuous personage. By this bold and direct action I think you will command the confidence of the public, avoid collisions upon uncertain grounds, and secure most completely the great objects you have in view." This Mr. Chase said in substance. The President seemed to be struck with the force of it; took the law to which Mr. Chase had referred, and came to the conclusion that the best mode was to issue a proclamation under it suspending the writ. Some conversation then took place as to the proper return to be made by the officer to whom the writ was addressed. As this matter, however, seemed to be sufficiently provided for by the law, the subject was not pursued. Mr. Chase was surprised to find that, in a matter of this importance, no one but himself seemed to have read the act of March 3d, with reference to the subject under discussion, and that its provisions were unfamiliar to all.

Again I find myself induced to drop a line into Mr. Field's *Memories of Many Men and of Some Women*. And the fish I catch is this:

"In the summer of the year 1863, the Hon. George Harrington, the Assistant-Secretary of the Treasury, broke down completely in health, and by the advice of his physicians determined to seek repose and relaxation by withdrawing for a time from public affairs and visiting Europe. In this emergency, Secretary Chase invited me to Washington."¹

Again I drop my line into the same water, and again I am rewarded by a little more than a nibble. I draw up this fine piscine specimen:

"I entered upon my new duties as Assistant-Secretary of the Treasury upon the first day of October, 1863, and continued in the discharge of them, under Secretaries Chase, Fessenden, and McCulloch, until the first of July, 1865, when, with impaired strength and energy, I was transferred by President Johnson, at my own request, to a Federal office in the city of New York."

How impairing to the strength and energy of a fine nature such an office as Assistant-Secretary of the Treasury must be, to be sure! But let me not be tempted to digress. Here is an extract from our hero's record, under date September 16:

"Mr. Field left for New York to-day. I offered to make him chief clerk, with \$3,000 a year, and to make him second assistant secretary in case Congress would give me such an officer. He will consider it and reply."

¹ Page 261.

A splendid memory has Mr. Field: that grows more and more apparent. Then, his love of accuracy seems to amount to a very passion.

The Secretary recorded that he was much gratified to find, by reports of the proper officers, that the averages in the issue of 5-20 bonds was nearly made up, and that there was reason to expect that in the course of that month they would be prepared to issue fractional currency and treasury notes in sufficient quantities for the public demand.

How Secretary Chase at this time regarded Senator Sumner is not ill indicated by this little note:

"WASHINGTON, September 16, 1863.

"MY DEAR SUMNER: In spite of the finest print, almost illegible, I have read your great speech from beginning to end. *It is a noble effort, quite worthy of you.* It exhausts the subject, leaving nothing even for a gleaner. I shall await with curiosity, not unmixed with anxiety, the response from Europe.

"Things here are looking better and better, though some anxiety, I hear, is felt in military quarters. Oh! for a great general, honest and faithful, and inspired by our cause, at the head of the war.

"Faithfully your friend,

"HON. CHARLES SUMNER.

S. P. CHASE."

Wednesday, September 16, 1863, was made this record:

"Nearly my whole time was consumed by callers. Endeavored to examine the papers in relation to Jay Cooke's agency, but made small progress. Some claims for cotton surrendered to Yeatman, the agent, the largest of which was represented by Colonel Letherman, came in. Mr. Moore, from Washington Territory, called. He is a candidate for the collectorship vacated by Major Goldsborough. He explained the transaction relating to the *Herald of Progress* and Dr. Allyn, showing that Victor Smith had no connection with Dr. Allyn's contribution to the *Herald*. His explanation was entirely satisfactory on this point. He also denied positively, on behalf of Mr. Smith, the statement of Henry and others, that Smith asserted that I was indebted to him. In the evening, Mr. Pierce and Mr. McKim called; also, Major Smith and Mr. Green, the latter of whom said that he was requested by Judge Balcom, of the Court of Appeals of New York, to tender his respects to me and say that the court had agreed upon a decision in the legal tender cases before them, affirming the constitutionality of the law. Major Giddings and Captain Ilgis also called, who in the course of conversation made these remarkable statements about the condition of the regular regiments. They said that the Twelfth, now in New York, had 600 men and about twenty-seven officers, the full complement. These two regiments are of the new organization, 2400 men each; that the Third had 180 men and eight officers; the Fourth twenty-two men and

nineteen officers; the Sixteenth 130 to 140 men and fifteen officers; the Tenth thirty-one men and nearly a full complement of twenty-seven officers. The Third, Fourth, Sixth, and Tenth are old regiments."

We have, under date of Thursday, September 17, 1863:

"Went to the President's immediately after breakfast. Found Governor Newall and other New Jersey gentlemen interceding with the President for the pardon of a deserter. Said to the President that I feared some injustice had been done in removing Mr. Ridgeley, who had in conversation with me the day before expressed the most decided support of the administration, saying that the ground of complaint against him was that he had supported Mr. Webster for nomination to Congress, and that Mr. Webster was as decided a friend to the administration as himself. Mr. Ridgeley had asked me for a pass to go to the army to see Colonel Webster, and I suggested to the President the propriety of allowing him to go. The President said he could go after a few days, but that just now the army might be moving. I mentioned to the President the message of Judge Balcom, and he said that Judge Davies had given him similar information. I again referred to the case of General Hamilton, and he told me that General Hamilton had been sent for, and would probably return to Texas as brigadier-general and military governor. Referred again to the subject of revoking the exceptions of the southeastern counties of Virginia from his Proclamation, and he read to me the draft of an unfinished letter he had begun to me on that subject, the argument of which was very strongly put, but based entirely upon the idea that the military necessity which justified the Proclamation did not now exist in regard to these counties. I questioned the correctness of this view and referred to the letter of Governor Pierpont, urging the revocation upon the distinct grounds of military necessity. He then remarked that the revocation, at all events, was not expedient at present, and should be deferred until after the fall elections. We then talked on the suspension of the *habeas corpus*. He said that I was quite right in recommending it, rather than the order which had been prepared, and that he had been convinced of it as soon as he heard my statement of the law. I also spoke to him about the promotion of Colonel Davies, saying that I thought he deserved it by his gallantry and ability, and that I should be particularly glad to have it done because of the judge's steady support of the government. He intimated that it had been already decided upon, which I was glad to hear.

"I then went to the War Department. Mr. Stanton stated a curious circumstance. Yesterday, he said, a shot or shell from the navy yard fell into a cavalry camp on the Maryland side of the Potomac, killing one man and doing considerable injury to the camp. He directed a report of the facts to be made to Secretary Welles, with a request to change the direction of the guns; to which the Secretary replied that he paid \$200 a year for the privilege of firing on that piece of ground! Mr. Stanton said that he was going to offer him \$600 a year to make such a change as would save his camp.

"After returning to the department, Mr. Plumley called to talk about matters in Louisiana, and I invited him to breakfast to-morrow morning."

The 18th of September yields as follows:

"Mr. L. E. Straughn, of the Cambridge (Maryland) *Intelligencer*, called. He had been recommended for assessor in place of Russell, and naturally thought the change a desirable one. He impressed me very favorably, indeed; I had already been satisfied by his paper of his activity and patriotism, and should be very glad to show my sense of it, but am not prepared to make the desired removal.

"Plumley breakfasted with me, and gave quite a clear inside view of military and civil affairs at New Orleans. He represents General Banks as very friendly to me.

"General Hamilton called and bid me 'good-bye,' being about to leave for his new position in Texas. Schurz also called."

Having been impressed, by somewhat careful study, with apprehensions for the condition of Rosecrans' army, Secretary Chase was a good deal alarmed by the telegrams in the morning papers of the 20th of September, and went immediately to the War Department after breakfast, where he found two telegrams, one from Rosecrans himself, and one from Dana, both dated at Chattanooga, and both reporting serious disaster. Later in the day another telegram came from Dana, saying that Thomas had successfully resisted the enemy's advance, but left room for serious forebodings.

On the following day he wrote as follows:

"WASHINGTON, September 21, 1863.

MY DEAR SIR: I am not responsible for the management of the war, and have no voice in it, except that I am not forbidden to make suggestions; and do so, now and then, when I can't help it.

"You are wrong in blaming Stanton as you do. You ought to allow for the great difficulties of his position, and remember that it [is] much easier to criticise than to act so as to avoid even just criticism. Nor should you forget that a war managed by a President, a Commanding General, and a Secretary, can not, especially when the great differences of temperament, wishes, and intellectual characteristics of these three are taken into the account, reasonably be expected to be conducted in the best possible manner. This condition can only be remedied by the President, and, as yet, he fears the remedy most. Don't be so impatient. Your friend,

"M. HALSTEAD, Esq.

S. P. CHASE."

On the 22d of September, of the same year, at the meeting of the Heads of Departments, the President gave an account of the battle of Sunday. Results were less unfavorable than was feared, although the losses were great in killed, wounded, and prisoners, and some

fifty guns captured by the enemy on the center and right. On the left, Thomas, and Granger and Garfield, who had joined Thomas at great personal risk, had distinguished themselves greatly.

On the same day, 22d, Mr. Chase received a letter from Schurz, inclosing a printed scheme for a testimonial to McClellan, which was being circulated in the army for subscriptions, with the sanction of the commanding general and his staff. Called Stanton's attention to it, who agreed with Mr. C. in thinking it an insult to the President. Mr. Chase also showed the letter and the paper to the President, who took the paper and promised to see Stanton about it. Harrington left on this day for Europe, hoping to recover his health, impaired by over-exertion. Mr. Chase received a telegram from Mrs. Charles Jones that her brother and Mr. Chase's brother-in-law, Lieutenant Ludlow, was wounded and a prisoner at Chickamauga. Mr. Chase telegraphed Garfield, at Chattanooga, and received a reply confirming the report, and urging prompt reinforcements.

On the 23d of this month, September, Secretary Chase spoke to Stanton about promoting Charles A. Coolidge, who enlisted as a private, and had been promoted lance sergeant in the Sixteenth Regulars.

Under date September 24, appears this statement :

" Having gone home last evening very weary, was called up from my bed about midnight by a messenger from the War Department, who said I was wanted there immediately. The summons really alarmed me. I felt sure that disaster had befallen us; that the army of Rosecrans had been attacked before his defenses were completed, and had been compelled to surrender, or had been defeated with great loss in another bloody battle, and its remains driven across the Tennessee. Great was my relief when reaching the War Department, and asking, ' More bad news ? ' Stanton replied, ' No ; what there is favorable. ' He then handed me a telegram from Garfield to myself, which stated that Rosecrans could hold out ten days where he was, but earnestly urged reinforcements. Other telegrams from Rosecrans and Dana gave encouraging expectations that he could hold out still longer time. Both also urged reinforcements. After a little while the President and Mr. Seward also came in. General Halleck was already there. Mr. Stanton then opened the conference by inquiring of General Halleck what reinforcements Burnside could add to Rosecrans, and in what time. Halleck replied, twenty thousand men in ten days, if uninterrupted. The President then said, ' Before ten days Burnside will put in enough to hold the place, (Chattanooga). "

" Stanton to Halleck—How many in eight days ?

" Halleck—12,000.

"The President—After Burnside begins to arrive the pinch will be over.

"Stanton—Unless the enemy, anticipating reinforcements, attacks promptly. (To Halleck)—When will Sherman's reach Rosecrans?

"Halleck—In about ten days, if already moved from Vicksburg. His route will be to Memphis, thence to Corinth and Decatur, and a march of a hundred or a hundred and fifty miles on the north side of the Tennessee river. Boats have already gone down from Cairo, and every available man ordered forward, say from twenty to twenty-five thousand.

"Stanton—Are any more available elsewhere?

"Halleck—A few in Kentucky; I don't know how many; all were ordered to Burnside.

"Stanton—I propose to send 30,000 from the Army of the Potomac. There is no reason to expect that General Meade will attack Lee, although greatly superior in force; and his great numbers, where they are, are useless. In five days 30,000 could be put with Rosecrans.

"The President—I will bet that if the order is given to-night the troops could not be got to Washington in five days.

"Stanton—On such a subject I don't feel inclined to bet; but the matter has been carefully investigated, and it is certain that 30,000 bales of cotton could be sent in that time, by taking possession of the railroads and excluding all other business, and I do not see why 30,000 men can not be sent as well. But if 30,000 can't be sent, let 20,000 go.

"Much conversation followed, the President and Halleck evidently disinclined to weaken Meade's force, whilst Seward and myself were decided in recommending the reinforcement of Rosecrans. It was at length agreed that Halleck should telegraph to Meade in the morning, and if an immediate advance was not certain, the Eleventh and Twelfth Corps, supposed to make about 13,000 men, should be sent westward at once, under Hooker, with Butterfield as his chief-of-staff."

The next day affords what follows:

"By telegram, after we separated last night, the Secretary of War called the officers of the Baltimore and Ohio, the Philadelphia and Baltimore, and the Pennsylvania Central Railroads, to Washington. They were in conference with him the greater part of the day. The movement of the troops was arranged. It was found that the number would exceed 15,000; but no doubt was expressed that the movement would [and] could be accomplished promptly, though not quite so soon as Stanton had anticipated. In the evening I found myself quite unwell."

On September 26, having been kept awake most of the previous night with severe pains, Mr. Chase telegraphed Garrett and Smith that he could not go to Baltimore and visit Mr. Hopkins, as he had proposed. A little before 11 o'clock the Secretary received a reply from Mr. Smith, to the effect that Mr. Hopkins had notified some twelve or fifteen of the leading financial men to meet him at dinner,

and that the disappointment would be great if he did not come. Mr. Chase concluded, therefore, to risk the journey, and answered that he would come on the 11:15 train. He arrived in Baltimore; met Mr. Garrett and Mr. Smith, who insisted that he should take a ride with them through Federal Hill and Fort McHenry before going to Mr. Hopkins', to which he consented. They reached Mr. Hopkins' about five o'clock. Only two or three of the guests had arrived, and Mr. Hopkins proposed to show them his place. They, therefore, accompanied him on a walk around the grounds, which were very spacious and beautiful. Extensive graperies, with every variety of grapes in rich clusters; a pleasant fruit orchard, the trees of which were loaded with fruit; a vegetable garden, conveniently situated, with commodious and handsome farm buildings near, together with a lake, so artistically contrived with islands, trees, and shores, as to give it the appearance of great extent, formed the principal features of this beautiful place. The whole extent of the grounds was about four hundred acres, of which perhaps sixty were used for the purpose just mentioned, while the rest were devoted to farm cultivation. Mr. Hopkins insisted that, though a gentleman farmer, he continued to make both ends meet at the close of each year. His dinner was simple, but excellently prepared, and in the best taste. His dessert of grapes exceeded in beauty and variety and flavor anything Mr. Chase had ever seen. Mr. C.'s indisposition condemned him to almost total abstinence, much to his regret. The guests were intelligent and substantial men, constituting, as Mr. Hopkins said, the best part of the Baltimore merchants and capitalists. And all of them earnest Union men; and nearly all, if not all, decided Emancipationists. It was about nine o'clock when they left Mr. Hopkins' hospitable mansion and returned to the city, where Mr. Chase soon found himself established in comfortable quarters at Mr. Garrett's.

Next we have the following:

"September 27, 1863.

"I slept better last night than the night before, though far from well. A slight fever made me fancy myself beset with matters of public concern, when I was sure I was not so engaged; and would try to dispel the illusion, and sometimes succeeded for a moment, only to find it coming back the next. This was unpleasant enough, and I was glad when the morning came to my relief. After breakfast, of which I partook very slightly, I found myself sufficiently well to accompany the family to church, where I heard an excellent sermon and spent two pleasant hours. On coming out, Judge Bond

asked us to go with him to see a dress parade of a colored regiment, at Camp Barney. They asked Mr. Garrett if he would go, and he assented. A little after five o'clock we rode to the camp. The regiment was already in line, nine hundred strong, besides the guards on duty. Behind it was another line—three or four hundred new recruits. These were rough and ragged in their negro clothes, fresh from the plantations. I directed Mr. Garrett's attention to the spectacle, saying that the front line in uniform, and the rear line in negro clothes, soon to come forward also into the front rank, in uniform, was very suggestive. Mr. Garrett looked and said nothing. The sight could hardly be palatable to one so recently, if not still, thoroughly pro-slavery in his sentiments.

"After some conversation with Colonel Barney, in charge of the recruiting service, and Colonel Duncan (whose graduation I witnessed some years ago at Dartmouth College), commanding the uniformed, we returned to the city."

Dated September 28 is an entry of this tenor :

"I slept pretty well last night, under the hospitable roof of Mr. Garrett.¹ After breakfast, he and Mr. Smith accompanied me to Mr. Swann's, with whom I exchanged kind greetings; thence to the hat-store of Mr. Smith's father-in-law, Mr. Van Zandt, where I supplied myself with something more suitable to the season than my 'straw;' thence to the Custom House, where I exchanged salutations with the officers and clerks; and thence to the cars, where I found Judge Jewett, with whom I proceeded to Washington, and resumed my duties at the department.

"Mr. Garrett informed me that the movement of the troops was going on successfully, which was confirmed by Mr. Stanton, who is greatly delighted by its success. He told me that the number to be moved had been found to reach 20,000, and yet the whole had been put in motion without disturbance and in perfect order. The last were expected to reach Washington to-day, and would be immediately sent forward. Thus, in five days, the men who, as the President was ready to bet, could not be got to Washington, would be already past that point, on their way to Rosecrans, while their advance had reached the Ohio River. If this whole movement is carried through to the end as well as it has been thus far, it will be an achievement in the transportation of troops unprecedented, I think, in history."

The next day is thus recorded :

"Nothing of much interest to-day. At the President's, neither Mr. Seward nor Mr. Stanton were present. They seemed, reasonably enough, to have given up attendance on these meetings of the Heads of Departments as useless; and, for aught I see, I may as well follow their example. Received a note from Miss Walker, asking the promotion of Bryant Walker to be an assistant adjutant-

¹At Baltimore.

general, with the rank of captain; and sent a note to Mr. Stanton, begging that the favor might be done, which was promptly and kindly done."

The last day of the month affords these paragraphs:

"Received a note from Mr. Stanton, notifying me that young Walker's commission would be sent to him as soon as possible. I inclosed the note to Miss Walker, New York. There was the usual number of callers and the usual variety of talk and business, but nothing of special importance.

"In the evening I entertained, at my house, a delegation of 'Radicals' from Kansas and Missouri, with Mr. Charles D. Drake as their chairman, come hither to ask of the President such a change in the conduct of military affairs in that department as shall better secure the loyal men in their rights and homes."

A paper, indorsed, "Partial draft of letter on suspension of *habeas corpus* by President, September, 1863," is written, in penciling, as follows:

"It has been often held by the courts that they have jurisdiction to issue writs of *habeas corpus* for persons restrained of liberty under claim of enlistment in the national army.

"It is needless now to consider whether this holding is sound; it is certain that the claimed jurisdiction will not be yielded without a struggle.

"The constitution forbids the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*, except in times, except when in cases¹ of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it.

"Congress, by act of 3 March, 1863, authorizes the President, whenever, in his judgment, the public safety may require it to suspend the priv. of h. c., in any case, throughout the U. S., or any part thereof. And whenever and wherever the said priv. shall be suspended, no military or other officer shall be compelled to answer to any writ of *habeas corpus* to return the body of any person or persons detained by him by authority of the President; but, upon the certificate, under oath, of the officer having charge of any one so detained, that such person is so detained by him as a prisoner, under authority of the President, further proceedings under the writ of *habeas corpus* shall be suspended by the judge or court having issued the said writ so long as said suspension by the President shall remain in force and said rebellion continue."

Next, I am enabled to offer another letter, markedly characteristic of Abraham Lincoln. It reads as follows:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, October 26, 1863.

"Hon. Secretary of Treasury:

"MY DEAR SIR: The writer of the accompanying letter is one of

¹So in the original.

Mrs. L's numerous cousins. He is a grandson of 'Millikin's Bend,' near Vicksburg—that is, a grandson of the man who gave name to Millikin's Bend. His father was a brother to Mrs. L's mother. I know not a thing about his loyalty beyond what he says. Supposing he is loyal, can any of his requests be granted? and, if any, which of them?

Yours truly,

"A. LINCOLN."

I have not been able to find the answer, if there was one, to this letter.

Here is another letter from the President to Secretary Chase:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, November 17, 1863.

"Hon Secretary of the Treasury:

"MY DEAR SIR: I expected to see you here at Cabinet meeting, and to say something about going to Gettysburg. There will be a train to take and return us. The time for starting is not yet fixed; but, when it shall be, I will notify you.

"Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN."

An already cited letter to General Hooker, dated December 21, contains also this language:

"MY DEAR GENERAL: I have been quite unwell of late, and my correspondence is a good deal in arrears. I must take time to dictate a few lines to you. I can not tell you how much I have been gratified by your brilliant achievement in Tennessee and Georgia. How providential it was that you were sent West at the head of the Eleventh and Twelfth Corps! It seems clear now, that, but for Mr. Stanton's determination in insisting upon these reinforcements going promptly and going under you, Rosecrans' army would have experienced the gravest disasters. And then it seems equally providential that the assault on Lookout Mountain had to be made under your direction. The only thing I do not clearly see the value of is your magnificent achievement at Ringgold. It was a splendid battle splendidly won. But what is the use of sacrificing so much to take a town, if, after all, the town is to be abandoned and the army is to fall back? Whether it was necessary to fall back or not I find myself unable to form any judgment. *General Grant ought to know best.* I most sincerely hope that he was governed only by the best and most patriotic motives. *Grant's whole career has excited my admiration and commanded my respect, and there certainly ought to be no jealousies between two such officers as you and he. Each should rejoice in what adds to the honor of the other.*"

Surely, the indications of this letter, as to the spirit in which Chase regarded martial men and martial measures, are most creditable to its writer.

CHAPTER XL.

CHASE AND BARNEY—TROUBLE BETWEEN CHASE AND LINCOLN.

THE task of this work becomes more and more difficult and delicate. It now comes to the year 1864.

January 11th, of that year, was marked by the writing of this letter:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, January 11, 1864.

"*Hon. Secretary of Treasury:*

"MY DEAR SIR: I am receiving letters and dispatches indicating an expectation that Mr. Barney is to leave the Custom House, at New York. Have you anything on the subject?

"Yours very truly, A. LINCOLN."

What the Secretary answered is recited in his letter of January 22d, to Mr. Bailey.¹ But I find in Mr. Maunsell B. Fields' *Memoirs of Many Men and of Some Women*² what purports to be a copy of a letter, dated January 13, 1864, from Secretary Chase to the President, as follows:

"MY DEAR SIR: I am to-day fifty-six years old. I have never consciously and deliberately injured a fellow man. It is too late for me to begin by sacrificing to clamor the reputation of a man whom I have known for more than twenty years, and whose repute for honesty has been all that time unsullied.

"I shall not recommend the removal of Mr. Barney, except upon such show of his misconduct or incapacity as makes it my duty to do so.

"In such a case I shall not shrink from my duty. I pretend no indifference to the consequences personal to myself, which you refer to as likely to follow this avowal on my part; but the approval of my own conscience is dearer to me than political position, and I shall cheerfully sacrifice the latter to preserve the former.

"I received some days ago your note in relation to a biographic sketch to be printed in a Philadelphia periodical. It was a matter in which I had no concern. If anybody wants my autograph, and I have time, I give it; if anybody wants to take my daguerreotype or photograph, and I have time, I sit for it; if anybody wants to take

¹Post.

²Page 305.

my life, in the way of a biographical sketch, *I let him take it*; and, if I have time, give such information as is wanted that he may take it more easily. Some friends wanted such a sketch prepared, and engaged a gentleman to prepare it. The publisher of the *American Exchange and Review*, a respectable periodical by the way, I am told, was about to print a series of such sketches, and proposed to begin with that of me. How could I object? He asked for subscriptions and obtained them. How could I control or supervise that? I was very busy with the affairs of my department, and had no time to look after such matters, even had I been aware of what was being done. If I had been consulted, I should certainly have objected to any subscription by Mr. Jay Cooke or his brother, except such a moderate one as any friend might have made. Not that any wrong was intended to be done, but because the act was subject to misconception, and there are so many to misconstrue. Mr. Jay Cooke is a friend, and though he did not subscribe, he doubtless sanctioned the subscription of his brother Henry, who is also a friend, (and the son of a friend), whose friendship was formed when I was powerless to bestow favors. Neither of the brothers, nor the father have ever received, at my hands, since I have had some power, any favor which they have not earned by strenuous and untiring labors for the public interest; nor any which my worst enemy would not have received as freely had he rendered the same services. What Mr. H. D. Cooke did about the unfortunate biography was done of his own accord, without prompting from me, and his brother's approval was given in the same way.

"You will pardon me if I write as one somewhat moved. It makes me hate public life when I realize how powerless are the most faithful labors and the most upright conduct to protect any man from carping envy, or malignant denunciations, and how little he can expect, even from the best and most intelligent men, when such noises prevail. It is almost equally painful to think how little friends are disposed to bear with the mistakes and inadvertencies of other friends, and how ready to make me responsible for them as well as my own.

Very sincerely yours,

"TO THE PRESIDENT.

S. P. CHASE."

How happens it that I am indebted to the work of Mr. Field for a copy of that letter—I who was, at the time of the death of Chief Justice Chase, the only person in existence who was in possession of the means of writing a complete biography of that man so often named in this volume—I, in whose hands were, at the time, all the letter-books and diaries he had furnished to me, as stated in the introduction? I have already hinted, but I shall hereafter state more fully.

It is almost with a sense of shame that I now present this copy of a letter to Mr. Barney from our hero:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., April 25, 1864.

"MY DEAR MR. BARNEY: A recent sale of some Cincinnati prop-

erty enables me to send you the inclosed check for \$2,675; \$175 to pay semi-annaul interest due 1st January last and \$2,500 to be credited on the note due July 1. I hope to be able to anticipate the payment of the residue. Please acknowledge receipt of inclosed.

Yours truly,

"H. BARNEY, Esq.

S. P. CHASE."

Extraordinary pains have been taken to discredit the present work by the statement that Mr Hiram Barney is preparing for the press a life of Salmon Portland Chase, and that the daughters of our hero specially sanction that work. When I first heard the name of Mr. Barney in connection with the opposition to the present work, he was named to me as the legal adviser of that opposition, and alleged to have expressed the opinion that my right to the exclusive use of the biographic matter furnished me, as elsewhere stated, could not be maintained against the will of the executor. No matter now, as to that. I promise, *Deo volente*, to read very carefully, and even prayerfully, any life of Salmon Portland Chase by Hiram Barney. I shall be particularly anxious to examine his account of the indebtedness referred to in the just cited letter.

I do not repent me that I undertook this work. I still believe in the ultimate worthiness, the general rectitude of Salmon Portland Chase, in spite of that at least unfortunate indebtedness to the collector of customs at New York. For I remember and respect the rule of judgment which the introduction to these chapters, quoting Chase's own words, gives in this fashion:

"It seems to me better and wiser to judge particular acts by the general tenor of life, than the general tenor of life by particular acts."

But that golden rule of judgment was not laid down by Chase till after he had erred, as indicated in that Barney letter. Erred? Nay, sinned. In that respect he evidently sinned against the public service and against himself.

We must remember that that indebtedness evidently existed on and before the first of January, 1864. When it arose I have not been able to ascertain. But, alas! it must have been in the mind—aye! in the heart—of our wretched hero, when, on his six-and-fiftieth birthday, he addressed the President as we have seen.

I have already rather clearly indicated my distrust of the design with which Mr. Maunsell B. Field, in his *Memories of Many Men and of Some Women*, has attempted to anticipate some revelations

of the present work affecting him and others. Let me now add that the same work¹ makes Mr. Lincoln say in 1864:

"You remember that when Hiram Barney was appointed, at the beginning of the administration, collector of the port of New York, everybody supposed that he was Chase's selection, and nobody else's. Now, Barney was as much my choice as he was Chase's."

Is not here clear evidence of sinister design? It is conceded, by this eminently questionable statement, that *everybody supposed that Barney was Chase's selection*. All we have to the contrary, up to this hour, is Mr. Maunsell B. Field's report, in 1873, of a talk with Lincoln in 1864. The historian and the biographer must throw aside all statements of that character. I do so boldly and decidedly, although I overrule my wishes in so judging.

Next I call attention to this letter:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., January 22, 1864.

"DEAR SIR: Your two letters of the 17th were duly received, as also one of the 16th. I have had no conversation with the President about Mr. Barney. He addressed me a very brief note the other day, asking what the meaning was of letters and telegrams he received, and if I knew of anything affecting Mr. Barney. I replied that I knew of nothing which should shake confidence in him, or something to this effect, I do not remember precisely what. I will try and see the President, though my time is very much occupied; and I have thought that, unless called upon by him, I ought not to take any steps. I do not believe it has assumed any such importance with him as one in New York might imagine. The President, I know, believes in Mr. Barney's integrity, and his sense of justice is such that he can not be prevailed upon to remove an honest man to gratify politicians of any stripe.

"I am preparing a reply to the resolution of Congress about Jay Cooke's connection with the department. It will state the facts plainly and truly. I will send you a copy, and such statements of a historical character as will enable you to compare what has been accomplished through him and his sub-agents, in points of economy and efficiency, with what was ever accomplished by any other agency in the world.

"I have not had time to prepare any full statement of the Margaret Garner case, but inclose with this a copy of two letters, one to Mr. Pierce and one to Judge Corwin, of Ohio. If you think it important to come to Washington, come, without waiting for a formal direction. I do not advise the volunteering of any communication to the President at present.

"You are right about not connecting any committee of merchants with the investigation of Custom-House matters. I will, however,

¹Page 304.

address a letter to the President of the Chamber of Commerce, inviting them to appoint a committee to confer with those charged with the preparation of the new Code.

"I am much gratified by the prudence and efficiency with which you act, and I am always glad to receive any suggestion from you.

"Very truly yours,

"I. T. BAILEY, Esq., New York.

S. P. CHASE."

On the 18th of January Secretary Chase wrote as follows to Hon. James C. Hall, of Toledo, Ohio :

"MY DEAR SIR: Your kind note is just received. As it has been so long on the way I have telegraphed you that I will reply by mail.

"At the instance of many who think that the public interests would be promoted by my election to the Chief Magistracy, a committee, composed of prominent senators and representatives and citizens, has been organized here for taking measures to promote that object.

"This committee, though a sub-committee, has conferred with me, and I have explained to them the objections which seem to me to exist against any use of my name in that connection. They have taken these objections into consideration, and assure me that they think I ought not to refuse its use; and I have consented to their wishes, assuring them, however, that whenever any consideration, by them, or by the friends of the cause, thought entitled to weight, should indicate the expediency of any other course, no consideration of personal delicacy should be allowed to prevent its being taken.

"If I know my own heart, I desire nothing so much as the suppression of this rebellion and the establishment of Union, Order, and Prosperity, on sure and safe foundations; and I should despise myself if I felt capable of allowing any personal objects to influence me to any action which would affect, by one jot or title, injuriously, the accomplishment of those objects. And it is a source of real gratification to believe that those who desire my nomination, desire it on public grounds alone, and will not hesitate, in any matter which may concern me, upon such grounds and such grounds only.

"Of course, under these circumstances, I desire the support of Ohio. If, however, it shall be the pleasure of a majority of our friends in Ohio to indicate a preference for another, I shall accept their action with that cheerful acquiescence which is due from me to friends who have trusted and honored me beyond any claim or merit of mine. Very truly your friend, S. P. CHASE."

A letter to Mrs. Helen M. Walbridge, dated January 2, contains the following pleasant sentences :

"We are all pretty well Kate seems very happy. She and her husband seem to love each other dearly. He is a noble fellow, and I love him almost as much as she does. Eliza Whipple is with us, and seems to enjoy herself very much. She is an excellent woman, and somebody has missed having one of the best wives in the world. Nettie is still at Mrs. McCaulley's, in New York. We should be delighted to have you with us again. Can't you come?

"Give my best love to brother Henry and the children, and, if you can, write and tell me all about them.

"By the way, there is a gentleman in Boston engaged in writing a sort of biography of me for the use of boys and girls, and wants facts. I have tried to furnish him some; but I never thought much of passing events, except to do the work I had to do, and my memory is sadly at fault. Can you remember anything about me? If you can, and will write, or have somebody else write what you remember, giving dates as well as you can, it will doubtless be of great service—the sooner the better. Your affectionate brother,

"MRS. HELEN M. WALBRIDGE, Toledo, O. S. P. CHASE."

Here is another piece of pleasant reading matter:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., January 23, 1864.

"MY DEAR FRIEND: I am very sorry that I am obliged to answer all your questions with 'I don't know.'

"Should any act for the payment of French spoliations become a statute—that is, pass Congress and receive the sanction of the President—it will be in my power to tell what cases fall within it, and whether that of the Fair American is one of them; and will gladly be of any use possible to you. But you must wait till there is a law before disturbing yourself about the matter.

"Do you know that Eliza Whipple is making us a visit? She and Kate were talking of you the other evening, and expressing their wish to see you. *I wish* you could come to Washington; though I could probably see so little of you that it would be difficult to tell which would be greater, the pleasure of seeing you or the sensation of not seeing you enough. Sincerely your friend,

"MISS SUSAN WALKER. S. P. CHASE."

The same day, the Secretary wrote as follows to Geo. Wilkes, Esq.:

"DEAR SIR: I inclose General Hooker's letter, or rather two of his letters. Please return them when read. The orders to which he refers are not important to a clear understanding of his views in respect to the matter mentioned in your note; and as he expresses a doubt whether in strict propriety he ought to have sent them even to me, though the head of a department, I refrain from sending them to you, though I should like to do so.

"Mr. Hutchins, who will soon go to New Orleans, will take with him the commission of Mr. Plumley. Almost all whose opinions are of value, and who have any interest in the subject, unite in advising his appointment. Very truly yours, S. P. CHASE."

Here is an explanatory letter of decided interest—with an account of Lincoln that seems hardly just:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., January 24, 1864.

"MY DEAR FRIEND: Some time ago I received a letter from you about the publication of your article on the Monroe Doctrine in pamphlet. My impression is that I did not reply—my intentions to do so being frustrated by demands on my time and attention, which pushed

it out of my thoughts for the time. Recently my thoughts were recalled to the subject by receiving a copy of the pamphlet; and I now wish to say that if, in consequence of my remissness, you have been put personally to any expense, I want the privilege of reimbursing it to you. I am not a rich man, and I am glad to be able to say that I have become poorer instead of richer from public employments; but still, I can better afford, I fancy, to pay such a contribution to a public object than most editors of religious newspapers.

"In the main, I concur in your views—wholly, in their principle and spirit. I believe that the statesmen whose views were represented by Mr. Monroe's Message—including Mr. Monroe himself—intended to be understood in the plain sense of the language employed—meant that any attempt to force the European system on America would be dangerous to our safety, and that any interference with any American government by European powers for the purpose of oppressing it, or possibly controlling its destiny, would be regarded as an unfriendly manifestation. In this sense the declaration was understood and accepted by the American people, and became a cardinal principle of American policy. After all, however, it is not so important to inquire into the history as into the soundness of the principle and the propriety of insisting on its application to recent events in San Domingo and Mexico.

"It certainly would have suited my temper and taste much better to do so, and yet I can not blame Mr. Seward for not having done so. He never renounced it: he only forebore to insist on it: when insisting would probably have been counted as a menace, and would have precipitated recognition of the rebel Confederacy, and that recognition would have been followed by war.

"Had there been here an administration in the true sense of the word—a President conferring with his Cabinet and taking their united judgments, and with their aid enforcing activity, economy, and energy, in all departments of public service—we could have spoken boldly and defied the world. But our condition here has always been very different. I preside over the funnel; everybody else, and especially the Secretaries of War and the Navy, over the spigots—and keep them well open, too. Mr. Seward conducts the foreign relations with very little let or help from anybody. There is no unity and no system, except so far as it is departmental. There is progress, but it is slow and involuntary—just what is coerced by the irresistible pressure of the vast force of the people. How under such circumstances can anybody announce a policy which can only be made respectable by union, wisdom, and courage?

"But I have written more than I intended. Have you seen Baptist Norl's book on our American Rebellion? He was sadly mistaken in his account of parties as connected with slavery. Can't you write an article like that on the Monroe Doctrine, giving the true view of political action as influenced successively by the Liberty Party and the Independent Democracy, or, as our Whigish friends preferred to call it, the Free Soil Party?

"Who *could* do that as well as you?

Your friend,

"REV. J. LEAVITT, D. D.

S. P. CHASE."

On the 26th the Secretary wrote as follows to James B. Bingham, Esq., of Memphis :

"DEAR SIR: I have noticed with great pleasure your determination to commit yourself to the policy of emancipation in Tennessee, as a certain and speedy means of its restoration to the Union. Early in our great struggle my reflections resulted in the conviction that slavery must perish through the war which slavery had begun. The events of every month strengthen this conviction, and I was glad to see, from time to time, that it was beginning to be shared by the most intelligent Union men in the Slave States.

"I rejoice now that you place your influential journal on that side. I am sure you will never regret doing so. To have led in this work in Tennessee will be an honor which you will hereafter regard as among the most precious of your possessions.

"Yours very truly,

"S. P. CHASE."

This letter to Judge Key will repay perusal, especially in its allusion to McClellan :

"WASHINGTON, D. C., *January 26, 1864.*

"MY DEAR JUDGE: Mr. Goodrich sent me your kind note, and it was a real delight to me to see your handwriting once more. God grant that it may foretoken your complete restoration to health.

"Among the gratifications which have more than compensated the vexation and chagrin I have had to endure here, I prized few more highly than that which your appreciation of my work and your prompt award to me of your esteem and friendship gave me. Would that your chief had had the wisdom to see and the courage to act as you would have had him! How much might have been spared to our country!

"What I did to aid you when you first came from Ohio, I should have done for any one charged with the same mission. I simply did my duty. How generously you overpaid me by your confidence and good-will will pass from memory only when memory retains no traces.

"If it is too much trouble for you to write yourself, will you oblige me by having some friend write me how you are? You remember that I proposed to you when in New York to take a Southern voyage on one of the revenue cutters. If your health will now permit you to go round to Fernandina, I shall be very glad to have you avail yourself of her accommodations, which are really good, while she cruises for the coming two or three months on the Florida and South Carolina coasts. Can't you do so?

"I am terribly worked and had no time to talk with Mr. Goodrich about his plan, but referred him to a friend in the Senate. As to political affairs and prospects, it is absolutely impossible for me to keep myself posted. Some friends are sanguine that my name will receive favorable consideration from the people in connection with the Presidency. I tell them that I can take no part in anything they

may propose to do, except by trying to merit confidence where I am.

Faithfully your friend,
"HON. THOMAS M. KEY, Cincinnati, Ohio. S. P. CHASE."

Here is conclusive evidence that our hero was not a Portuguese scholar :

"WASHINGTON, D. C., *January 26, 1864.*

"MY DEAR MR. GRANERT: Accept my thanks for your brother's Portuguese grammar. I wish I understood the language that I might form a proper estimate of its value. Yours truly,

"PROF. GRANERT. S. P. CHASE."

In a letter addressed, next day, to Wayne McVeigh, Esq., are the words :

"Oh, for a vigorous, earnest, thorough, prosecution of this war! for a speedy and complete suppression of this rebellion! How often does the question come to me with terrific force! How much longer can the strain, which delay and extravagance make, be endured before the links of credit snap?"

Next, attention is invited to this letter :

"WASHINGTON, D. C., *January 27, 1864.*

"MY DEAR JUDGE: I thank you for your frank and friendly letter. Your appreciation of the situation is doubtless correct. The situation itself could be changed, perhaps will be changed. I am content whether or no.

"Most sincerely do I grieve with you in your bereavement. I have experienced the pangs of one almost exactly similar. May God comfort you.

"One opinion to which you refer as prevalent is certainly erroneous. The administration can not be continued as it is. There is in fact no administration, properly speaking. There are departments and there is a President. The latter leaves administration substantially to the Heads of the former, deciding himself comparatively few questions. These Heads act with almost absolute independence of each other. The determination of the people to suppress the rebellion has thus far give a measure of success to this departmental action. When peace shall come, or, sooner, if it be long in coming, that coincidence of aim, which is mistaken for unity of action, will be at an end.

"I have not the slightest idea that under any circumstance I can remain or can be persuaded to remain in my present position another year. Your friend,

"HON. WM. M. DICKSON. S. P. CHASE."

The same day, Wm. H. Kincaid, Esq., of Pittsburg, was addressed in a letter containing the words :

"The commendation and support of the good are especially valuable at a time when so many are recklessly endeavoring to destroy confidence in the financial administration of the country. Few things

could be more evil than the success of these efforts. It would arrest the progress of our armies and bring distress to countless firesides."

To Hon. E. D. Mansfield was written, on the 28th, a letter saying:

"I have no doubt of the value of the suggestions you inclose. Nothing except the waste of life is more painful in this war than the absolutely reckless waste of means. A very large part of the frauds which disgrace us may be traced to the want of systematic supervision; and yet what encouragement is there to endeavors toward economy? Such endeavors league against him who makes them all the venality and corruption which is interested in extravagance. Most, if not all, the bitter attacks made upon me have originated in the spite of the people whose interests were thought to be affected by my efforts to keep things in the right direction and under economical management."

Here is a letter written with some heat—a good letter, notwithstanding:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., *January 28, 1864.*

"MY DEAR SIR: I return Mr. Batchelor's letter. I should despise myself if I felt capable of appointing or removing a man for the sake of the Presidency. Captain Grace has been retained because I have been assured by many reliable political friends that he discharged his duties faithfully and well, and because there was no proof that he was hostile to the government. I was at one time strongly inclined to remove him because of allegations that he especially consorted and sympathized with the men who obstruct, to the best of their ability, the prosecution of the war, and I have not yet absolutely determined what shall be done. When I act I shall act upon public considerations, not personal.

"I have never sought to manage newspapers. If they have supported me I have been glad of it, and grateful. If they have opposed, it has been their own matter, and I have let them take their course. I have never undertaken, and never shall undertake to manipulate the press.

"So far as the Presidency is concerned, I must leave that wholly to the people. Those of them who think that the public good will be promoted by adherence to the one term principle, and by the use of my name, are fully competent, and far more competent than I am, to bring the matter before the public generally; and the people will dispose of the case according to their own judgment. Whatever disposition they make of it, I shall be content. My time is wholly absorbed by my public duties; and I can best serve the public, and my friends too, by the faithful discharge of them.

"I inclose the check for \$33 78. I do not know that I have so much money on deposit. If not, let Masters pay the amount, and let your receipt stand as one of his vouchers, and return me the check.

"I can have nothing to do with any such project as buying out the

Times. Even if I were disposed to have I could not, for I have no money; and a little reflection will convince you that I ought not to be consulted in reference to any such matter, so long as my name is at all considered in connection with the next Presidential canvass.

"Just let me hint to you before closing that when writing to me the business of your agency, you should address me in the manner usual in official communications, in the beginning and ending. When you write upon other topics, address me as what I am, and expect to remain,

Your friend,

THOS. HEATON, Esq., Cincinnati, O.

S. P. CHASE."

But here is a thoroughly agreeable epistle:

"WASHINGTON, January 29, 1864.

"MY DARLING NETTIE: I have been quite unfatherly in neglecting to write you so long. I will try to do better.

"Inclosed with this is a check for ninety dollars, your quarterly allowance for the winter.

"You will remember that you are to have that sum every spring, summer, fall, and winter, and make it pay all your expenses, except Mrs. Macaulay's bills, which are to include nothing but board, tuition, and books.

"I hope you will make it go as far as possible, and save a good deal for the poor.

Your affectionate father,

"S. P. CHASE.

"As to skates, and skating, Mrs. Macaulay knows best. You can do whatever she approves."

The next day the Secretary wrote as follows:

"MY DEAR MR. PIERCE: I suppose that you have before this received Mrs. Sprague's letter, saying that she will be gratified to have Mrs. Howe repeat her parlor lectures in Washington. I never had the pleasure of meeting that accomplished lady but once, when I called upon her in company with our friend Sumner. I can hardly tell whether her personal graces and conversation or her poetry have impressed me most.

"It is not probable that any vacancy in the office of General Appraiser, at Boston, will occur; so that I shall not have the trouble of deciding the question of preference.

"Would it not be well to find an occasion for the use of the Margaret Garner papers without waiting for a repetition of Phillips' invective? He will not be likely, I think, to repeat it. The poisoned shaft has entered the public mind, and is doing the work he designed. Perhaps, also, it is doing a precisely opposite work, by reaction, in quarters where the injustice and malevolence of the attack excite disgust.

Yours truly,

EDW. L. PIERCE, Esq., Boston, Mass.

S. P. CHASE."

The same day he wrote as follows to Edward Gilbert, Esq., of N. Y.:

"The only and the best service I can render, by those who desire to use my name in the approaching canvass, is to devote myself ex-

clusively to the proper duties of my department so long as I remain at its head. I thank you for your sympathy. I can not say that I relish the attacks made; but it is natural that they should be made. It is impossible to reform and investigate without stirring up slanderers and revilers, both among those whose wrong-doings are exposed and unrighteous profits taken away, and among those, too, who think they see a good chance to take advantage of clamor to the injury of a public man who, they fear, stands too well with people."

February 1 is the date of this charming letter:

"MY VERY DEAR FRIEND: Your letter came Saturday night. It is my habit (a bad one) to read after retiring; so I took your letter with me to inspire my dreams; and really I had a very curious one. I dreamed that there was to be a marriage, and that Katie and I were invited to witness it. We went to the church, expecting to find a great crowd. To our surprise, there were few present. These were in the front pews, and mostly on the off one coming in. We walked up the grand aisle—up, and up—and it seemed very long—till at last we entered a pew on the right side of it. Then came the ceremony—or rather what seemed the beginning of it—for it was not finished. It was like nothing anybody ever heard of in a bridal ceremony; and was so strange and so surprising that I suffered—I awoke from the effects of its strangeness. At any rate, I awoke. I recognized neither of the parties. They were as strange as the ceremony; but they were young and handsome. Some day, when we meet, I will tell you more about it.

"When we meet! When will that be? You are the most unconnectable lady I know—*partout et nulle part*. You remind me of the address of one friend to another, who was, like yourself, in the habit of going everywhere and staying nowhere. They met on the highway. The former said to the latter: '*Comme je suis heureux, mon cher ami, de vous voir chez vous!*'

"Mrs. Lindsley asked me, the other evening, 'Where is Mrs. Eastman? My house is evacuated by most of those who have been with me, and I want her to make me a visit.' I replied, innocently, 'At Kenosha.' And now your letter comes, and I find that I was misleading the good lady. But I suppose her letter will follow you to Milwaukee; and I really hope you will accept her invitation. Many friends—and I most—will welcome your coming, though, ———, always I am so tied, hand and foot, by official duties that I get very, very little time for society.

"By the way, our friend, Mr. Ducker, was here the other day. He came in, and we had a few moments' very pleasant chat. Then somebody came in on business, and he went out. I expected him back, but he did not come. His visit, with his talk of you and his wife and his pleasant place, was all very delightful; but the contrast of my confinement and work is—well, no matter. We must *do our work*.

"I received no letter, I think, from you from Cassville; but I prize your letters too much to notice the dates, and it is possible that it did come: and, in obedience to your injunctions—which please

rove—was destroyed. I had been looking for a letter from you for a long time before your last came. But as I have almost always answered your letters immediately after receiving them, while you have put long intervals between receipt and reply, I thought it best to wait this time till you should write. So I waited—but I did not forget.

"No, indeed, I do not forget you; nor am I likely to forget. I think of you constantly; and, if any feeling is left in me, with the sincerest affection. We have been friends a long time, and I hope shall be better friends, instead of worse. How I wish you were here in our house—in this little library room—and that we could talk, instead of this writing by myself, while you are—where?"

"Governor Sprague and Katie went to Providence Thursday night. We expect them to-morrow. Write soon, and as affectionately as conscience will permit. Your friend,

"MRS. C. S. EASTMAN, Milwaukee.

S. P. CHASE."

The same day, Hon. W. D. Lindsay was addressed in a letter containing these words, with others:

"I have never urged any personal claims of my own on the friends of our common cause; and it is through no procurement or agency of mine that my name has been connected with the Presidency. Such action as you say is contemplated in Ohio will be received by me with perfect respect and acquiescence, as a declaration that the legislative representatives of our cause prefer another to myself.

"Please assure General Delano that no one appreciates his abilities or his services to the State more highly than I do. I thought at one time that he acted an unkindly part toward me; but it was under circumstances when men are apt to misjudge each other. If I have ever an opportunity to serve him, I will prove to him that any little feeling I may have had is wiped out, replaced by the sincerest respect and esteem."

Another letter of the same date has this curious tenor:

"WASHINGTON, February 1, 1864.

"MOST REVEREND AND VERY DEAR SIR: I do not know but I have been stepping beyond my line; if so, and you blame me, let my true regard for yourself and the confidence with which you have honored me be my apology.

"Deeply impressed with the importance of having a successor to Archbishop Hughes, of clear intellect and earnest sympathy with the poor, the oppressed, and enslaved, I ventured, without consulting you, to ask Governor Dennison, when here some time ago, to name the subject to the President. He did so, as he informed me at the time. Subsequently, I spoke to the President myself. He mentioned that Governor Dennison had spoken to him—seemed pleased with the suggestion—and referred me to Mr. Seward. To-day I have had a conversation with Mr. Seward, who expresses himself, in relation to the subject, as I would wish.

"Now, please let me know if I have erred. If not, and there is

any purpose to be done that I can do, please inform me frankly what it is, if you see fit to do.

"In any event, your confidence will be sacred with me.

"Yours very truly,

"MOST REV. ARCHBISHOP PURCELL.

S. P. CHASE."

Still another letter of the same date contains these paragraphs :

"Everything is looking very well here, except that our military movements are by no means so energetic as they should be. We can not afford the prolongation of the rebellion.

"I received a letter from General Gilmore to-day, in which he expresses the intention to clear out Florida forthwith, so that your path to the reconstruction of a Free State, under a Free Constitution, will be plain. I wish you to write to me a little oftener. I wish to be kept fully posted by you.

"Very truly your friend,

"HON. L. D. STICKNEY, Fernandina, Fla.

S. P. CHASE."

That was with our hero a good day for letters! I do not give all, but here is another that must not be omitted :

"WASHINGTON, D. C., *February 1, 1864.*

"MY DEAR SIR: I have received your letter, and thank you for it. It is worthy of your high character for intelligence and rectitude.

I wish Mr. Barney was perfect. I should like to be perfect myself, and have everybody else perfect; but in the present state of our race I see no instances of perfection. And certainly I shall not be in haste to condemn him I know to be honest, or to recommend the appointment of a successor, unless I am sure that a real improvement can be effected; in which case I do not doubt Mr. Barney will resign his office, if he can do it honorably.

"Yours very truly,

"HON. R. CAMPBELL, Bath, N. Y.

S. P. CHASE."

The next day our letter-writing hero thus addressed his old friend and partner, Hon. Flamen Ball :

"MY DEAR MR. BALL: Yours of the 25th is just received.

"I hope you will find somebody to make search for the copies soon. Your suggestion that the search should be extended into the files of the *Philanthropist* is excellent. You have so much to do that I am afraid Trowbridge will get through with his biography before he will hear from you.

"You ask for the signs of the times. At present, they *seem* to indicate the renomination of Mr. Lincoln. His personal popularity is great and deserved. If to his kindliness of spirit and good sense he joined strong will and energetic action, there would be little left to wish for in him. As it is, I think that he will be likely to close his first term with more honor than he will the second, should he be reelected.

"I can not help being gratified by the preference expressed for me in some quarters; for those who express it are generally men of great weight, and high character, and independent judgment. I have some reason to think, too, that it is felt to a considerable extent by the masses of the people. Sometime since, a number of senators, representatives, and citizens, organized a committee here with the purpose of bringing forward my name. They think there will be a change in the current, which, so far as it is not spontaneous, is chiefly managed by the Blairs.

"Whether they are right in this judgment or not, time will show. Of course, if my name is to be brought forward at all, I shall be glad to have Ohio decidedly on my side. Indeed, if Ohio should express a preference for any other person I would not allow my name to be used.

"I shall be entirely content to retire, as soon as the condition of the finances will permit, to a private station, and hope their condition will permit it before the lapse of many months.

"I do not know what prompts the articles in the *Gazette*. As soon as I saw the first one, I directed an examination to be made into the law, and found that it sanctioned the court's allowances to Mr. Carson. I think the law, however, is wrong, and shall endeavor to get it amended as soon as practicable.

"Mr. and Mrs. Sprague are in Providence, and Miss Whipple will leave us this week.

"Give my very best regards to Mrs. Ball and the young ladies, and believe me, very cordially yours,
S. P. CHASE."¹

In a letter of the same date, to J. W. Hartwell, Esq., of Cincinnati, was said:

"I thank you for your congratulations. You are entirely right as to the necessity of a great increase of revenue. We must pay more as we go, if we desire to prevent our debt from reaching unmanageable proportions.

"So far, I think, I have made few mistakes. Indeed, on looking back over the whole ground, with an earnest desire to detect error and correct it, I am not able to see where, if I had to do my work all over again, I could in any matter do materially otherwise than I have."

¹To George S. Hale, Esq., Mr. Chase wrote, the same day, as follows:

"MR DEAR SIR: I thank you for your kind note and am sorry you did not know Mr. Trowbridge. He has, it is true, designs on my life; but they are not felonious.

"It grieves me to hear of the ill health of your honored mother; and am exceedingly obliged to her for her kindness in proposing to comply with my request as far as she can, notwithstanding. If she is well enough to allow Mr. Trowbridge who lives in Somerville, an interview, it may be rather a pleasure to her to talk of the past days with him. He is a very pleasant gentleman, and really a gentleman.

"Yours very truly,

S. P. CHASE."

To Pliny Freeman, Esq., of New York, on the fourth of February, 1864, Mr. Chase addressed a note, in which was said :

"Much of what you say has already been considered. No one understands better than yourself how impossible it is to realize all we think good in theory. Opinion in and out of Congress must necessarily be consulted in practical measures.

"If I can succeed in giving a permanent, uniform currency to the country, and carry the nation financially through the war without failure, I shall be satisfied, even although obliged to forego much that I think desirable to the solidity and perfection of the financial system."

Of the same date is the following, being the body of a letter to Dr. Fuller, of Baltimore :

"I have received your letter and read it attentively. The atrocious rebellion against the National Government has brought great calamities upon the country, and those to which you refer are a part of them. It is the part of Christians and patriots to alleviate them as far as practicable. But what can human power do when earthquakes shake the world?"

On the 6th, the Secretary wrote to Mr. J. F. Bailey, of New York, a letter saying :

"I shall be very glad to give Colonel Porter an appointment, both because of his merits and because of the interest Mr. Godwin feels in him, but I am making no new appointments of assistant agents, except in a few instances where they are called for by the supervising special agents. I shall, however, remember the application of Colonel Porter, and, if practicable, find some place for him.

"I shall do this, though I confess I have been a good deal hurt by the course of the *Evening Post* under Mr. Godwin's direction. I am not aware that it has uttered a kind word in reference to me, or given a particle of support to my endeavors to secure the means for carrying on the war, for some months past. My report was not even noticed in its columns, while articles accusing the officers of the department of misconduct have been reproduced with editorial sanction, when a little inquiry would have shown how groundless were the complaints. All this is so different from the approval with which Mr. Bryant formerly honored me, and which was more precious to me than any official position, that I can not help being sensible of the change."

Mr. Thomas Heaton, Esq., of Cincinnati, was, on the 8th of February, thus addressed by letter :

"All that I meant to say concerning the *Times* was, that I can not possibly have anything to do with purchase or control of newspapers. It is not for me to say what others should do. No 'absolution' is necessary where no crime has been committed. If I were Pope, you

should have all the 'indulgence' for the future you could desire. The Louisville convention will not take any unwise action; but, on the contrary, will give powerful aid, I think, to the unconditional Union men.

"You must not speak so irreverently of dynasties. Say what you please kindly of your friends, but keep a bridle on the lips when you talk of those you do not like so well."

Here is a most important letter from the President:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, *February 12, 1864.*

"*Hon. Secretary of the Treasury:*

"MY DEAR SIR: I have felt considerable anxiety concerning the Custom House at New York. Mr. Barney has suffered no abatement of my confidence in his honor and integrity; and yet I am convinced that he has ceased to be master of his position. A man by the name of Baily, whom I am unconscious of ever having seen, or, even, having heard of, except in this connection, expects to be, and even now assumes to be, collector *de facto*, while Mr. Barney remains nominally so. This Mr. Baily, as I understand, having been summoned as a witness to testify before a committee of the House of Representatives, which purposed investigating the New York Custom House, took occasion to call on the chairman in advance, and to endeavor to smother the investigation, saying, among other things, that, whatever might be developed, the President would take no action, and the committee would thereby be placed unpleasantly. The public interest can not fail to suffer in the hands of this irresponsible and unscrupulous man. I propose sending Mr. Barney Minister to Portugal, as evidence of my continued confidence in him; and I further propose appointing — collector of the customs at New York. I wrote the draft of this letter two weeks ago, but delayed sending it for a reason which I will state when I see you.

"Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN."

If I ever saw a copy of the answer to this letter (supposing it to have been answered in writing), I do not remember the fact. At present, I can not refer to the letter-book of that date.

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, *February 13, 1864.*

"*Hon. Secretary of Treasury:*

"MY DEAR SIR: On coming up from the reception, I found your note of to-day. I am unwell, even now, and shall be worse this afternoon. If you please, we will have an interview Monday.

"Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN."

No copy of the note in question is in my possession. I do not remember that I ever saw any paper purporting to give a copy of that note.

The next document referred to reads as follows:

"February 15, 1864

"Hon. Secretary of Treasury:

"MY DEAR SIR: I have just called to see you on the matter mentioned Saturday, and am pained to learn you are suffering too much to be out. I hope you will soon be relieved; meanwhile, have no uneasiness as to the thing to which I am alluding, as I shall do nothing in it until I shall [have] fully conferred with you.

"Yours truly, A. LINCOLN."

What was that thing? Was it not the Barney matter? Probably it was.

The next matter offered reads as follows:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, February 20, 1864.

"Hon. Secretary of Treasury:

"MY DEAR SIR: Herewith I return the affidavit you handed me. In glancing it over I do not perceive anything necessarily inconsistent with the practice of detectives, and others, engaged in the business of 'rascal-catching;' but a closer consideration might show it. It seems to me that *August*, the month within which the affiant fixes his first interview with Hanscomb, was really before Hanscomb left Boston and came to New York.

"Yours truly, A. LINCOLN."

I can not explain this letter fully. Therefore I shall leave it without any attempt at explanation.

Next, attention is invited to an extremely interesting and important document. February 22, our hero, sick at heart, no doubt, wrote thus to the President:

"WASHINGTON, February 22, 1864.

"MY DEAR SIR: It is probable that you have already seen a letter printed in the *Constitutional Union*, Saturday afternoon, and reprinted in the *Intelligencer* this morning, written by Senator Pomeroy, as chairman of a committee of my political friends.

"I had no knowledge of the existence of this letter before I saw it in the *Union*.

"A few weeks ago several gentlemen called on me and expressed their desire, which, they said, was shared by many earnest friends of our common cause, that I would allow my name to be submitted to the consideration of the people in connection with the approaching election of Chief Magistrate. I replied that I feared that any such use of my name might impair my usefulness as Head of the Treasury Department, and that I much preferred to continue my labors where I am, and free from disturbing influences, until I could honorably retire from them. We had several interviews. After consultation and conference with others, they expressed their united judgment that the use of my name as proposed would not affect my usefulness in my present position; and that I ought to consent to it.

I accepted their judgment as decisive; but at the same time told them, distinctly, that I could render them no help, except what might come incidentally from the faithful discharge of public duties; for these must have my whole time. I said also that I desired them to regard themselves as not only entirely at liberty, but as requested, to withdraw my name from consideration, whenever in their judgment the public interest would be promoted by so doing.

"The organization of the committee, I presume, followed these conversations; but I was not consulted about it, nor have I been consulted as to its action; nor do I even know who compose it. I have never wished that my name should have a moment's thought in comparison with the common cause of enfranchisement and restoration, or be continued before the public a moment after the indication of a preference, by the friends of that cause, for another.

"I have thought this explanation due to you as well as to myself. If there is anything in my action or position which, in your judgment, will prejudice the public interest under my charge, I beg you to say so. I do not wish to administer the Treasury Department one day without your entire confidence. For yourself I cherish sincere respect and esteem; and, permit me to add, affection. Differences of opinion as to administrative action have not changed these sentiments; nor have they been changed by assaults upon me by persons who profess themselves the special representatives of your views and policy. You are not responsible for acts not your own; nor will you hold me responsible except for what I do or say myself.

"Great numbers now desire your reelection. Should their wishes be fulfilled by the suffrages of the people, I hope to carry with me into private life the sentiments I now cherish, whole and unimpaired.

"With great respect, yours truly,

"THE PRESIDENT.

S. P. CHASE."

Lincoln responded:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, *February 23, 1864.*

"*Hon. Secretary of Treasury:*

"MY DEAR SIR: Yours of yesterday in relation to the paper issued by Senator Pomeroy was duly received; and I write this note merely to say I will answer a little more fully when I can find time to do so. Yours truly, A. LINCOLN."

That fuller, eminently creditable, and extremely characteristic answer ran as follows:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, *February 29, 1864.*

"*Hon. Secretary of the Treasury:*

"MY DEAR SIR: I would have taken time to answer yours of the 22d sooner, only that I did not suppose any evil could result from the delay, especially as, by a note, I promptly acknowledged the receipt of yours, and promised a fuller answer. Now, on consideration, I find there is really very little to say. My knowledge of Mr. Pomeroy's letter having been made *public* came to me only the day you wrote; but I had, in spite of myself, known of its *existence* sev-

eral days before. I have not yet read it, and I think I shall not. I was not shocked or surprised by the appearance of the letter, because I had had knowledge of Mr. Pomeroy's committee, and of secret issues which, I supposed, came from it; and of secret agents who, I supposed, were sent out by it, for several weeks. I have known just as little of these things as my friends have allowed me to know. They bring the documents to me, but I do not read them; they tell me what they think fit to tell me, but I do not inquire for more.

"I fully concur with you that neither of us can be justly held responsible for what our respective friends may do without our instigation or countenance; and I assure you, as you have assured me, that no assault has been made upon you by my instigation, or with my countenance.

"Whether you shall remain at the head of the Treasury Department is a question which I will not allow myself to consider from any stand-point other than my judgment of the public service; and, in that view, I do not perceive occasion for a change.

"Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN."

I own I feel heart-sick in reviewing this correspondence. If I had not studied so carefully the early life, the growth, the forming character, the characteristic conduct of our hero—in a word, the *tenor* of his life,¹ and the general expression of his character, if I may so express myself—I would be tempted now to say: "This man is not the man I fancied; he is not the worthy I supposed. Corwin and Johnston were not so far out when they told Lincoln that Chase was embodied perfidy."

But let us not lose our heads. Let us remember the whole tenor of the life we study. Let us judge particular acts by the whole tenor of that life and not the whole tenor of the life by particular acts.²

Would this man have so trusted me, after receiving my birthday letter,³ and thus learning in what spirit I intended to compose this work—would he have put into my trust, as we see that he did, the inmost secrets of his life—had he not felt conscious of an ultimate title to self-respect and to the respect of the whole world?

Chase's conduct toward Lincoln was not right. Yet Chase was a true worthy, as was Lincoln also.

March 4, the President said to Mr. Chase, in writing:

"In consequence of a call Mr. Villard makes on me, having a note from you to him, I am induced to say I have no wish for the publication of the correspondence between yourself and me in relation to

¹Introduction.

²*Ibid.*

³*Ante* Chapter I., and *Post* Chapter LI.

the Pomeroy circular—in fact, rather prefer to avoid an unnecessary exhibition; yet you are at liberty, without in the least offending me, to allow the publication if you choose.

“Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.”

To J. M. Ganson, March 7, the Secretary wrote a letter containing the sentences:

“I think there is now too much paper money. The local banks ought to retire circulation, and take their places in a national system. It would then be easy, with a proper system of taxation, and due economy in expenditure, to resume specie payments within much less time than is now commonly supposed. In my judgment, specie payments could be resumed with ease within six months, and even in less time.”

Here is another talk about the Presidency, in a letter to Hon. A. G. Riddle, then consul at Matanzas:

“I am trying to keep all Presidential aspirations out of my head. I fancy that as President I could take care of the Treasury better with the help of a Secretary than I can as Secretary without the help of a President. But our Ohio folks don't want me enough, if they want me at all, to make it proper for me to allow my name to be used.

“I hope the time is not distant when I can honorably separate myself from political affairs altogether, leaving the new era to the new men whom God may raise up for it.”

April 10 is the date of the following:

“MY DEAR MRS. MAGRUDER: I owe you a thousand apologies for not sooner attending to your request about the pictures; the omission is really inexcusable, but I shall trust your goodness to pardon it, especially in consideration of prompt attention to the request renewed in your letter by Mr. Malet. You shall have your pictures at the earliest possible moment if I can procure their release; and at any rate, you shall be very early informed whether I succeed or no.

“We were much gratified by your kindness in sending the photographs of yourself, the captain, and the young ladies. I hope you received those of my folks sent you in return.

“It is late, but let me trust, not too late to congratulate you and Lady Abinger, and especially Lord A——, on the recent acquisition made to every one by the marriage which, in taking and giving, will, I trust, prove a benediction.

“Tell the captain that I think a great deal of him, and never miss an opportunity of vindicating him when assailed, which indeed, is seldomer than he seems to think. By those, for whose opinion he would care most, his motives and character are understood and appreciated as he would have them. How deeply I regret that anything should separate him from a service in which he won so much honor, I need not say.

“How all things have changed since we first met, and how rapidly

all things are changing still! But my faith in God's designs for our country forbids me to doubt that out of all the ills of the present a peaceful and happy and glorious future is to emerge. May He grant it!

"I can not see what possible obstacle there can be to your visiting Washington, but I will inquire to-morrow, when I see Mr. Stanton, about the pictures. To-day is Sunday.

"With best regards to Captain Magruder and the ladies, in which may I beg Lord A—— to take a part. Believe me.

"Sincerely your friend,

"MRS. M. M. MAGRUDER.

S. P. CHASE."

April 11, the same pen addressed to Dr. Nathan B. Chase, surgeon United States Volunteers, at Bowling Green, Kentucky, the following words of consolation:

"MY DEAR SIR: Your letter conveying the intelligence of the death of your sister, my dear cousin Mrs. Leonard, has just reached me. In her case to die was gain in the highest sense, and while her friends lose *her*, she gains new friends and in a dearer companionship.

"I inclose a letter to Mr. Mellen. I write no more in any case and in few so much. Your cousin and friend, S. P. CHASE."

April 13, General Banks was thus addressed by letter:

"DEAR GENERAL: This letter will reach you, I hope, in the midst of decisive successes. The rebellion must be crushed this summer, or we shall be plunged into the greatest financial difficulties. The immense disbursements, incident to the preparations for the campaign just begun, are well nigh overwhelming in their demands.

"Our immediate anxieties are absorbed by this great necessity; but there are other matters almost as urgent. It is my firm belief that this war has grown out of national injustice in slavery. It must be prolonged, as it has been, by the continuance of this injustice. You have been the honored instrument of making Louisiana a free State. While I regret some of the incidents in the accomplishment of this work, I rejoice in the work itself. It is good and great; but to make it fruitful as it should be, more is needed. You are a Massachusetts man, and in Massachusetts all men are equal before the law. Your actions must be tried by Massachusetts standards. It pained me greatly that men, supposed to represent your ideas and supporting your proposed candidate for governor, thought fit to stigmatize the free State men, who did not see questions of expediency and principle with their lights, as negro equality men. Depend upon it, dear general, no permanent honor is to come to anybody from such a spirit. There is a grand opportunity in Louisiana to establish institutions on the solid basis of justice and wisdom. Let all who are alike qualified have political rights alike. Let the right to vote be determined not by nativity or complexion, but by intelligence, character, and patriotism. Let all vote who have proved their devotion to their country by service in the field, and all who, being unconvicted of crime or misdemeanor, can read and write, and, after the first election, are found to possess a complete knowledge of the

constitutions of the State and the United States. It is not difficult to regulate suffrage on this basis. Let the Constitutional Convention authorize an enrollment of the voters who possess those qualifications, by providing commissioners in each parish to examine those who desire to exercise the elective franchise and for giving to all found qualified certificates of qualification as electors. After the first General Assembly shall be elected, the legislature can be authorized to provide for the necessary examinations. These are only hints of modes in which practical details can be arranged. Better will doubtless suggest themselves. The important point is to have suffrage extended equally to all equally qualified.

"If this can be accomplished in Louisiana, the example will be followed in all the Gulf States; and probably in all the States now in rebellion. And what an honor to lead in such a work which, more than anything that I can think of, will consolidate Union and insure against future disturbances.

"May this honor be yours! It will be if you will.

"Your friend,

S. P. CHASE."

This interesting document bears date April 14:

"MY DEAR SIR: I send you a copy of my letter to the Committee on Finance, to which I referred yesterday, and add another to the same committee, which was sent yesterday.

"The first urges the exclusion from circulation of all credit currency not sanctioned by Congress.

"The second urges the repression of gold speculation.

"Both measures are of great importance, the first of the greatest.

"If Congress will make these measures laws, and add a national banking act which will make the national banking system safe, and at the same time acceptable, and a tax law which will yield, with duties on imports, four hundred millions of revenue, or half, at least, of the expenditure, there will be no need to fear financial disasters, unless we shall have unexpected military disasters.

"I have taken the liberty heretofore, and perhaps too pertinaciously, to urge all possible economy compatible with efficiency; but I hope that the importance of it will be thought a sufficient justification.

"I am glad to understand that the military work of suppressing the rebellion is now to be prosecuted with system, and the utmost vigor. With system and vigor and economy in the conduct of the war, and with the financial measures I have indicated, we may expect, through Divine favor, an early and successful termination of the struggle, and the restoration of peace with an unbroken Union of Free States.

Yours very truly,

"THE PRESIDENT.

S. P. CHASE."

At New York, on the 15th, the President was thus again addressed by letter:

"MY DEAR SIR: Two topics seem to occupy exclusively the attention of New York—speculation and the Metropolitan Fair. To-day the tidings from Paducah create a momentary diversion, something

in this way: 'A horrible affair that at Paducah!' 'Yes; really, 'twas terrible.' Then a pause. Then: 'How's gold to-day?'

"The sales which have been made here yesterday and to-day seem to have reduced the price; but the reduction is only temporary, unless most decisive measures for reducing the amount of circulation and arresting the rapid increase of debt be adopted. These measures can only be put in operation by Congress, and Congress will be slow to act with the promptitude absolutely indispensable, unless you manifest a deep sense of their importance, and make members feel that you regard their adoption as essential to the success of your administration.

"Thus far every financial measure has been crowned with success; but I have always warned gentlemen in Congress and in the administration that debt could not be increased indefinitely by selling bonds and issuing notes; and the time has come when taxation and retrenchment must play their parts. They ought to have been called into activity a year ago; but it is not yet too late. Without them it is my duty to say, emphatically, there is no hope of continued financial success.

"Next to taxation and retrenchment, a uniform national currency is most important. This can be accomplished only through the passage of the National Banking Law now before Congress; or by some bill embracing its leading amendments of the act of last year. In my judgment, the banks organized under this law should pay their full share of taxation; but they should be taxed under national and not under State laws. The National Government will have to pay interest on debt, current expenses, and, so long as the war lasts, its extraordinary expenses (vast sums) from taxes. Duties from imports are the only exclusive resource of the nation, as distinguished from the States. Why should not the national banks and their property and franchises be added? I see no good reason; while uniform taxation by Congress would put all the banks throughout the country upon an equal footing, and secure the unity and completeness of the system. Some of the New York members have urged subjection to State taxes, and some concessions, I think unwisely, have been made to their wishes. It would be much better could they be prevailed on to yield their wishes to the public good.

"The National Banking Bill should be followed by the bill to tax local bank circulation, and prohibit, after some fixed period, its further issue.

"These two bills will give us what we must have, if success is wanted—a national currency.

"If you concur with me in these judgments, may I not hope that you will send for such members as are disposed, from any cause, to be lukewarm or opposed, and urge them to give their needful support to the bill. Mr. Hooper, in the House, and Mr. Sherman, in the Senate, will gladly furnish you all the necessary information as to the views of senators and representatives.

"Since I have been writing a gentleman has come in who tells me that gold, after declining to 170 and 171, was carried up again on the news of the disaster at Paducah, exaggerated as much as possible by interested and unfriendly parties, to 174.

"I hope to be able to go to Philadelphia to-morrow, and to return to Washington Monday evening or Tuesday morning.

"With the greatest respect and regard, yours truly,
THE PRESIDENT. **S. P. CHASE.**

Of quite different tenor is the next offering. April 19, Mr. Chase, at Washington, wrote as follows:

"MY DEAR FRIEND: It is true that we do what we most need or desire to do with the time we *can* command, but not true that we can command time for all we greatly desire to do. Certain it is that I greatly desire to minister to your happiness, and as you assure me that my writing does contribute to it, I give to you more time than any other friend I have in this way. Still it is little compared with my wish to give you pleasure.

"I wish you found more comfort in Nashville. I am sure you must find a blessed satisfaction in ministering to the wants of the needy, and the sick, and the wounded. May God breathe into your own heart the comfort you bring to others.

"Inclosed with this I send a letter to Governor Johnson. You will, I fear, find little gratification from his society; but there may be ladies of his family whom you will like. I suppose the governor, like everybody else in these busy days, is overwhelmed with cares, and has little time for social enjoyments.

"Mrs. Douglas is, indeed, a charming woman; but has no position in the Treasury Department, nor in any other, so far as I know. She once, long ago, I believe, did some copying; the story that she has a clerkship probably grew out of this. I have not seen her for more than a year; and there is not one employed in the department who to other claims does not join that of real pecuniary need—need sometimes most distressing.

"I inclose a letter to Governor Johnson which may possibly be of use—there, you may judge that I am hurried by this repetition. And now, leaving much undone that ought to be done, I must hurry up to the Capitol to attend to some work there. So, may heaven bless and keep you.

Your friend,

"Miss SUSAN WALKER, Nashville, Tenn.¹ **S. P. CHASE.**

The following is dated April 19:

"MY DEAR MR. GREELEY: Your letter was put into my hands

¹Here is the inclosure referred to in the foregoing:

"WASHINGTON, April 19, 1864.

"DEAR GOVERNOR: Allow me to introduce to you Miss Susan Walker, my friend, and the sister of my friend the late Judge Walker, of Cincinnati, and Sears C. Walker, distinguished for his attainments in science.

"Impelled by a desire to relieve the suffering in our hospitals, this most estimable lady has gone to Nashville and undertaken the office of a nurse. Let me beg you to render her any service, and extend to her any courtesy in your power.

"Your friend,

"HON. ANDREW JOHNSON.

S. P. CHASE.

in Philadelphia, yesterday morning. I will try to prepare an appeal unless too much badgered. It is hardly worth while, however, for I can not do the work half so well as you have already done it in the *Tribune*. Still I will try my hand.

"The speculators got a very bad black eye last week; but will rally, of course. The scare did Congress good, though many members persist in saddling the national banks with State taxation. This, if persisted in, is going to be very mischievous. It will make parties everywhere about much or little taxation, and hurt our side. Let these banks, and the capital in them, be reserved as exclusive subjects of national taxation, and let them be taxed by an uniform rule all over the country, as much as they can bear. In this way we get a fruitful source of revenue, and shall soon be able to let off many vexatious small taxes. Besides national banks should, in principle, be subject only to national taxation just as foreign commerce is. Let the States have the real estate exclusively, and concurrently private personal property and transactions. Let the Nation have exclusively foreign commerce and national banks, and concurrently private personal property and transactions. Such a division will work well.

"Yours cordially,

"HON. H. GREELEY.

S. P. CHASE."

April 21 is the date of the following acknowledgment:

"MY DEAR SIR: I am glad to learn that you propose to publish your notes of the proceedings of the Peace Conference of 1861. I well remember your assiduity in taking those notes, and have no doubt that their publication will form an important contribution to history. The fidelity with which you reproduced, a few months since, the only speech of any length made by me in that body, surprised me. If your whole report proves equally correct, it will be as accurate as it will be interesting and important.

"Yours very truly, S. P. CHASE.

"HON. L. E. CHITTENDEN, *Register of Treasury*, Washington, D. C."

April 26 was marked by the writing of this letter, with many others:

"MY DEAR MRS. BAILEY: I am sure Katie would not be pleased if made aware what use has been made of her name, so far as that use has any political import. Her own good sense teaches her, and it is my earnest wish, that she should keep entirely aloof from everything connected with politics. Doubtless, however, she would listen with interest to any proposition promising advantage to you.

"As to the *New Era*, I know nothing except what you know, nor so much if you that it supports any Presidential candidate. I see no reason for not selling your list to any publisher wishing to buy it, and willing to supply arrears to subscribers if the paper be honestly and earnestly anti-slavery; nor do I see any reason for declining to address a circular to the subscribers stating what the arrangement is. You need not express any preference for anybody or opposition to anybody, or even commit yourself to any recommendation of the paper to be applied beyond simple advice to read, and if

they approve the paper to renew their subscription at the expiration of their current year.

"But of all this you can judge as well as I. My own situation here is far from agreeable, and perhaps I am not exactly in the best mood to give good advice.

"Katie has been quite ill, and is still far from well. The rest of us are in good health. Love to the dear girls, and believe me,

"Most sincerely your friend,

"MRS. M. L. BAILEY.

S. P. CHASE."

And this also is an issue of April 26 :

"DEAR SIR: I shall direct Mr. Cisco to send his advertisements to the *Railroad Journal*, and shall transmit the same direction to other agents of the department. I appreciate the ability and spirit with which it has supported the financial measures of the government, and take pleasure in availing myself of this opportunity of thanking you personally for that support.

"I do not know what the phrase, 'Mr. Chase is near-sighted and does not see men,' signifies. If it means that I see principles rather than men, it is true; but if it means that I do not appreciate faithful services rendered to the cause and to the country, it is not true. I can not gratify every person who claims recognition, and least of all those who claim recognition of services personal to myself, for I want no services to myself, except so far as, for the time being, I represent ideas or measures.

"I see that gold is again going up. This is not unexpected. Military success is indispensable to its permanent decline, or, in the absence of military success, taxation sufficient upon State bank issues and State bank credits to secure as an exclusive national currency; and sufficient, also, to defray so large a proportion of current expenditures as to reduce the necessity for borrowing to the minimum.

"Very truly yours,

S. P. CHASE.

"S. DEWITT BLOODGOOD, Esq., New York City."

May 2 is the date of this touching letter to Hon. Flamen Ball:

"MY DEAR MR. BALL: I have this moment received a note from Webster Elmes, written when I was in Philadelphia, announcing the death of your dear wife. The intelligence was a great and sad surprise to me; and I can well conceive the desolation and anguish which the terrible calamity brings into your home. May the Father of mercies sustain you in this fearful bereavement. My heart's tenderest and most affectionate sympathies are with you and your dear children.

Your sincere friend,

S. P. CHASE."

May 4, Mr. Chase, in a letter to General Blunt, said:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., May 4, 1864.

"It is impossible for me to look after all the acts of all the agents of the department; but whenever informed of any delinquency, I institute proper investigation, and, if the delinquency is found actually to exist, take proper measures with the delinquent. I try, also,

through traveling agents, to keep informed. Of course nothing more than approximation to what I desire is possible. Mr. Mellen is instructed to inquire about Stockton.

"I was surprised and sorry to learn that you were not to command the advance on Shreveport; but were relieved from the command of the frontier. I only learned it from the public prints; for the administration of each department is almost as disconnected with that of the others as the government of Ohio from that of Kansas. What you had achieved led me to expect that you would be required to achieve much more.

"As to Mr. Gantt I hope you will find yourself mistaken. So far as it is possible to judge from conversation, he is thoroughly loyal and thoroughly convinced that reconstruction can only take place on the basis of universal freedom. I fear that we must be content to be deceived sometimes. It seems impossible to guard absolutely against it.

"Your views of policy coincide with my own, and had it seemed to be the will of the people that I should take the responsibilities of government I should not have refused, though I could not seek such a place. But, through the natural partialities of the people for the President, and the systematic operation of the Postmaster-General, and those holding office under him, a preference for the reelection of Mr. Lincoln was created, to which I thought it my duty to bow cheerfully and unhesitatingly. It did not cost me a regret to do so. That, since then, I have been so maliciously pursued by the Blair family, is what was wholly unexpected. That their slanders have the apparent, though I am sure not the real, indorsement of the President, is a new source of pain to me. No good can, I think, come of the probable identification of the next administration with the family. The political future, in consequence of it, has already become clouded and doubtful.

"We are looking now with the greatest solicitude to the operations of Grant, and the co-working forces under him; and with hardly less to the operations on the Red River. The defeat of Banks is an unexpected disaster; but will, we all hope, be soon retrieved."

The copy of this letter does not show to whom the original was addressed:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., *May 4, 1864.*

"MY DEAR BELLE: The subscription for the 5-20's is all filled up, and your only chance to get United States bonds is to subscribe for the 10-40's at five per cent, or buy other bonds at premium. If you choose to send me your \$2,000 I will do what seems most for your interest. As government interest is paid in gold, the rate, as long as gold keeps at present rates, on the 10-40's is equal to eight and three-fourths; but if Congress gives me the measures I want, and Uncle Abe will stop spending so fast, I mean to bring gold and paper on a level by resumption of specie payments within a year, then five per cent. will be five per cent. and no more, but everything will be cheaper. It is a shame that our expenditures are so enormous.

That is more in our way than anything else; and I can not tell what the upshot will be.

"My hopes, under God, are almost wholly in Grant and his soldiers. May our Heavenly Father give them success and bring peace! My heart sinks when I think of the waste of life and treasure, and the prospect of greater waste.

"Katie is quite well again. Nettie is happy in New York. Please tell me more about your own dear self and your dear children, and all about your gettings on.

"You are right. I do love you, dearly, dear Belle.

"Your affectionate uncle,

S. P. CHASE.

"Do you know that when Alice was here at Kate's wedding she took the palm of admiration from everybody. She is as sweet as she can be."

To Mr. Jay Cooke, the same pen, under date May 5, wrote as follows:

"MY DEAR MR. COOKE: I hope my wrathiness was not excessive. Indeed, it was vexation in thinking that all my labors to serve our country had found recompense, so far as Mr. Lincoln's special friends were concerned, and with his apparent (but, as I hope and believe, merely apparent) indorsement, only in outrageous calumny. I seldom consult personal considerations in my public conduct, and so suppressed my inclination to resign my office and denounce the conspiracy, of which the Blairs are the most visible embodiments. After returning from Baltimore I conferred with Governor Brough and other friends, who were in earnest in advising against resignation; and I yielded to their judgment, which, indeed, coincided with my own, though exceedingly contrary to my impulses. Immediately afterward I was obliged to visit Philadelphia and was absent from Wednesday morning until Saturday night. On Monday I learned that the Ohio delegation had taken the matter up, and that one of them had called on the President, who disavowed in the most explicit terms all connection with, or responsibility for, Blair's assault, and expressed his decided disapproval of it. As this was merely verbal, however, the delegation determined to call on the President in a body, and make and obtain a distinct statement in writing—on their part, of their advice, my action, and their convictions as what was due from the President to me, to Ohio, and to the country—and on his part, such reply as he should see fit to give.

Thus the matter now stands. It seems now only simple justice to me, that every friend who believes I have done my duty, should, by voice, pen, and press, utter the sentiments which this outrageous attack must kindle in honest minds of indignation against the unworthy men who have set on foot and propagated these vile calumnies."

This is one of the most precious letters of the month:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., May 5, 1864.

"MY DARLING NETTIE: It is a shame that I should be so poor cor

respondent; but then remember how many more words I put on a paper than you do, and how little time I have for anything but hard office work.

"All your letters give great pleasure. You are certainly the genius of the family for this sort of composition. Every one of your letters is quoted and commended in a way that must not excite your vanity. But, really, it is quite delightful to read your free and easy talk—just what letters should contain to be interesting.

"Katie is almost herself again after her illness, which frightened me not a little. Her husband was all devotion, and to be so petted it was almost worth while to be sick. We have just been riding out under the hills which skirt the city on the north, across Rock Creek into Georgetown, and back through that old town.

"When I had written thus far, the gentlemen I was waiting for, at my room in the department, came in, and I went to work with them, and have had two hours or so of pretty busy writing and reading. It is now ten o'clock and I am pretty tired. So I shall not write much more to-night.

"I wish I were out of official harness. It certainly grows more irksome. I have toiled hard and patiently, and it is painful to find my labors made the occasion of calumny and reviling. I am thankful, however, that no calumny or reviling can destroy any good I have accomplished. So, dear child, do good for the sake of doing it, not for reward or applause. Your heavenly Father will see and bless you.

"Your affectionate father,

"MISS NETTIE CHASE.

S. P. CHASE."

At last, the true philosophy respecting failure and success begins to make itself comprehended by our hero, long in error on that subject, and perhaps never quite convinced of the whole truth referred to.

In a letter of the same date to Hon. Ed. Haight, our disappointed financier and presidential aspirant said :

"I presume some of the newspapers are just now specially busy with my name and fame. I have very little time to read; but am not in the least concerned about misrepresentations, and have passed through more than one storm of calumny, doing my duty, and, God helping, can pass through this."

How our Minister of Finance could, in the midst of great concern about great things, attend to little matters, may seem fairly indicated by this extract from a letter, dated May 6, and addressed—I must disclose it—to a lady :

"I have the least possible time for correspondence, and you must not attribute my silence to want of interest in you. I feel all you can reasonably ask, though I can not show it by much writing.

"Please do not set me down as a fault-finder, if I say I wish you would pay more attention to your composition and spelling. One so intelligent as you are ought to take all possible pains to be correct. Just to show you what I mean, I do by you what I sometimes do by Nettie, mark all the places where there are mistakes in grammar or spelling and send your letter back to you. Take a dictionary, a grammar, and some book on English composition, and determine that you will correct the mistakes, and make no more in future letters."¹

The same day was written this letter to Colonel R. C. Parsons :

"MY DEAR PARSONS: I have seldom felt greater pleasure than on receiving this morning your note of the 4th. That you are in a fair way of recovery is an exceeding delight, and that you realize to whom you are indebted for your restoration and your obligations to Him for His goodness is, also, a satisfaction I can hardly express. The older I grow the more I feel how trivial are all things compared with God's favor, oftenest shown by severest trials.

"You must now be especially careful of your health, and do whatever is needful to perfect recovery.

"I do not know that I can do anything towards insuring you an opportunity to visit Europe without expense to you; but I will try what can be done. Whatever I can properly do myself in the way of leave of absence, will be done of course.

"It has occurred to me that you would find the climate of California beneficial to you, and I have thought of recalling Brown and making him collector and sending you as special agent in his place. The compensation would be nine dollars a day and ten cents a mile travel. What would you think of this? The present collector is a most efficient officer and would, until your health is fully equal to them, relieve you of your heaviest duties.

"Should you dislike this arrangement, how would it suit to take a voyage to California, either by the Isthmus or the Cape, and return? This could be easily arranged either by sending you in charge of the

¹Here is a letter of like indication, dated May 7, and addressed to Major Dwight Bannister:

"MY DEAR MAJOR: The most important thing first, Schuckers and I both approve of your intended marriage. Give my warmest regards to the bride, and tell her that if she makes you as good a wife as you will be to her a good husband, I am sure the moon will shine on no happier pair.

"I trust the warehouse business altogether to you, and shall be satisfied with whatever you do. I prefer a sale even at \$8,000, or a permanent lease at not less than \$700. Either will suit; and if anything better can be done, so much the better.

"I shall continue trying to provide for the enormous disbursements for a time, how long I can not say. It seems as if there were no limit to expense. Contrary to all rules, the spigot in Uncle Abe's barrel is made twice as big as the bung-hole. He may have been a good flat-boatman and rail-splitter, but he certainly never learned the true science of coopering.

"Very truly yours,

S. P. CHASE."

next remittance by Panama, or on board a new revenue steamer which I am about to send round Cape Horn.

"I talk to you as if I was certain of remaining where I am for months to come; but this depends. My first impulse on hearing of Blair's outrageous speech and its apparent—though I am sure not intended—indorsement by Mr. Lincoln, was to resign at once and return to Ohio, and appeal to the people who have always sustained me. But several of our delegation, and especially Governor Brough, dissuaded me, and I surrendered impulse to what they thought, and probably correctly, to be duty. But the indorsement must be disavowed by an act as public as that which made it apparently such. The delegation will ask this as due to the State, and I presume it will be cheerfully conceded by Mr. Lincoln.

"This done, I shall have no personal ground of complaint; though nothing can change the character of the Blair-Lincoln transaction so far as the public is concerned.

Yours faithfully,

"S. P. CHASE."

To Hon. Delano T. Smith, May 9, the Secretary said in a letter:

"I trust that the slaughter at Fort Pillow will not be permitted to go unpunished. In my judgment, the highest officers in the rebel service, now prisoners in our hands, should be made to pay the penalty for this outrage.

"It would do something toward the prevention of them if the President would revoke his Amnesty Proclamation, and insist upon putting colored soldiers upon the same footing with all the rest."

Here is a letter which may be sharply criticised:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., May 9, 1864.

"DEAR GOVERNOR: Accept my warmest gratitude for your letter. My chief concern in the attacks made on me springs from the conviction that the influence of the men who make them must necessarily divide the friends of the Union and Freedom, unless the President shall cast it off, of which I have little hope. I am willing to be myself its victim; but grieve to think our country may be also.

"Most sincerely, your friend,

"HIS EXCELLENCY W. A. BUCKINGHAM.

S. P. CHASE.

"P. S. How strikingly the economy and prudence shown by the narration of your excellent message contrasts with the extravagance and recklessness which mark the disbursement of national treasure."

To Mr. John J. Cisco, in a letter dated the same day, Mr. Chase said, among other things:

"The news from the Mississippi and Red River is deplorable; but I hope that the worst has already happened, and that no further disaster need be looked for in that quarter.

"So far as they have been heard from, the movements on this side of the Mississippi, especially those under the direction of Grant, of Mead's and Burnside's armies, and under the direction of Butler

south of the James River, and under the direction of Sherman from Chattanooga, have been successful; and we are looking for the best results. Of course there may be reverses in some quarters; but the general success seems to be reasonably sure."

To his dear friend, Miss Susan Walker, Mr. Chase, on the 10th, wrote as follows:

"MY DEAR FRIEND: Your kind note from Nashville must be answered, if only by a word.

"Why did you not tell me that you were going there with Dr. and Mrs. Bartholow? I do not know that if you had it would have made any difference; but it would at any rate have done no harm to inform me, and possibly some word from me to the Secretary of War might have been useful to the doctor. I say possibly, for there seems so much that is merely impulsive in the action of the War Department that nothing can be anticipated with certainty concerning it.

"Please write me when you are coming to Washington. I wish to be here when you come, and I have been meditating an absence for a few days.

"I use as much philosophy as I can in relation to the Blairs; and really want to act in relation to them upon Christian principles. But I can not well command my equanimity when I reflect upon the unprovoked character of their assaults; the damage I see being done to our cause and country; and the apparent indifference to it all of Mr. Lincoln, who, though he disclaims all sympathy with them in their speech and action, does nothing to arrest either.

"But I must not dwell on this, especially at this moment, when the news from the field encourages us to hope for so much. God grant the hope may be realized."

"Sincerely your friend, S. P. CHASE."

To Mr. William Warder, of Springfield, Ohio, Mr. Chase said, in a letter dated May 12:

"I can not agree with you that the country would suffer greatly, if at all, from my leaving the Cabinet. Inasmuch, however, as those whose opinions I am bound to respect agree in requiring me to remain at my post, I shall do so, for the present, at least. My future will be governed by circumstances; but will, I trust, never be such as to cost me the esteem of my friends."

CHAPTER XLI.

THE "FERRY BOY AND THE FINANCIER"—TOWARD THE RESIGNATION.

MAY 12, Mr. Trowbridge was addressed as follows:

"MY DEAR MR. TROWBRIDGE: I have read *The Ferry Boy*. You have certainly thrown a great deal of attraction about what I remember as very dry facts. Indeed, from information or fancy, you have collected some facts which are quite out of my recollection. One of these is the account of an adventure on the river when I lost my way in the woods going from Cleveland to Worthington.

"I hope for the sake of the publishers that the book will meet with a great sale, and I wish I knew how to help them; but I have no faculty in circulating anything about myself, unless it be 'Greenbacks.' Should the book reach a second edition, I think you can make essential improvements in it. Meanwhile, I shall be well content if the people give me credit for being half what I am represented to be.

"Of late, indeed, it seems as if I was in danger of losing my character as well as my labor, while doing my best to serve the country. Be it so; I can stand it if the country can.

"Very truly yours,
S. P. CHASE."

"J. F. TROWBRIDGE, Esq., Somerville, Mass.

Why, that is well! That is the right tone, in sooth!

And, writing the same day, to Mr. A. J. Flommerfelt, of Philadelphia, the same pen well said:

"Accept my thanks for the very kind sentiments you express toward me. My only ambition is to be of service to the country, leaving the contest for the highest place to which you refer, to those who care more about it."

Did our hero care as much as he should have done about the fine arts? I think not. But here is a letter of good indication, as far as it goes:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., May 12, 1864.

"SIR: I inclose a letter from Sidney Brooks, Esq., of Newport, R. I., in which he informs me of the arrival at New York of Powers' statue of 'America,' and expressing a wish that the Government

may purchase it. The purchase of this statue was strongly recommended to Congress some years ago by Mr. Everett, and other gentlemen who had seen it, and were competent to judge of its merits. I formed at that time the opinion that it should become the property of the Government, and now respectfully recommend the subject to your consideration.

Very truly yours,

S. P. CHASE.

"HON. JNO. H. RICE, *Chairman Committee on Public Buildings, House of Representatives.*"

The next piece of evidence I offer reads as follows:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., May 13, 1864.

"DEAR SIR: I have received your letter of the 9th instant, and thank you for it. Friendly suggestion or criticism is never unwelcome to me.

"I think I see the financial condition very clearly, and there are few things to which my attention is called by friends or opponents, which have not already been subjects of anxious reflection. I think there is no real difficulty in carrying our finances safely and triumphantly through this war, except that which has embarrassed and retarded the war itself. Congress is unwilling to take the decisive steps which are indispensable to the highest degree of public credit; and the Executive does not, I fear, sufficiently realize the importance of an energetic and comprehensive policy in all departments of administration. It is the part of Congress, by adequate taxation, to provide for so large a portion of current expenditure as to reduce the amounts to be borrowed within limits which leave no doubt as to the ability of the country to provide both for principal and interest. It is its duty also to set apart such funds for the payment of interest and for the reduction of principal, as will be seen and confessed by all impartial minds to be sufficient for the object; and it is its further duty to limit expenditures to objects of the most urgent importance, and restrict them by the most rigid economy compatible with efficiency.

"Congress shrinks from adequate taxation; it shrinks from the necessary appropriation of specie funds; it takes but little oversight either of the character or of the amount of expenditure. Here are our greatest difficulties. They may prove insuperable. We can not borrow at moderate rates of interest under legislation which does not inspire confidence, and we can not borrow at extravagant rates without incurring annual charges beyond the possibility of payment.

"Let Congress give me the measure I require, and let the President give me the support of economical and efficient administration, civil and military, and I will undertake to resume specie payments at a week's notice, and to maintain them, and yet borrow at five per cent. all the money which will be required to carry on the war for two years longer.

"What I can do under other circumstances, is not so clear. I can only, so long as I remain at the head of the Treasury Department, do all in my power. Yours very truly and respectfully,

"S. P. CHASE.

"JNO. C. HAMILTON, Esq, No. 17 W. 20th St., N. Y."

The same day the same pen worked off this letter :

"MY DEAR FRIEND: I was greatly gratified by your letter, just received ; not by the preference expressed for me for the Presidency, for I am pretty well cured of whatever aspirations for that office I have been tempted, by the mention made of my name in connection with it, to indulge, but by the fact that I am remembered with so much interest by my old class-mate and friend.

"Have you seen the book which gives a juvenile biography of me under the name of the *Ferry Boy and Financier*, lately published by Walker, Wise & Co., of Boston? The facts are mostly true, but the writer has indulged his fancy in dressing them up.

"My friend, Mr. Schnuckers, has undertaken to gather materials for a fuller and more thorough biography, and I have advised him to write to you for reminiscences. I hope you will give him all you can.

"I shall be glad to have you write me whenever you can. Please tell me in your next all you know about our class-mates. Can't we have a meeting at Hanover this year? Your friend,

"REV. JAMES W. WARD.

S. P. CHASE."

In a letter to Hon. Benj. F. Flanders, May 16, Mr. Chase said, among other things :

"If I say nothing about political matters it is not because I do not feel a profound interest [in] them. The situation seems to me critical, but I do not know that it will do any to speculate.

"The military aspect, except on the Red River, is excellent. We hope for the best results within a few days. It is a mistake if any one thinks the enemy has been routed, or thrown into disorder. He has been terribly handled, but his actual loss does not exceed our own. He has been forced back for some miles, and now makes a stand with as much determination as at first. Some think that only a rear-guard makes the stand to cover the retreat of the main force, or its transfer to another theater of operations. A little time will show what the facts are."

To Captain Jacob Heaton, the same day, our hero wrote :

"MY DEAR FRIEND: I inclose the leave of absence you desire. Don't trouble yourself about the Blairs. Dogs will bark at the moon, but I have never heard that the moon stopped on that account.

"Very truly yours,

S. P. CHASE.'

Many other letters were worked off the same day, among them this :

"MY DEAR MAJOR: I have presented your matter to the Secretary, and shall be disappointed if you are not made at least brigadier by brevet, that you may lead the colored cavalry.

"Your friend,

"MAJOR BEN. C. LUDLOW, Fortress Monroe.¹

S. P. CHASE."

¹This also is a letter of the date May 16:

"DEAR SIR: I have just read that sentence in your reply to Mr. Hooper in

The next day one was addressed, as follows, to Messrs. F. W. Smith and T. S. Pycott, of Boston :

"GENTLEMEN: It is hardly possible for me to avail myself of your invitation to attend the Convention of the Young Men's Christian Association at Boston, during the first week in June. I should be very glad to do so. The objects of the Association are of the utmost

which you refer to what you call the failure of the Secretary of the Treasury to acknowledge, in his *Report* of 1861, the services rendered by the banks of New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, in that dark hour of our country's history.

"I have examined that *Report* and find in it a full and particular statement of all that was done by the banks at that time. That statement seemed to me the best acknowledgment I could make.

"Having found this statement in the *Report* of 1861 it occurred to me that there might be something in the *Report* of 1862 which had given unintentional offence. I turned, therefore, to that *Report*, and found no general statement of services, indeed, but what, in that *Report*, seemed more proper: a brief but earnest and grateful acknowledgment of their services. 'The *promptitude* and zeal with which many of the existing institutions came to the financial support of the government *in the dark days* which followed the outbreak of the [rebellion] *is not forgotten*. They *ventured largely and boldly* and *patriotically* on the side of the Union, and the Constitutional Supremacy of the Nation over States and citizens. It does *not at all detract from the merit of the act* that the losses which they feared, but unhesitatingly risked, were transmuted into unexpected gains. It is a solid recommendation of the suggested (the national banking system) that it offered the opportunity to them, and kindest invitations to reorganize, continue their business under the proposed act, with little loss and much advantage, participate in maintaining the new and uniform national currency.'

"You will see, I think, that in both *Reports* I did not fail to do full justice to the action of the banks. I felt profoundly the necessity of a national currency, issued upon uniform security, and by institutions organized under national law; and I was bound by this judgment to maintain the national banking system, and claim the currency of the country, so far as not composed of United States notes, for these institutions. But I felt no sentiment of hostility toward the State institutions or for their officers. On the contrary, I could hardly make you understand, if I should try, the depth of my regret that you and others, to whom I looked for help and counsel, arrayed yourselves in opposition to my views. It did seem to me that another and better path, more useful to the banks, was open, following which their officers would have won deserved honors.

"But I do not complain that they choose another road; nor am I conscious of having even uttered unkind words of them because they chose it. I felt sure at the beginning that there must be a national currency; and that to secure it there must be a national banking system. I feel sure of it now. So believing, I am willing to trust the invincible logic of events.

"I stopped at your sixth page and wrote this. I shall read the rest, and expect to find much that I think just and sound, with somewhat to which I can not yield my assent. I hope to find nothing which will impair the sentiments of sincere respect and esteem with which I am
Yours truly,
S. P. CHASE."

I know not to whom the foregoing letter was addressed.

importance, and their work, especially that wrought through the Christian Commission, can not fail to excite the warmest sympathies of all patriotic and Christian men. God greatly blesses it, and the benediction of tens of thousands of the defenders of the country follow it. Yours very truly, S. P. CHASE."

To Captain L. L. Weld, May 18, our hero said, by letter :

"I am glad to read your letter and its commendation of General Birney. I have sent it to Secretary Stanton, with a note expressing my hope that General Birney may command in Florida, unless some sufficient military reason prevents. I have no doubt that the Secretary will consider the matter justly and kindly ; but it is a mistake to attribute to me any influence with him, or anybody else connected with the conduct of the war."

This letter will repay perusal :

"WASHINGTON, *May 19, 1864.*

"MY DEAR GOVERNOR : Few things in my public experience have given me so much satisfaction as your manifestations of sympathy and friendship, when I conferred with you as to the course I ought to take on the occasion of Blair's malignant assault, apparently indorsed by the President. I have followed your counsel then given, though at a great cost of personal feeling, because I was sure it was the counsel of a patriot and a friend. I shall never forget your expressions of personal interest, so manifestly prompted by the heart. I felt them through and through. If I ever have an opportunity to show the gratitude I feel, you shall see how real it is.

"The terrible rains have arrested the progress of Grant, and have given the rebels an opportunity to mass a large force against Butler, and force him back to his intrenchments. In one point of view this seems well enough ; for the more Butler has against him the fewer there will be to dispute the advance of Grant. To-day the skies look as if we should have some days of clear weather. My anxiety is very great ; but departmental administration allows me no voice in military matters—not even in those which most nearly concern the Treasury—and I can therefore only wait and pray and hope.

"It has become quite apparent now that the importunity of Mr. Lincoln's special friends for an early convention, in order to make his nomination sure, was a mistake both for him and for the country. The Convention will not be regarded as an Union Convention, but simply as a Blair-Lincoln Convention, by a great body of citizens whose support is essential to success. Few except those already committed to Mr. Lincoln will consider themselves bound by a predetermined nomination. Very many, who may ultimately vote for Mr. Lincoln, will wait the course of events, hoping that some popular movement for Grant, or some other successful general, will offer a better hope of saving the country. Others, and the number seems to be increasing, will not support his nomination in any event ; believing that our ill-success, thus far, in the suppression of the rebellion is due mainly to his course of action and inaction ; and that no change can be for the worse.

"But these are speculations merely from my stand-point. You see the field more clearly, because through less mist, and can cast the horoscope better than I. May God direct all aright. 'My heart's desire and prayer to Him for (America) is that (she) may be saved.'

"I went out yesterday to see our troops—the hundred-days men; but, not having taken sufficient care to inform myself of localities, failed to find any of them. I shall go again to-morrow.

"The Treasury investigation will, I think, show that the department has kept up with the demands of the times, and fully vindicate my plan of executing a large part of the work of preparing bonds and notes in the Treasury building. The improvements (machinery) made by the much abused Mr. Clark have alone made the mechanical execution of the immense work possible. Faithfully yours,

"HIS EXCELLENCY JOHN BROUGH, etc.¹

S. P. CHASE."

May 23 the Secretary wrote as follows:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., May 23, 1864.

"MY DEAR COLONEL: All right as to the note. The people are crazy, or I am. I don't see the recent military successes. Most earnestly do I pray that we may see them hereafter. *All, under God, depends on Grant. So far he has achieved very little, and that little has cost beyond computation. Still, my hope is in him. He seems the ablest and most persistent man we have. Sherman has done well, and apparently more than Grant.* I think he has good opportunities, if Mr. Lincoln will only let the black loyalists have a fair chance—that is, let them come into the army on a perfectly equal footing as to pay, chances of promotion, and right to vote on the soil which they help recover from rebellion, with white loyalists. Such a policy, honestly adopted, and manfully carried out, will save us. Nothing short of it, in my opinion, will. Without such a policy Sherman must grow weaker and weaker as he advances; and Savannah, if he ever reaches it, may be his Moscow."

Who was the "dear colonel" to whom that was written? It was, alas! none other than "Colonel" Alfred P. Stone, of Ohio! And the letter thus went on:

"I have not written a word to Ohio, I believe, on the villanous, malignant, and lying assault of the Blairs—for the Congressional

¹ May 21, Mr. Chase wrote as follows:

"SIR: You are right in thinking I take a profound interest in the success of your project for uniting Europe and America by an overland telegraphic communication, and I would willingly subscribe twenty-five or thirty thousand to the stock, if I had that amount of money at my command. I could appropriate \$5,000 to such a subscription, and will willingly do so. Please let me know in what installments subscriptions are to be paid.

"Very truly yours,

S. P. CHASE.

"O. H. Palmer, Esq., W. A. Telegraph Office, Rochester, N. Y."

general was only the mouthpiece of the trio—and its apparent indorsement by Mr. Lincoln. I did not want to say anything by way of appeal, in my personal behalf, against an indorsement of Mr. Lincoln, while the great outrage, not on me only, but on the constitution, implied in sending back Blair to the army in the way, and under the circumstances, he was sent back, remains on the record unredressed. I would not write this were it possible for the letter to reach you in time to affect the action of the convention. If the facts don't speak to the people, I have no desire to speak to them at present."

Under date, May 25, we have this letter :

MY DEAR SIR : I have read Dr. Ayres' letter with surprise and regret. I do not know to whom he alludes as a man likely to be chosen delegate to the Baltimore Convention being my own selection. Since my letter to Senator Hall, or rather through him to my friends in Ohio, and elsewhere, was written, I have neither asked, nor sought nor expected to be nominated for President. I would not take the nomination of the Baltimore Convention if it were tendered to me. The delegates have been almost all elected under pledges, express, or implied, that they will vote for the renomination of Mr. Lincoln. The nomination of any other man would be justly regarded as a fraud upon the people ; and I value conscious integrity of purpose far more than office, even the highest. I have had nothing to do with the selection of delegates to Baltimore—not one is a selection of mine in any sense ; but if there were such a man I should say to him, 'Represent honestly the wishes of the people who sent you ; avoid especially the very appearance of management to substitute any man for the man whom they prefer.'

"If the Baltimore Convention is itself a mistake the error can not be rectified by any attempt to thwart, through its members, the expectations of their constituents. Yours very truly,

"HON. L. D. STICKNEY.

S. P. CHASE."

Of the same date is the following :

"MY DARLING NETTIE. Your description of your night's alarm is capital, and gives me a good laugh in the midst of my perplexities and troubles. But I must tell you that you are allowing your handwriting to degenerate, and that you are too careless about your 'myself' and 'however,' putting them in, as it were to fill up ; and that, though paper is dear, I prefer on the whole to have you write on untorn sheets.

"Sister received some days ago your pictorial, poetical success, which ought to have been entitled 'The Neglected Young Lady. It was very funny.

"And now what else shall I tell ? In the first place we are all pretty well—very well for us. In the next place we take our meals—but nonsense.

"Dear Bishop McIlvaine has been with us and at the army. He gives most interesting accounts of the wonderful work the Christian Commission is doing. There was never anything like the self-denial,

the activity, the usefulness of these men. They seem to have the very spirit of Christ—a sort of divinity in manhood. He left us day before yesterday, and thinks of going to Europe in July. Sister would like to go too, if the governor *would* or *I* could go.

"Have you seen the '*Ferry Boy*' yet? There is a good deal of truth in it, but some embellishments.

"And here I must stop, for I have ever so much work to do before I can go home to dine.

"Your affectionate father. S. P. CHASE."

"I inclose a picture. I don't know whether you had one of these."

May 27 furnishes this letter :

"MY DEAR SIR: A letter has been shown me in which you are reported as blaming me for sending General Garfield secretly to Mr. Stanton to ask him to use his official patronage to promote my nomination for the Presidency. It is also stated that a report that I did send the general to the Secretary for that purpose is quite current in Cincinnati.

"It humbles me to see¹ such a report; but if it can obtain credence with such gentlemen as yourself may it not be a duty to do so.

"There is not a word of truth in it. Neither secretly nor openly; neither through General Garfield or any other person; neither directly nor indirectly, did I ever suggest to Mr. Stanton or any Head of Department, or to any other officer of the Government a wish for the use of official patronage in my behalf.

"Why I should be thus incessantly pursued with calumny I do not understand. I am in nobody's way, unless, perhaps, in the way of some who would like to make money out of the distresses of the country. There were some citizens who wished that I might be President, and they were men of whose preference any man might be proud; but when I saw that use of my name was likely to create strife and divisions injurious to our common cause, and that some even in high places were willing that the finances of the country, on which everything depends, should be embarrassed and damaged, if by that means I might be damaged, I gladly availed myself of the action of the Union members of the Ohio Legislature to ask that my name no longer be considered in connection with the nomination. I thought I was acting an honest and patriotic part. Since writing the letter taking my name out of the list of candidates for the nomination, I have neither sought, nor asked, nor expected it. I have been working hard to raise the means to pay and clothe and feed the soldiers and sailors of the army and navy, and to defray the costs of their great movements. My only ambition has been to contribute what I could in my place to the safety of the Republic and to promote the interests of the whole people, and especially of the laboring masses, by the permanent establishment of a sound and uniform national currency.

¹So in my copy. Probably, the word was *notice*.

"I have not after all escaped obloquy ; but I can bear it so long as my conscience testifies that I have done nothing to deserve it.

"Yours very truly,

"HON. AARON F. PERRY, Cincinnati, Ohio.

S. P. CHASE."

May 30 yields the following letter :

"DEAR SIR: I have read the letter of Lord Lyons which you left with me. It is extremely difficult to find the just mean between too much restriction and none at all. It is impossible to satisfy either those who would stop all commerce lest rebels may be supplied, or those who would abolish all restrictions whether rebels be supplied or not. Mr. Barney is required to refuse clearances whenever he has satisfactory reasons to believe that goods, destined either for a foreign or domestic port, or intended for places under the control of the insurgents; and he is required, whenever he believes it necessary, to require a bond upon each clearance in a penalty equal to the value of the cargo, with sureties to his satisfaction, that the cargo shall be delivered at the clearance destination, and that no part shall be used for aid or comfort to insurgents.

"You know how much complaint has been made against him for alleged taking of insufficient bonds on shipments to Nassau ; and I may add that he has been vehemently censured by officials in high position for not requiring, in all cases, bonds with real estate security. I am informed, indeed, that his alleged remissness has been made the subject of investigation by a military commission organized in New York.

"Now, on the other hand, come the representations of Lord Lyons against the stringency and necessary severity of his action. I will, if you think it best, send him the paragraphs of Lord Lyons' letter, relating to the security required ; or if you will send me full copies of his dispatches, I will send them to Mr. Barney with instructions to report further upon the general subject. You need no assurance that no exaction whatever is made from foreign merchants trading to British ports which is not made from American citizens trading to any port foreign or domestic from which supplies can be sent to rebels.

Very truly yours,

"HON. WM. H. SEWARD, *Secretary of the State*. S. P. CHASE."

This letter is also dated May 30 :

"MY DEAR SIR: What you said about the Albany *Evening Journal* the other day induces me to send you its most prominent article of May 24, which has been inclosed to me.

"So far as its allegations concern me personally they are utterly without warrant. In the sense intended by the words, I have never been a Presidential aspirant. Since my letter to Senator Hall, or, rather, through him to my friends in Ohio, I have avoided all thought and talk about the Presidential nomination, and have certainly neither asked nor sought nor expected it myself.

"The patronage of this department is not and never has been used with reference to that nomination. All I ask for in any officer is capacity, fidelity to trust, and devotion to Union and Liberty. If

there are sinecure officers in the New York Custom House, secretly at work to prevent the fair expression of the manifest preference of the Union men of the country, I do not know it. Every man has a right to be in a minority if he chooses, and often must be, or sacrifice his honest convictions; but no man has a right to be a sinecure office-holder or to engage in secret work to thwart the will of a majority of the political organization to which he belongs; and no such man will hold office in this department, or under it, with my consent.

"Mr. Surveyor Andrews, as you are aware, is not [an] appointee of the Secretary of the Treasury. I know nothing of his political action at Syracuse or elsewhere, except from the public prints.

"Very truly yours,

"HON. WM. H. SEWARD.

S. P. CHASE."

The same day yields the following:

"MY DEAR SIR: I was surprised to see in the *Evening Post* a statement calculated to create the impression that the Secretary of the Treasury is still issuing legal tender notes. The truth is that during this month the legal tender issues have been reduced nearly half a million of dollars, and the five per cent. treasury notes nearly fourteen millions. I have been doing my utmost to prevent inflation. The banks, without any plea of necessity, are increasing their issues, to the infinite danger of the country. The Secretary of the Treasury does not increase the circulation issues of the Government by a single dollar, except under the pressure of the most imperious necessity. The banks of the city of New York, by certified checks, turn their accumulated deposits into currency, and thus give a greater impulse to inflation than any single cause. Why not look at the matter just as it is, and claim for the country the exclusive use of the circulation, and urge that the banks be compelled to withdraw their circulation, the pressure of which is now so mischievous.

"Very truly your friend,

"W. C. BRYANT, Esq., New York.

S. P. CHASE."

Of the same date is the letter furnishing the rule of judgment given in the Introduction. It reads at length as follows:

"MY DEAR SIR: Mr. Pierce has been kind enough to send me an article written by him, and published in the *Anti-Slavery Standard*, concerning my action in the Garner case.

"I am apt to neglect the work of self-vindication. It seems, in general, best to work and let the works speak for the worker. It is a gratifying consciousness that I have never omitted known duties toward the enslaved and the oppressed; and that I have ever preferred generous appreciation of the labors of others in the cause of Human Emancipation to unjust, or even unnecessary, criticisms. It seems to me better and wiser to judge particular acts by the general tenor of life, than the general tenor of life by particular acts. When anything is imputed to me, therefore, inconsistent with my uniform course, I have thought it best to let the imputation pass unnoticed.

"Since the case of the Garners has been brought before the public by Mr. Phillips, I have had many applications for the facts; and thought it best to depart from my general rule, quite as much for the sake of the cause, always hurt in my judgment by unjust aspersions upon its supporters, as for my own. I, therefore, furnished to Mr. Pierce the statements and documents from which he has drawn a large part of his article; and he has had, I understand, the benefit of letters from some of the counsel who appeared for fugitives before the different courts. It is, I think, as nearly accurate as such papers can be.

"I inclose ten dollars; please send me receipt for subscription to the *Standard* as long as the money will pay for. God grant that long before the subscription runs out every vestige of slavery may have disappeared from North America; even that last trace of it, injustice to man because he is black. Yours truly,

"OLIVER JOHNSON, Esq. S. P. CHASE."

May 30 also yields this little letter:

"MY DEAR SIR: Mr. Walker's letter has affected me profoundly. What a noble and patriotic spirit breathes through every line! The approbation of such a man, how it outweighs the censure of thousands of narrower views and lower sentiments. God grant that he may return in renovated health, and long be spared to serve the country he is now laboring to save. Most sincerely yours,

"HON. F. P. STANTON. S. P. CHASE."

The next day, the same active pen said, in a little note to Mr. Wm. H. Aspinwall:

"If Congress would only give me the measures I need, the finances could be put on the soundest footing in six weeks. Small politics are in the way.

The eventful month of June must now receive attention. On the second day of it, the Secretary wrote as follows:

"MY DEAR MADAM: I have two letters from your honored and lamented husband, which I greatly prize as autographic mementoes of one whom the heavens have gained too soon.

"Of the first, I send you a copy. The other relates to matters which involve some unpleasant personal controversy, which, it seems to me, it would be well not to revive. The great esteem in which I hold the parties, makes me unwilling even to seem to be an agent in reviving it, by directing a copy of the letter to be made.

"With the greatest respect and esteem, Yours truly,
"MRS. JULIA M. KING. S. P. CHASE."

Of the same date is a little note to Hon. S. Hooper, saying:

"I inclose a telegram from Mr. Cisco, who is very anxious to have the Gold Bill pass immediately.

"Its passage will probably check the advance and give a little time for further measures.

"If you can put a sufficient tax on State Bank issues, to arrest their increase and insure their gradual reduction, the way to safety will be open."

To Bishop McIlvaine, the next day, was written:

"MY DEAR BISHOP: Your note is just received. I am glad everything is arranged to your satisfaction concerning your visit to Europe. May God make it very useful. My daughter has abandoned the idea of going unless her husband or I can go with her.

"I allow myself no thought concerning the Presidency; and have put the subject out of my mind ever since I wrote the letter to Senator Hall, as far as possible. It would alarm more than gratify me if I thought there was any prospect of such eventualities as Mr. A—— and your brother suggest. If I can only succeed in saving the finances I shall be happy and most thankful.

"It is a great comfort to see your address copied so widely, and so general a concurrence in its views. If the President would only throw the full weight of his influence into the scale of justice to the blacks, and especially the black loyalists of the South, I can not but think that God's blessing would follow.

"Your friend most truly,¹

S. P. CHASE."

Next we have:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., June 6, 1864.

"MY DEAR SIR: A letter from the chairman of the Loan Committee of the Associated Banks makes it important for me to go to New York to-day, at 7:30 P. M.

"Before going I shall be glad to have a short conversation with you about business before Congress. Will you have time for it, and will it be most convenient for you at your office or here?

"Yours very truly,

"THE PRESIDENT

S. P. CHASE."

The President answered in penciling, indorsed on the original of the foregoing:

"I will try to call at your office at 3 P. M., to-day, June 6, 1864.

"HON. SEC. OF TREASURY.

A. LINCOLN."

¹ Of the same date is the following:

"MY DEAR SIR: You will find inclosed with this note my reply to your invitation to the mass meeting to-morrow.

"Allow me to avail myself of this occasion for expressing to you my warmest thanks for your generous defense of my action in relation to the Fifty Per Cent. Increase Act, when lately assailed in the Chamber of Commerce. It recalled most agreeable memories of former days.

"I hope you will not think the closing sentence of my reply ill-timed or too radical. The danger of injustice, as well as its wickedness, weighs heavily on my heart; and I see no excuse for not giving utterance to something of what I feel.

"Very truly yours,

"HON. F. A. CONKLING.

S. P. CHASE."

Of the interview thus proposed, we have the following account :

"The President called about 3 o'clock, and introduced the subject of the New York Custom House by saying substantially what follows :

" 'You no doubt have supposed that Mr. Dennison has talked to me about the New York Custom House. I know no reason to doubt what he said, except that I have always thought that he was rather inclined to set himself up as a great rascal catcher. But still I should not have thought so much of what he said but for the statement made to me by Mr. Hulburd, for whom I sent, after hearing the statement of Mr. Dennison. Mr. Hulburd said that Mr. Bailey called on him, and represented that I did not desire that any investigation should be made in the Custom House matters in New York, and also stated, as a reason why no such investigation should be made, that I would not act, whatever the committee might discover. This statement, and that of Mr. Dennison, made me believe that Mr. Bailey was exercising pretty much the whole control over Custom House matters; and what confirmed me in this impression was the fact that Mr. Barney, when here some time ago, said nothing about Mr. Bailey, although he spoke quite fully of all his Custom House troubles. He said: "About two weeks before my letter to you I had made up my mind to write what I did, and concluded to send it after what Mr. Hulburd said."

" 'I left the question of Mr. Barney's successor open, because I had received letters and other communications from pretty much 'all the Union men in the New York Legislature, and in the various committees, recommending the appointment of Mr. Wakeman, and was not certain that it was best to appoint him. I thought of another person, and not that I had any objection to Mr. Wakeman, but that it might not be pleasant to you to have him appointed, because of the old controversy about him when he was named for surveyor. A good deal more was said, and what was actually said was in different language from what has just been used; but the substance is preserved.

"I answered substantially as follows: 'Since Mr. Barney was appointed collector, I have sometimes doubted his efficiency as an officer, but I have talked with him on the management of the Custom House. I have found him intelligent and thoroughly earnest in his wishes to administer it correctly. Some of those, at whose instance he was originally appointed—Mr. Opdyke, for example, and Mr. Orton—were dissatisfied with Mr. Barney while Mr. Palmer was his confidential clerk, and frequently urged me to recommend his removal to you. I never felt myself warranted in doing so, for I was satisfied as to his honesty and general capacity, and did not think a change would be likely to be an improvement. To show you how I felt in regard to the matter, I will read you what I wrote to Mr. Orton some short time since—about the time when Palmer's complicity with the Nassau frauds was discovered—in answer to a letter full of strong feeling against Mr. Barney, and of a desire for his removal.' I then read the extracts of the letter which follows: (.) I then went on to say, since Mr. Palmer's

removal there has been a great deal of clamor, but it has not shaken my confidence in Mr. Barney, and I still believe that nothing would be gained by a change. So much for Mr. Barney.

"Mr. Bailey was a clerk in the office, appointed soon after I came into the department, and employed under the solicitor. He showed himself to be a man of talent, and acquired the entire confidence of the solicitor and my own. Under the act of Congress passed about a year ago, three agents were appointed, one, Mr. Bailey, to reside in New York, and another, Mr. Gibbs, to go to Europe, and third, Mr. Briggs, for whom you wished to have me provide a place. Mr. Bailey was to watch over the interests of the department in New York connected with the revenue; Mr. Gibbs over the same interests in Europe, while Mr. Briggs was employed in the Internal Revenue Bureau, under the direction of Commissioner Lewis. Mr. Bailey performed very acceptably, and when the solicitor went to that city to investigate alleged frauds upon revenue, Mr. Bailey assisted him. These investigations have been going on for a long time, principally under the direction of the solicitor, who spent much time in New York, indeed, more than I thought the interests of the department could well permit. Within the last few months, the solicitor's duties requiring his presence here, Mr. Bailey has conducted the investigations in New York, and his action has received the approval of both myself and the solicitor. Up to the time of Palmer's arrest, Mr. Barney had but comparatively little to do with Mr. Bailey, but after that time, relied upon him very much for advice and support; and perhaps some occasion has been given for the idea that he exercises an undue control over the management of the Custom House, by his occupation of the room reserved for the President or Secretary when they visit New York, and for the reception of committees of merchants and others by the collector.

"This room was occupied by the solicitor when conducting his investigations, and Mr. Bailey took it when similarly employed. I have directed a change to be made in this respect, and I have conversed, too, with Mr. Barney in relation to Mr. Bailey, and find that, while he has much confidence in him, he does not, in the administration of the Custom House, guide himself by his judgment, or any other judgment, indeed, than his own. I think that Mr. Bailey can not have used the expression attributed to him. Indeed, Mr. Hooper assures me that Mr. Hubburd informed him that Mr. Bailey conveyed no such idea to his mind, as, that you desire that the investigations should not proceed. I think Mr. Bailey is not the fool to have made such a suggestion. As to the other expression ascribed to him, that you would not act, whatever the report of the Committee might be, I can say nothing, except that it does not seem to me likely that he used it.

"You remember that I was averse to the original appointment of Mr. Dennison. After a time, however, I changed my opinion about him. He seemed to be very active and energetic in the performance of his duties, and if I sometimes thought him too eager I regarded it as a good fault, for I had no objections to his being something of a Rascal-Catcher in the position he filled. In fact, the contingent rewards given by law to revenue officers are given in order to induce

them to be vigilant in rascal-catching. Of late, however, I have seen some reason to change my judgment. Within the last two or three days an affidavit has been taken in New York, and has been sent here, the statements of which impeach him very seriously. It was sent by Major Halpine, formerly of General Halleck's, then of General Hunter's, and now of General Dix's staff, and was taken as part of an investigation proceeding under the direction of General Dix. I then handed the affidavit to the President. I then went on to say, in my judgment the public interests do not require any change in the Collectorship of New York. If there should be a change, however, I think Mr. Barney's successor should be a man who will command the general confidence of the business community and of the public; a man whose position and character are so high that there could be no question as to the motives of his selection. Such a man, I think, is Mr. Aspinwall, Mr. Curtis Noyes, or Governor Dickinson. The President said, Mr. Noyes is a very able gentleman; and, as I have said, I am not anxious to appoint Mr. Wakeman. What would you think of Preston King? To this I replied, I should not think at all well of his appointment. He is doubtless a man of integrity, but entirely unfamiliar with the duties of the post, and would not, I think, be regarded qualified in any respect except integrity by the New York mercantile community. Here the conversation dropped; the President, as he left the room, said, I will think further of the matter, and do nothing until I have talked fully about it. I said, I think you had better see Mr. Bailey, and you can then judge better of whether he is likely to have said what is ascribed to him. He said, 'Very well, I will see him.' I said, he will be here in a day or two, and I will send him to you."

To Horace Greeley, on the 16th, Mr. Chase wrote

"MY DEAR SIR: Thanks for books —ditto for promise as to notice of R. J. W. Mean to find time to read former.

"Was in New York during most of the daylight of Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday; but so absolutely the prey of the money folk, that I had only time for one glance at my daughter. So did not see you; though I wanted to, badly.

"I mean to go in for a foreign loan now, though it galls me. If Congress would have given a good tax law, last December, and we could have managed to get along without the great bounties, it would not have been necessary. But the price of gold must and shall come down, or I'll quit and let somebody else try. Oh! if Congress would only see and act!

"Your friend,

S. P. CHASE."

The 15th furnishes this suggestive little note:

"DEAR HALE: I can give the lady you recommend a place if she is a really good accountant and writer.

"There are places for two such, and at present no places for any others I am sorry to say. Your friend,

"HON. JOHN P. HALE.

S. P. CHASE."

Conversing with Chief Justice Chase, on the subject of the rela-

tion he, as Secretary of the Treasury, had borne to the introduction of woman's work into the Treasury Department, I heard from him the modest statement, that he could not possibly see how that matter was of any special credit to him.

On the same day, the President wrote to Mr. Chase as follows :

"MY DEAR SIR: The Governor of Iowa and some of the M. C's have [given me] a little embarrassment about the removal of a Mr. Atkinson, in your department, and the appointment to the place of a Mr. Sill, I think. They claim a promise, which I know I never made, except upon the condition that you desired the removal of Atkinson. Please help me a little. If you will write me a note that you do not wish Atkinson removed, that will end the matter. On the contrary, if you do wish him removed, or even are indifferent about it, say so to me, accompanying your note with a nomination for Sill.

Yours truly,

"A. LINCOLN."

Under date June 28, a register contains this entry :

"The auditor, Mr. Atkinson, resigned to-day. Mr. Sill, of Iowa, is to take his place. Mr. Atkinson has been an excellent officer, but has been much distrusted by our friends on account of his politics. I advised him to resign, therefore, proposing to use his services in another place where the same hostility is not manifest. His health, too, requires a change. Hence his resignation."

June 16, Mr. Chase wrote as follows to Mrs. C. L. Jones :

"MY DEAR CHARLOTTE: You don't know how impossible it is for me to keep the track of our dear brothers Ben and Israel. They are soldiers, and must take their share of trials and dangers bravely, and we must hope the best while praying for them and our country.

"I want Nettie to go West and see you all, but some how the time never comes. Let us hope it may.

"Love to your dear ones.

Yours affectionately,

"S. P. CHASE."

On the same day, in a letter to Mr. Thomas Heaton, of Cincinnati, said our hero :

"I have your letter making some financial suggestions. I wish you were Secretary of the Treasury. Perhaps you would find that some things which look very feasible and very expedient in Cincinnati are wholly impracticable in Washington, and that—but I have not time for such things."

The same day we have a letter to Colonel Bannister, saying :

"Whatever people may think, it is a real relief to me to be free from the annoyance of a canvass, with a personal interest in the result.

"Yesterday I went to Fort Richardson, over the Long Bridge, to

see our noble boys in Blake's regiment. It did me good to be with them, and yet my heart ached to think what it cost the country to send such young men to war—even the outside of war. They seemed very glad to see me. We are all looking for news from Grant. May God give him victory."¹

Next day yields this note:

"DEAR SIR: Yours of the 12th is just received. I wish Congress had the courage to adopt your patriotic suggestion; and will refer your letter to the Chairman of the Committee of Military Affairs.

"Yours very truly,
"DR. J. H. PULTE,² Cincinnati, Ohio. S. P. CHASE."

And now we begin to see the clear beginning of the end of our hero's life as financier. This note is dated June 20:

"MY DEAR SIR: Will you accept the office of Assistant Treasurer? There it is—right out.

"Governor Morgan and I have talked this matter over, and have concluded that the appointment is one fit to be made; and will both be gratified if you think it is one fit to accept.

"Your friend
"DENNING DUEB, Esq. S. P. CHASE."

Here is another letter to the President:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., June 20, 1864.

"MY DEAR SIR: I inclose a letter sent to Mr. Fessenden to-day. You will appreciate the importance of the statements it makes. I do not know that you can do anything to induce the Committee to report adequate taxes; but am sure you will if you can. Mr. Fessenden and Mr. Howe are the Union members of the Conference Committee on the part of the Senate, and Mr. Hooper and Mr. Morrill on the part of the House. The whisky tax should be at least two dollars per gallon, and go into effect at once. Yours truly,

"THE PRESIDENT. S. P. CHASE."

¹Of the same date is the following:

"MY DEAR JUDGE: I shall willingly receive any suggestions from you. Your steady support of the principles I have ever advocated, and support of me in my maintenance of them, entitles you to my best wishes, and, were I in your district, as a private citizen, you would have my support for nomination, without, however, any question of the merits of your competitors. In my position here, however, I can not take part in political contests in Ohio among the friends of our common cause; nor can any officer of this department properly do so otherwise than as individual citizens. The President would never sanction any use of patronage to defeat one friend of the cause in a fair contest with another. Truly yours,

"HON. WM. LAWRENCE. S. P. CHASE."

"Your letter for Crooke is just received. I believe I received his application as brigadier, and shall cheerfully do the little I can to have him appointed major-general. He deserves it."

²Dr. Pulte is the homeopathic doctor mentioned in another chapter, *post*.

To F. Kuhne, Esq., of New York, June 21, the Secretary wrote as follows:

"DEAR SIR: On receiving your telegram I felt much disposed to go to New York to-night; but the great importance of the matters pending in Congress, and the absolute necessity of giving them personal attention, makes it impossible for me to do so without more loss than gain.

"There is not the slightest reason for any rise in the price of gold, either in the financial or military situation. The currency is much less than it has been at any time for three months, and Grant is, I think, surely moving toward the final defeat of the rebellion concentrated at Richmond. It is a great work; but it is in the hands of an able leader and brave troops, and, with God's blessing, will be accomplished. There is every reason for hope and none for despair.

"I have written to Mr. Cisco, and also to Mr. Cooke, of Philadelphia, and have authorized them to take whatever measures in their judgment are best calculated for the public interest. I shall be prepared to enter actively upon the subject of a foreign loan as soon as the bill shall have passed."

Of the same date is the following letter to Jay Cooke, Esq.:

"The Treasurer and Assistant-Treasurer are authorized to receive subscriptions for 1881 bonds at six per cent. premium. They can supply purchasers for resale at $\frac{1}{2}$.

"Your suggestion, through Mr. Moorhead, to offer the untaken balance of loan, say \$35,000,000, to competition, not admitting any offer of less than $5\frac{1}{2}$ premium, and giving preference to successful subscribers to old loan, is a good one in itself; but it is difficult to see how it can be practically and acceptably carried out. I would offer the balance in some such way, were I sure of takers beforehand; but it would hurt all to offer and fail.

"The rise in gold is alarming. There is nothing in the financial or military condition to warrant it. As you go to New York to-morrow, you may consider yourself authorized to take such measure, in concert with Mr. Cisco, as will arrest it. If a foreign loan can be negotiated through the agency of Messrs. Kuhne and Marx, you may arrange all the preliminary details, to be submitted to me. I will do anything that is just and right to supply all the foreign exchange needed.

"I can not well leave Washington till the Loan Bill shall have passed. This may be to-morrow. After its passage, I shall not lose a moment. Meantime let us hope for good tidings from Richmond.

"I am sure that all is going on well at Richmond, though time is needed. Grant, God willing, will win."¹

¹ In a letter of the 22d, to Mr. Thomas Heaton, is the paragraph:

"Reports reach me that our young friend, Mullett, has been indulging in pretty free political talk. If you *know* this to be so you may tell him I have heard it, and that you think he should resign. There is difficulty between him and Mr. Rogers and I don't want to have any question between them added to my cares."

CHAPTER XLII.

THE SECRETARY'S RESIGNATION—CHASE AND LINCOLN.

JUNE 24 affords this record of most anxious thought:

"Another anxious day. What will be the result of the summer campaign? Can we keep Grant and Sherman so furnished with men and means that they can inflict decisive blows on the rebellion?

"My part is to supply, if possible, the means; and where am I to find them? The currency is depreciated less—though much—by surcharge than by the distrust which seems to be gradually pervading the public mind, especially the mind of that class whose conclusions—half instinctive, half reasoned—determine the degree of confidence in governments and institutions.

"Under these circumstances, to increase the circulation will merely aggravate our greatest financial evil—that of disordered commerce and prices unnaturally high. It should be diminished rather than increased. Can this be done? Not without large taxes or large loans.

"A committee from New York, introduced by Senator Morgan, called this morning to urge modification or repeal of the Gold Act. Their arguments should, I said, be addressed to Congress rather than to me; but I was glad to hear their views. Some, especially Mr. James Brown, of Brown Brothers & Co., Mr. Hoffman, of Colegate & Hoffman, Mr. Ward, of Ward, Campbell & Co., argued for repeal; if repeal impossible, for modification. Their arguments were substantially these: (1.) Absolute freedom of trade secures lowest prices. True, in certain conditions of market, individuals or combinations may monopolize whole supply and exact their own prices from those who must have the article monopolized, as gold, for example, but this evil less than restrictive regulation. (2.) Convenience to merchants of public sales over those of gold-gambling rooms as giving a standard of price. The complaints of practical inconvenience were principally of the supposed necessity to pay notes in hand for gold bought, when check would be much more convenient; and of the supposed prohibition against buying exchange for gold. I could not see that license to gambling was essential to freedom of trade; and said that under the act, as I understood it, there could be no objection to *public* sales; or to the use of checks on actual deposits, and paid during the day, to direct purchasers of exchange for gold. One gentleman suggested that Congress should expressly authorize loans of gold to be repaid in gold; and sales, not of exchange only, but of all merchandize, for gold. I saw no objections to loans of gold for gold; but sales such as proposed would repeal the legal

tender law. The conversation was good-tempered on both sides, and to me instructive.

"The Internal Revenue Bill remains with the Committee of Conference, but it is expected that they will report to-morrow. It is apprehended that the bill will not impose taxes enough to bring the residue of expenses within the reach of loans. Mr. Orton came to-night from New York at my request; and will devote himself to careful examination of the bill and amendments, and estimate the probable revenue as nearly as possible.

"Spent some time with Mr. Taylor, who, by my direction, has been engaged in preparing a bill, or measure, to authorize the sale of gold and silver lands. I can not but think that fee simple titles in mines will tend powerfully to their most productive working. He has conferred with Senator Conness, Commissioner Edwards, and others, and has finally prepared a bill, which seems to me adequate. I directed him to put it into the form of a section to be added, by way of amendment, to a bill authorizing the sales of lands embracing coal mines, which has passed the Senate and is in the House. This was done, and I prepared letters to Mr. Julian, Chairman of the Public Lands Committee, and Senator Conness; and instructed Mr. Taylor to confer with Senator C—— and the California delegation, and, if they approved the amendment, to Mr. Julian, and try to have the bill adopted. If the measure succeeds it will work quite a revolution.¹

June 25, 1864, Secretary Chase wrote as follows :

DEAR SIR: Since receiving your letter of the 10th of June, I have been endeavoring to find some successor of Mr. Cisco, equal to the place, and possessed of the entire confidence of the public. As yet I have been unsuccessful, and, in conversation with Senator Morgan on the subject, he agreed to write you, urging your reconsideration of your declension. I have also written to Mr. Cisco expressing my sentiments. Let me urge you to reconsider your conclusion, and let your country, in this exigency, have the benefit of your services. Very truly yours, S. P. CHASE.

"JOHN A. STEWART, Esq., U. S. Trust Co., 48 Wall St., N. Y."²

¹"Note" (by Mr. Chase).—"The amendment was approved and came very near success. It is possible, had not the necessity of my resignation arisen, I might have carried it through. It will probably engage the attention of Congress at the next session, and become a law."

²Of the same date is the following:

"MY DEAR SIR: I have inclosed to Mr. Stevens, as Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, the bill of which I spoke to you last evening. Under it, if passed, an effectual check can be put upon fraudulent speculation; the care of abandoned plantations, and of the freedmen, can be well provided for, and large amounts of money can be secured to the Government without any charge whatever to the Treasury.

"In the present condition of our finances, such a bill becomes more than ever important. If it had been in force during the past year, a hundred millions of dollars could have been saved to the Treasury; at least fifty millions of exchange

Sunday, June 26, the diary of Secretary Chase received this addition :

"This day was given to what seemed necessary labor. It was extremely important to know whether a gentleman, invited to accept the Assistant-Treasurship, at New York, would consent to do so, and to set in motion the advertising for the new loan, and to prepare for an appeal to Congress to make up the deficiencies in taxes. The day was therefore mainly devoted to these objects. Dr. Elder came in and dined with me; no one at home besides myself.

Dr. Elder, the biographer of Dr. Kane, was a great favorite with Mr. Chase.

The next day Mr. Chase called on Senator Morgan to consult about Assistant-Treasurer at New York, and told him that he had concluded to recommend Mr. Field. The Senator thought the Secretary had better name Mr. Gregory or Mr. Blatchford. Mr. Chase replied that either gentleman would be entirely acceptable to him personally, but he thought the public interests would, on the whole, be best consulted by the appointment of Mr. Field. Mr. Morgan said that Mr. Jones, of Brooklyn, Chairman of the Union Committee, had brought a list of clerks and officers under Mr. Cisco, and that there was but some half dozen Union men among them, all the rest being Democrats.

Having so stated, the diary proceeds as follows :

"I replied that I thought the statement erroneous, and that on fair inquiry, it would be found that of the persons called Democrats the largest proportion are of the same class with Andrew Johnson."

How queerly that reads now, after all that has since happened, including, prominently, the impeachment of that same Andrew Johnson in a court in which Chase presided!

But the diary proceeds to say :

"At the department; Mr. Freeman Clarke called, and I talked the matter over with him. He seemed to prefer Mr. Field. I told him if he would take it, I would send his name to the President at once. He said his health would not allow him to do so, and if it would he could not do so on other grounds. I asked him to confer with the Senators and report, telling him I must decide to-day. Having waited to hear from him till about four, and having meantime conferred fully with Mr. Field, whom I found even a more decided sup-

in Europe could have been provided, and severe military disasters would have been averted.

"Yours truly,

"HON. R. E. FENTON, H. R.

S. P. CHASE."

porter of the administration than Johnson was at the time of his nomination, I went to the Capitol to see him. He was neither in the House nor Senate, and I then sent to the department, thinking that, in the meantime, he might have gone thither. The messenger returned, reporting that he had not been there, and I at once sent Mr. Field's name to the President, about half past four.

"In the course of the morning, Mr. Orton, whom I had summoned from New York to examine the Internal Revenue Bill, and ascertain what revenue might be expected, and to give me also his judgment as to the sources from which the deficiency, if any, might be caused, made his report. He estimated the net product at 2 7-10 mills for the next fiscal year, and submitted a paper, showing how the deficiency of eighty millions could be made up. I directed him to have a bill prepared for the taxes suggested by him. I have repeatedly argued to Committee and the President that we can not well sustain the existing somewhat reduced rate of expenditure without a revenue from taxes and duties of \$400,000,000. In a recent letter upon the assumption, admitted to be improbable, that expenditures might be reduced to \$750,000,000, I forced the amount with which we might get along, at one-half or \$375,000,000. I mean to send the bill for the additional taxes to Congress and the President, and insist on it.

"These are the most important matters of the day. Talk about trade regulations, various applications for permits and positions, revision of Sprague's proposed remarks about Blair's charge against him of cotton speculations, correspondence and conversation about Gold Bill, occupied most of the day.

"One thing merits record. Having received a telegram from Mr. Barney about 6 P. M., inquiring when the operation of the joint resolution, increasing duties for sixty days would cease, and having satisfied myself that, on the construction already given, that it took effect on the day of its approval, it would cease to-day at midnight, I conferred with Mr. Hooper, who happened to be with me, and having ascertained that Congress had taken no step to extend its operation, except to put such a provision in the tariff bill, not yet passed, requested him to introduce a joint resolution to extend the time till the first of July. He drew one immediately, and promised. The result was the introduction of this joint resolution—its passage through the House and Senate—its approval by the Senate,¹ and its communication by telegraph to all the collectors before midnight."²

¹*Sc.*

²The following letters are of interest in this connection:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., June 26, 1864.

"MY DEAR SIR: Senator Morgan promised me yesterday or the day before, that he would write to Mr. Stewart, urging him to accept the post as Assistant-Treasurer, so soon to be vacated by you. I have no doubt that he has done so. Please see him immediately, and second Senator Morgan's endeavor. I should feel safe with him, and know not with whom else I should feel safe, or at least so safe. Let me know the result by telegraph to-morrow, that I may be able to act definitely on Monday.

"I see the *Evening Post* admits articles of the worst sort against my acts. It may be wise and right to do so, but I can not see it. Much of the representation is

Next, this letter from the President demands attention :

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, June 28, 1864.

"*Hon Secretary of the Treasury :*

"MY DEAR SIR: Yours, inclosing a blank nomination for Maunsell B. Field, to be Assistant-Treasurer at New York, was received yesterday. I can not, without much embarrassment, make this appointment, principally because of Senator Morgan's very firm opposition to it. Senator Harris has not yet spoken to me on the subject, though I understand he is not averse to the appointment of Mr. Field; nor yet to any one of the three named by Senator Morgan, rather preferring of them, however, Mr. Hillhouse. Governor Morgan tells me he has mentioned the three names to you, to-wit: R. M. Blatchford, Dudley S. Gregory, and Thomas Hillhouse. It will really oblige me if you will make choice among those three, or any other man that Senators Morgan and Harris will be satisfied with, and send me a nomination for him.

"Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN."

Here is a telegram of special interest to us at present:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., June 28, 1864.

"Let me urge you, respectfully but earnestly, to withdraw your resignation, and give the country the benefit of your services at least one quarter longer. Let nothing except the absolute requirements of your health prevent your consent. S. P. CHASE.

"JOHN J. CISCO, Esq., Assistant-Treasurer, New York.

"To be delivered at office or residence immediately."

hearsay and false, and the inferences are no better than the premises. But it is vain to expect justice.

Yours truly,

"JOHN J. CISCO Esq.

S. P. CHASE."

"WASHINGTON, D. C., June 26, 1864.

"MY DEAR SIR: I inclose a couple of slips, one from an editorial of the *Evening Post*, and the other from an article admitted into its columns, with some notes on the last.

"For good-tempered, practical criticism I am always grateful, and even from ill-tempered I try to draw lessons. Such articles as that of the "Loyal Private Banker" belong to neither class. Made up of false and distorted statements of facts, and gross imputations of dishonest and dishonorable motives, they derive their only claim to consideration from admission into such papers as the *Evening Post*.

"I think that under the circumstances I ought to know the name of the writer. I especially desire it, that I may not impute his calumnies, even in thought, to the wrong person. If you do not dissent from this view, will you give it to me?

"There is One who knows with what fidelity I have endeavored to serve this country; with what anxiety to know and to do what is best for the people, and with what absolute disregard of personal and private considerations. With Him I dare trust my cause.

Yours very truly,

"WM. C. BRYANT, Esq.

S. P. CHASE."

The same day, the diary reports as follows :

"How beautiful and excellent is the order and progress which St. Paul enjoins and illustrates in his letter to the Ephesians! Oh! if the world could but learn that lesson, how anxieties and perplexities would lighten and pass away with the clashes and jars and wars which bring them. May God, in His infinite mercy, send us peace, with Union and freedom.

"This morning I read part of Paul to the Ephesians, and, as usual, endeavored to seek God in prayer. Oh, for more faith and clearer sight! How stable is the City of God! How disordered is the City of Man!

"At the department received a note from the President, saying that Senator Morgan strongly opposed the nomination of Mr. Field in place of Mr. Cisco. Replied, asking an interview, but received no answer. He may not wish one; or, what is more probable, allows himself to forget the request. He asks the nomination of R. S. Blatchford or Dudley S. Gregory, neither of whom, I fear, is the proper man to take charge of the office at this critical juncture, though either would be entirely acceptable to me personally. I fear Senator Morgan desires to make a political engine of the office, and loses sight, in this desire, of the necessities of the service.

"Received a note from Senator Morrill, informing me that the Trade Bill has passed the Senate, and from Mr. Hooper that the Loan Bill passed the House by concurrence in all the Senate amendments. He had vainly endeavored to procure a modification of one, so as to let the Government pay for stock used in engraving its notes, instead of allowing the same stock to be used in preparation of other circulation, and exclude the use of green pigment from all notes and bonds, letting Government remunerate any patentee. Congress preferred to risk the evils to the national note circulation.

"Went to House, and talked with Mr. Hooper and Mr. Washburne about Trade Bill, and urged importance of it. I do this reluctantly, because of the labor it will impose on me, and because of the odium which its interference with private speculations and naval enterprise will be sure to excite against me. I wish we could have good commissioners to manage these things, and also loans. But the President would almost certainly put in men from political considerations, and, after all, the responsibility would still be on me.

"Returning to department, conferred with Mr. Orton and Acting-Commissioner Rollins (Int. Rev.) about Supplementary Tax Bill. Both agreed that the revenue for fiscal year, commencing next Friday, would not exceed two hundred and twenty or two hundred and twenty-five millions; whereas three hundred millions at least is necessary. In accordance with my instructions they had prepared a new bill, which, with their statements and a letter of my own, I propose to send to Congress to-morrow—another great and painful responsibility!

"Telegraphed Mr. Cisco, urging him to withdraw resignation, and serve at least another quarter, and wrote to President what I had done, and why I could not honestly, in duty to him or to the country, recommend at this time either of the names he had suggested.

"In the evening went up to the Capitol. The Senate was holding an evening session, and Garrett Davis was making a rambling, violent speech for slavery, abusing the President, against the Freedmen's Bureau Bill, then under consideration. Talked to some of the Senators; found that the House was not in session, and so came home."

Here are two documents of cognate interest:

[Private.]

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C., June 28, 1864.

"Hon. Secretary of Treasury:

"MY DEAR SIR: When I received your note this forenoon, suggesting a conversation—a verbal conversation—in relation to the appointment of a successor to Mr. Cisco, I hesitated, because the difficulty does not, in the main part, lie within the range of a conversation between you and me. As the proverb goes, no man knows so well where the shoe pinches as he who wears it. I do not think Mr. Field a very proper man for the place; but I would trust your judgment, and forego this, were the greater difficulty out of the way. Much as I personally like Mr. Barney, it has been a great burden to me to retain him in his place, when nearly all our friends in New York were, directly or indirectly, urging his removal. Then the appointment of Hogeboom to be General Appraiser, brought me to, and has ever since kept me, at, the verge of open revolt. Now, the appointment of Mr. Field would precipitate in it, unless Senator Morgan, and those feeling as he does, could be brought to concur in it. Strained as I already am at this point, I do not think I can make this appointment in the direction of still greater strain.

"The testimonials of Mr. Field, with your accompanying notes, were duly received, and I am now waiting to see your answer from Mr. Cisco.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN."

"WASHINGTON, D. C., June 29, 1864.

"MY DEAR SIR: I have received your note and have read it with great attention. I was not aware of the extent of the embarrassment to which you refer. In recommendations for office I have sincerely sought to get the best men for the places to be filled without reference to any other classification than supporters and opponents of your administration. Of the latter I have recommended none; among the former I have desired to know no distinction except degrees of fitness.

"The withdrawal of Mr. Cisco's resignation, which I inclose, relieves the present difficulty; but I can not help feeling that my position here is not altogether agreeable to you; and it is certainly too full of embarrassment and difficulty and painful responsibility, to allow in me the least desire to retain it.

"I think it my duty, therefore, to inclose to you my resignation. I shall regard it as a real relief if you think proper to accept it, and will most cheerfully render to my successor any aid he may find useful in entering upon his duties.

"With the greatest respect, yours truly,

"THE PRESIDENT.

S. P. CHASE."

I next invite attention to a capitally interesting document :

"WASHINGTON, D. C., June 29, 1864.

"SIR : I respectfully resign the office of Secretary of the Treasury, which I have the honor to hold under your appointment.

"With greatest respect,

"THE PRESIDENT.

S. P. CHASE."

The letter of the President, accepting the resignation of Mr. Chase, is dated June 30, and it reads as follows :

"Hon. Salmon P. Chase :

"MY DEAR SIR: Your resignation of the office of Secretary of the Treasury, sent me yesterday, is accepted. Of all I have said in commendation of your ability and fidelity I have nothing to unsay; and yet you and I have reached a point of mutual embarrassment in our official relations which it seems can not be overcome or longer sustained consistently with the public service.

"Your obedient servant,

"A. LINCOLN."¹

¹Now, I must again invite attention to that book of Mr. Field, entitled *Memories of Many Men and of Some Women*. It begins, page 296, a chapter in this fashion :

"A correct version of the circumstances which induced and accompanied Mr. Chase's withdrawal from Mr. Lincoln's Cabinet has never, to my knowledge, been given to the public. About the first of June, 1864, Mr. Cisco tendered to the President, through the Secretary of the Treasury, his peremptory resignation of the office of Assistant Treasurer of the United States at New York, to take effect immediately after the close of the fiscal year, viz., on the 1st of July. Efforts were unsuccessfully made to induce him to withdraw it, and it then became necessary to find somebody to take his place. A furious competition for the office immediately sprang up. Mr. Chase, after a few days, went to New York, where he remained some time. He offered the position to three leading bankers, but they declined it. He then returned to Washington, and remained inactive upon the subject until very late in the month. One morning he sent for me, and told me that he had some time before decided to nominate me to the President; but that, equally to his surprise and regret, a gentleman of high position and great influence had called upon him and objected to the nomination. However, he had ordered his carriage and intended to go directly to the Senate, and canvass that body on the subject; and, if he found that I would be confirmed, he would send my name to the President that very afternoon. In conclusion he desired me to call at his house." Page 296.

The narrative of Mr. Field ambles forward in this fashion :

"Accordingly, at the appointed time, I went there. Mr. Chase told me that he had spent two hours upon the floor of the Senate, and that he thought I would be unanimously confirmed; that even the gentleman who opposed me would not, he believed, carry his opposition so far as to vote against my confirmation. I thus knew that the gentleman to whom he had referred in the morning was a senator, and I fancied that he must be a senator from New York. As I was acquainted with

According to Mr. Maunsell B. Field himself, Mr. Lincoln, in a conversation with him in 1864, gave a very characteristic account of his reasons for not making Mr. Field the Right Arm of our hero. I confess, I turned with something quite like eagerness to the pages in *Memories of Many Men and of Some Women* in which that conversation is reported by our "Cabinet Smasher."

Mr. Field's account of what Lincoln said to him about that matter is, in the first place, mere hearsay. How all hearsay is to be regarded who has yet to learn? Moreover, we have already seen that Mr. Field is evidently not a person fondly in love with accuracy. Nextly, Mr. Field is clearly interested in the statement here in question.

the favorable disposition of one of them toward me, I had no difficulty in concluding in my own mind who it was that was hostile to my nomination. Mr. Chase had already sent my name to the President, and he desired me to leave for New York that very evening, so as to arrange for my official bonds, and be prepared to assume the duties of the office on the 1st of July. I objected to this under the circumstances; but I promised the Secretary that I would take my departure immediately after Mr. Lincoln should nominate me to the Senate."

Then we have a statement as to the recommendation of our author, signed by every Union member of the Lower House from the State of New York, and indorsed by the friendly senator.

Mr. Field, however, was not nominated to the Senate on that day! The next day, he says, Mr. Chase again sent for him, and told him about a letter from Mr. Lincoln, expressing the latter's disinclination to nominate Mr. Field on account of the opposition of one of the New York senators, and inviting Mr. Chase to a conference upon the subject.

"Mr. Chase, instead of calling," continues Mr. Field, "replied by letter. For several days communications were passing between him and the President. This correspondence, however, I have never seen. Finally, one day, as I was discharging my official duties as usual, with the room full of people, Mr. Schuckers rushed in, and whispered in my ear, 'We have no longer a Secretary; Mr. Chase has resigned, and the President has accepted his resignation!' Thereupon, I went directly to Mr. Chase, and asked him if the news which I had just heard was true. He answered in the affirmative. I then requested his permission to tender my own resignation to the President."

How delicate, how sweet, how eminently proper, that request of Mr. Field to be permitted to tender his own resignation to the President! But fate was not in favor of that tender tendering of a resignation. Mr. Field subjoins:

"He told me that such action would look factious and must not be thought of."

Amiable and submissive Mr. Field did not insist on laying down his office. He consented, no doubt sighingly, to remain in place.

"The afternoon of the day of the acceptance of Mr. Chase's resignation I was upon the floor of the House of Representatives; members flocked around me, eager for information, and I was addressed by the facetious title of 'Cabinet Smasher.'"

After all, however, I quite willingly give him the benefit of this statement, made by him in the work of which we have already more than once admired the taking title:

"Mr. Chase had been out of the department nearly two months, when I happened to be spending an evening with Mr. Seward. In the course of the conversation, I referred to the transaction which had resulted in an exchange of the Treasury portfolio, and explained the reasons which had induced Mr. Lincoln to decline nominating me as Assistant-Treasurer at New York, as I then understood them, viz.: that he was unwilling to appoint to so important an office one of Democratic antecedents; that he had recognized the propriety of retaining Mr. Cisco, notwithstanding his politics, on account of his eminent services before and since the war; but that he thought that, if a change was to be made, the office should be treated as strictly party property. Mr. Seward assured me that I took an entirely erroneous view of the matter, and advised me to seek a personal explanation from the President. I asked Mr. Seward to have a preliminary talk with Lincoln upon the subject, which he kindly promised to do. I may here observe that Mr. Chase's feeling had been that the Assistant-Treasurer at New York being his right arm,¹ he ought not to be interfered with in making such a selection.

"A few days later I walked over to the Executive Mansion at about two o'clock in the afternoon. The President's ante-chamber was crowded with people awaiting an audience, but"——

That little word, but, is often full of prophecy. It is so now. The modest narrative of Mr. Field goes on as follows:

"But as soon as Mr. Lincoln received my card he gave orders to admit me. I expected to be with him ten minutes, at the utmost, but"——

But again! A still finer but, at that; for Mr. Field has forced himself to narrate farther in this fashion:

"But he detained me nearly two hours."

Detain is a good word. Detain me is a good phrase. The narrative proceeds as follows

"The interview was, altogether, one of the most interesting and amusing I ever had in my life."

Yet Lincoln had no French!² He had no French, and yet he was amusing to our traveled author! Mr. Field proceeds:

"The President received me with great cordiality, and I began to repeat to him substantially what I had said to Mr. Seward. He lis-

¹O modest Maunsell! How it must have pained thy pen to write those words!

²Ante, page 405.

tened to me laughingly, but impatiently, shaking his head all the time. When I got through, he said: 'You are altogether on the wrong track. Why, didn't I nominate, as Chase's successor, Dave Tod, who has been all his life a Democrat, and who worked and voted for Douglas and against me? No, sir; I will tell you all about it. The Republican party in your State is divided into two factions, and I can't afford to quarrel with either of them. By accident, rather than by any design of mine, the Radicals have got possession of the most important Federal offices in New York. I care nothing whatever about your personal politics. You were pressed by Mr. Chase and opposed by Senator ———. Had I, under these circumstances, consented to your appointment, it would have been another Radical triumph, and I couldn't afford one. That is all there is about it, so far as you are concerned.'

It occurs to me that Mr. Maunsell B. Field could hardly have seemed to Abraham Lincoln dexterous enough to be the Right Arm of our hero as a financier.

But now let us ascend to loftier contemplations. Under date, June 30, a diary of Secretary Chase contains this language:

"So my official life closes. I have laid broad foundations. Nothing but wise legislation, and especially bold, yet judicious, provision of taxes, with fair economy in administration, and energetic, yet prudent, military action (the last of which seems to be evidenced by the position of Grant at the head of our armies—oh! may he have troops and supplies enough!) seems necessary to insure complete success. The Insurrectionary District Trade Bill will give the departments the power to regulate trade more efficiently than heretofore, and to take to the use of the Government the profits of purchase and sale of the staples of the rebel States. Not only can many abuses be now corrected, but a pecuniary benefit can be derived to the Government of not less, I think, than \$25,000,000. The Tax Bill, it is true, is inadequate, but Congress may give to my successor, under the alarm created by the change, what would not be yielded to me; and, even if taxes can not be increased, a tolerable showing can be made. The provisions I have secured with so much difficulty in the Tax Bill, requiring monthly returns of banks and monthly collection of taxes, and high taxes on excess beyond existing circulation, or any circulation beyond ninety per cent. of capital, will, I think, certainly prevent an increase of bank-note circulation, and secure some slight reduction. This, to be sure, leaves almost the whole burden of reduction upon loans; but something, at least, can be done in this way, also, for the next six months, when Congress will have been again in session a month, and will have had an opportunity to supply what is now lacking. With these advantages, and with all the great work of administration already inaugurated and blocked out, and, especially, with the still greater advantage of not having the inside and outside hostility to encounter, which I have been obliged to meet, my successor, I think, can get on pretty well. If he fails anywhere, without his own fault, it

will be on the side of loans, or under the pressure of military disaster. What I can do to help him I will, for the country's sake, most gladly."

Here is the language of an interesting letter on the same subject:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., June 30, 1864.

"MY DEAR SIR: I felt myself bound yesterday to send my resignation to the President. It would have been grateful to me to be able to consult you; but I feared you might be prompted by your generous sentiments to take some step injurious to the country. To-day my resignation has been accepted; and, if you have not been informed of it, it is due to you that I should give you the information as soon as received by myself. Yours faithfully,

"HON. E. M. STANTON.

S. P. CHASE."

Under date June 30, Mr. Chase made this entry in his diary:

"Among those who called during the day was Mr. Hooper, who related a conversation with the President some days ago, in which the President expressed regret that our relations were not more free from embarrassment, saying that when I came to see him he felt awkward, and that I seemed constrained. At the same time he expressed his esteem for me, and said that he had intended, in case of vacancy in the Chief Justiceship, to tender it to me, and would now, did a vacancy exist. This, he said, he remarked to show his real sentiments toward me; for he remembered that not long after we took charge of the Administration, I had remarked one day that I preferred judicial to administrative office, and would rather, if I could, be Chief Justice of the United States than hold any other position that could be given me. Mr. Hooper said that he thought this was said to him in order to be repeated to me, and that he had sought an opportunity of doing so, but had not found one. I said that it was quite possible, had any such expressions of good will reached me, I might, before the present difficulty arose, have gone to him and had a fresh understanding, which would have prevented it; but I did not now see how I could change my position.

"Indeed, if such were the real feelings of Mr. Lincoln, he would hardly have refused a personal interview when I asked it, or required me to consult local politicians in the choice of an officer whose character and qualifications were so vitally important to the department. Besides, I did not see how I could carry on the department without more means than Congress was likely to supply, and amid the embarrassments created by factious hostility within, and both factious and party hostility without the department."

On going to the department, June 30, Mr. Chase found that Mr. Fessenden had been there, and left word that he desired to meet the former at the Capitol. So, Mr. Chase, after signing a letter to the President, commending to his attention the Secretary's letter to the Committee of Ways and Means, and the state-

ments and estimates of Mr. Orton, went to the Capitol. Mr. Fessenden had not yet returned; but, on the way, Mr. Chase had read a letter from a Mr. Dole, urging the repeal of the Gold Bill. This letter had been left by Mr. Fessenden for perusal by Mr. Chase. When the former came in, he and the Secretary talked the subject over, and Mr. Fessenden desired the views of Mr. Chase.

"I told him," says the latter in his diary, "that I never expected great benefits from such legislation; but that I thought it hardly wise to yield to the clamor of the opponents of this particular act; that the rise of gold did not, in my judgment, come from this law as a permanent cause, though doubtless its tendency, in the particular condition of the market, was to cause a rise; and that, as there were no probabilities of sales in it, nothing but simple restrictions upon gambling, and restraint of operations to legitimate channels, I thought it best to let it alone at this session; but should be entirely satisfied whatever the Committee and Congress might do.

"Mr. Morrill, of Vermont," continues Mr. Chase, "came in during our conversation, and spoke of the proposition I had made to increase taxes. He was adverse to it. In his opinion, the bill already passed would yield some thirty-one millions more than Orton's estimate. I replied, that, admitting there might be such improvement or increase, still the revenue would fall far short of half the expenditure, and it would be impossible to borrow the remainder on fair terms. On conversation with Mr. Orton, afterward, I found that Mr. Morrill had omitted to take into the account the important circumstance that the increase he expects will not, even if realized, go into the next fiscal year, but into the year following.

"While we were talking, a messenger came in to summon Mr. Fessenden to the Senate. The messenger said something privately, and he [Mr. Fessenden] came back to me, saying, 'Have you resigned? I am called to the Senate, and told that the President has sent in the nomination of your successor.' I told him I had tendered my resignation, but had not been informed till now of its acceptance. He expressed his surprise and disappointment, and we parted, he to the Senate and I to the department. There I found a letter from the President, accepting my resignation, and putting the acceptance on the ground of the difference between us, indicating a degree of embarrassment in our official relations which could not be continued or sustained consistently with the public service. I had found a good deal of embarrassment from him; but what he had found from me I could not imagine, unless it has been caused by my unwillingness to have offices distributed as spoils or benefits, with more regard to the claims of divisions, factions, cliques, and individuals, than to fitness of selection. *He had never given me the active and earnest support I was entitled to; and even now Congress was about to adjourn without passing sufficient tax bills, though making appropriations with lavish profusion, and he was, notwithstanding my appeals, taking no pains to insure a different result.*"

The first day of July, 1864, was marked, as to Salmon Portland Chase, by the writing of this not deeply studied letter:

"DEAR SIR: Your note came after I had tendered my resignation to the President; and I have not had the pleasure of seeing your article.

"It was my practice, while charged with the conduct of the Treasury Department, to read all that my time allowed, which came to me in the way of information or counsel. Both were often contradictory, but often useful suggestions were found. After all, however, it was my duty to form my own plans and adhere to my own conclusions, formed, as all plans and conclusions must be, with reference to the actual condition of things.

"If working men can not contribute suggestions meriting careful consideration, I do not know who can.

"Yours very truly,

S. P. CHASE.

"I. V. FINCHER, Esq., *Office Fincher's Trades Review*, Phila., Pa."

Here is a letter to a workman of a higher order:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., July 1, 1864.

"MY DEAR SIR: Congress will adjourn so soon, and the members will all be so busy, that I can not advise you to bring your picture to Washington now. I congratulate you on its completion, and shall be glad to take another admiring look at it when I come to New York, if by any means I can find the time.

"Mrs. Sprague is in Rhode Island, and my other daughter is with her.

Yours very truly,

"WM. H. POWELL, Esq.

S. P. CHASE."

The same day affords this entry:

"This morning the papers contained telegrams, announcing that Governor Tod declines to take the Treasury Department. On receiving this information, the President sent to the Senate the name of Mr. Fessenden—a wise selection. He has the confidence of the country, and many who have become inimical to me will give their confidence to him and their support. Perhaps they will do more than they otherwise would to sustain him, in order to show how much better a Secretary he is than I was. If so, the country will gain even by hostility to me, transmuted into friendship for him."

What a strange selection was that of David Tod to succeed Chase! The sagacity of Lincoln was a queer sagacity, after all.

July 1 yields also the following statement and commentary:

"Governor Moorhead called and related briefly an interview between himself and Mr. Williams and the President. They had attempted to induce him to send for me with a view to my return to the department; but he would not consent to this. He thought we could not agree, and it was without use; and in this he was, I think, right. I can not sympathize with his notion, more than once ex-

pressed to me and others, that the best policy is to have no policy, and he can not sympathize with my desires for positive and energetic action. It is best that he try somebody else. They had then mentioned to him Mr. Howe, of Pittsburg, as a proper person for Secretary; but found him not inclined to this. The conversation preceded Tod's declination, and had reference to the probability that the Senate might not confirm the nomination."

Under date July 1, appears also the following set of sentences:

"The day was given to writing letters and to conversation with others who called. In the evening Fessenden came in, immediately after dinner, or rather just before finishing dinner. Nobody but Senator Sprague and myself were at the table, and he introduced the subject of his nomination. He expressed an extreme aversion to acceptance—fears of inability to carry on the department, and especially a strong apprehension that his health would give way. He had, he said, begun to [write] a note declining, but had been prevented from finishing it by constant interruptions and had received so many and such urgent appeals to accept, that he was greatly embarrassed, and wanted my advice. I told [him] I thought he ought to accept—that all the great work of the department was now fairly blocked out and in progress—that the organization was planned and in many parts complete, and in all in a state which admitted completion—that is, so far as completeness could be said of anything needing constant supervision, and allowing constant development and improvement. His most difficult task would be to provide money. He would now see, I thought, how important sufficient taxation was, and that the department ought to have been helped by some legislation; asked, but denied. But he would have advantages which I had not. I had been obliged to inaugurate the national banking system, and to claim the circulation for the whole country through their ———, and had necessarily encountered the ill-will of those whose prejudices or interests bound them to the support of the old system; and I had necessarily also given offense to many whose counsels I had not been able to follow, or whose wishes I had not been able to gratify. Those persons would have no cause of ill-will against him, and would very probably come to his support with zeal increased by their ill-will to me. So my damage would be his advantage, especially with a certain class of capitalists and bankers; and I thought nothing more probable than that he would be able to obtain loans easier than I could. At any rate, this would be his chief, and, so far as I could see, the only real difficulty in his administration. He expressed his great apprehension lest his health might give way, and said that if he took the place, to which he was much urged in Congress, and by callers and telegrams from various parts of the country, he should look to me for counsel and all the help I could give. I told him that I thought he would want very little of either; but that all I could give was at his service. He referred to the long-standing relations of confidence and friendship between us, and said he felt he had a right to depend on me; and I told him that I would stand by him and with him, and, whether he needed me or

not, that my friendship and affection would continue the same as ever. Judge Spaulding came in, and we all then rode to the Capitol together. Fessenden stopped at the Senate wing, but Spaulding and I rode a few minutes longer together, talking of the resignation, of Tod's appointment and declension, etc., when I left him also at the Capitol, and returned home."

Saturday, July 2, our ex-Secretary of the Treasury recorded in his diary this paragraph:

"The bill giving the Secretary of the Treasury effective control over trade in the rebel States, and power to purchase their products for resale for the benefit of the Government, and authority to lease abandoned property and care for the Freedmen, passed the House today, having previously passed the Senate. How much good I expected to accomplish under this bill! Will my successor do this work? I fear not. He had not the same heart for this measure that I had."

Another paragraph, under date July 2, is worded thus:

"I spent the day in writing letters and receiving calls, not going out at all. My letter to the Committee of Ways and Means appeared in the *Intelligencer* and *Chronicle*. I am glad of it. It will prove, at least, that I desired no inflation."

Sunday, July 3, affords this entry:

"Attended church at Wesley Chapel, where I heard an excellent sermon on orphanage, suggested by the death of a young girl, member of the church, killed lately, with twenty others, by an explosion of powder at the arsenal."

Under date July 4, our hero wrote as follows in his diary:

"Cries of all kinds, except cries of pain, filled the air this morning, with explosions of cannon, ringing of bells, and whiz-whiz, snap-snap of crackers, and awoke me. It is the anniversary of the Independence of the United States! How little most of those who celebrate it are thinking of the difference between the United States which declared it and the United States which celebrate it. Then, thirteen United States, just resolved no longer to be colonies, and battling for independence and Union; now, twenty-three of the United States struggling, with divided counsels, to compel to obedience to the national constitution and laws eleven others, in which, counting all classes and colors, there is a majority of loyalists, but a majority controlled by the master class, and, so far as the colored portion of it is concerned, treated by the Government of the Union as inferiors and aliens rather than as equals in natural rights and as citizens. What will be the end? It is hidden from me. The twenty-three are vastly stronger than the eleven, and must prevail if they persevere, unless divine Providence takes sides against them. Surely, if the Government had been willing to do justice, and had

used its vast powers with equal energy and wisdom, the struggle might have been happily terminated long ago."

This notion of the ways of God with man may be well warranted; but, for reasons elsewhere submitted to the fair consideration of my gentle reader, I can not consider that the justice of a cause compels a miracle in its behalf, or that justice, wisdom, and energy can alone insure success.

The entry just quoted goes on in this manner:

"Congress adjourned to-day without having passed an additional tax bill, except five per cent. on incomes, which may produce twenty-two millions. There must be great reduction of expenditure or better success in borrowing than I anticipate, or inflation must continue. The President pocketed the great bill, providing for the reorganization of the rebel States as loyal States. He did not venture to veto, and so put it in his pocket. It was a condemnation of his Amnesty Proclamation and of his general policy of reconstruction, rejecting the idea of possible reconstruction with slavery; which neither the President nor his chief advisers have, in my opinion, abandoned.

"Called at Mr. Hooper's and found nobody in; but left a note, inviting Governor Andrew and himself to come down and dine with me. Mr. Sumner called and remained to dinner, with Mr. Hooper and Governor A. He said Governor Sprague had made a statement of great force and power in relation to the Blair charges, which was listened to with breathless attention. He said also that there was intense indignation against the President on account of his pocketing the Winter Davis or Reconstruction Bill. Governor Andrew hopes to have the controversy about pay of negro troops enlisted by Massachusetts settled on just principles. This justice has been too long and too cruelly withheld.

"After dinner, many others called. Mr. Fessenden came in about nine. He had already been with me in the morning, and had told me that he had received a letter from a certain individual (the same who proclaimed the most indecent joy on my leaving the Cabinet), recommending Governor Morgan's special choice for the successor of Mr. Cisco. He expressed his intention not to have either of them; for when it was sought to make me choose appointments he had told me that he should call on the President, and before acceptance have it distinctly understood that the appointment of subordinates in his office, for whom he was to be responsible, must be made with his full consent and approval, if not made directly on his own nominations. He now came in to say that the President had at once acceded to this, only requiring that, should he himself desire any particular appointment made, his wishes in that regard should be fully considered. He said, too, that he hoped Mr. Fessenden would not, without a real necessity, remove any friends of Governor Chase. Had the President, in reply to my note tendering his [my] resignation, expressed himself as he did now to Mr. F——n, I should have cheerfully withdrawn it. Why did he not? I can see but one reason—

that I am too earnest, too anti-slavery, and, say, too radical, to make him willing to have me connected with the Administration; just as my opinion that he is not earnest enough, not anti-slavery enough, not radical enough, but goes naturally with those hostile to me, rather than with me, makes me willing and glad to be disconnected from it.

"We parted, I promising to meet him at the department in the morning and introduce him to his¹ and chief officers."

To point out the importance of the statement made by Mr. Lincoln to Mr. Hooper can not be necessary. I shall speak of it hereafter more at large.

Tuesday, July 5, was for ex-Secretary Chase a day of much memorableness. From the record in his diary, relating to its history, I take this extract:

"Called on Fessenden and took him to the department, and spent some time in explaining the state of the finances and the general outlines of business. About half-past ten Judge Wayne came in and administered the oath of office. Fessenden read it from the printed form from the State Department, very distinctly, and pronounced the adjunction, 'So help me God!' with great earnestness. The conclusion of the oath struck me. 'I will faithfully perform the duties of the office on which I am about to enter.' There was no such clause as is commonly added, 'to the best of my ability.'"

Under the same date we have, also:

"Several other gentlemen called about loans, with Fessenden. The problem to provide means without farther inflation and with gradual reduction. Condition, immediate demands in requisition, \$94,000,000. Means, (1.) proceeds of late loan received, 5 per cent. transfer legal tender; (2.) receipts from temporary loans; also, most in some legal tender; (3.) receipts from internal revenue; (4.) miscellaneous receipts, sales of exchange, etc.

"The condition is by no means so difficult, or rather by no means so apparently difficult, as at the close of the session of Congress. Then the unpaid requisitions amounted to \$72,171,189.41; and the funds on hand were ——. At the close of the recent session, the requisitions amounted to ——. Then Congress had passed the National Banking Act, and had repealed the conversion clauses of the Loan Act; but had provided no essential increase of revenue. But with these aids, notwithstanding a very unpromising military condition, I succeeded in disposing so rapidly of public securities, that within four months the whole amount of unpaid requisitions had been discharged, and all demands were promptly met. The same can be done now, but Mr Fessenden will be obliged to pay higher interest from less value. The tax legislation is better than then, far better, though not what it should be. The power of the depart-

¹ Here is a word I can not make out.

ment over the trade in insurrectionary districts is more complete, and may be made very productive. The military situation is far better. All things conspire to make financial success comparatively easy."

At eleven, or a little after, July 5, the Heads of the Bureau in the Treasury Department came in, and the ex-Secretary introduced them to the new Secretary. Most of them were, indeed, already known to him, and the meeting on both sides was most cordial. After this was over, Mr. Chase left his successor, promising to call again the next morning, and confer about the practical business of borrowing money.

From the department Mr. Chase returned home, and used the remainder of the day chiefly in writing letters, and receiving visitors. Mr. Durant called and talked over Louisiana matters. Garfield, Schenck, and Wetmore rode with Mr. Chase. "All," he says, "were bitter against the timid and almost pro-slavery course of the President. Strange story by Garfield about Colonel Jaques."

We have yet this other contribution from the diary under date July 5:

"Left Treasury Department and went to see Secretary of War. Found him concerned about raid to Martinsburg and Harper's Ferry; thinks Sigel inefficient, and that Hunter went too far off. Hunter, however, yesterday, at Parkersburg, and will probably to-day reach the vicinity of the rebels. I can not see from the statements made why they may not be cut off and signally defeated or captured. Told Stanton that everything looked favorable to me, only I wished Grant could have more men. Sherman at Marietta, and rebels forced back on the Chattahoochee; Danville Railroad broken up, and Grant holding fast, and on the whole, gaining. Hunter soon to drive the rebels again from Shenandoah Valley, and the glorious victory of the Kearsarge in the combat with the Alabama, which came out to fight and went to the bottom—all looked well. The last event, particularly, worth millions in the improvement of our prestige and credit in Europe.

"Walked home under an intensely hot sun. Soon after, Mr. Wetmore came in, and we went to Freedmen's Village. What a striking result of the war, and illustration as well as result, it is! There it stands; a semi-circular village, extending round a sort of ravine; wooden houses; about 1,800 people, mostly old and infirm, or women and children, with schools, a church, good order—though much sickness and poverty—all refugees from slavery, and not one wishing to return unless free after the war.

"—Ashley, Hosmer, and Taylor called. H. is going as chief justice to Montana. Taylor, just from north-west Ohio, says opinions there much divided about my resignation, and some inclined to blame me.

"Reid came in with letters from Greeley, who wishes me to succeed Pendleton. Told him I thought nothing gained unless we could have radical change of men and policy. He goes to New York soon. People of course, think little of anything in comparison with the war."

That notion of having Chase try to succeed Pendleton was very foolish, and its consequences were most painful, not to say humiliating. No absurder notion ever emanated even from the *Tribune* office. In the state of the public mind toward Chase at the time when that mad project was by Horace Greeley, through Whitelaw Reid, presented to Salmon Portland Chase, the reasonable certainty was that success was absolutely impossible. From the present conduct of the *Tribune*, one would say that that journal more than holds its own in reckless folly.

But we must come back, hereafter, to the subject of that blunder almost amounting to a crime.

CHAPTER XLIII.

CHASE NOT NOMINATED FOR CONGRESS—APPOINTED CHIEF JUSTICE.

WEDNESDAY, July 6, 1864, the late Secretary made this record:

"Senator Pomeroy came to breakfast; he says there is great dissatisfaction with Mr. Lincoln, which has been much exasperated by the pocketing of the reorganization bill. Garfield said yesterday that when the rumor of the intention of the President to pocket the bill came to the House on Monday, Norton, of Illinois, the special friend of the President, said it was impossible and would be fatal. G—— told him if he desired to prevent it, he should go to him at his room at the Capitol at once, and remonstrate. Norton started, almost running, but returned after a little. 'Did you see him?' 'Yes.' 'Will he sign?' 'No—great mistake, but no use trying to prevent it.' Pomeroy says he means to go on a buffalo hunt and then to Europe. He can not support Lincoln, but won't desert his principles. I'm much of the same sentiments, though not willing now to decide what duty may demand next fall. Pomeroy remarked that, on the news of my resignation reaching the Senate, several of the Democratic senators came to him and said, 'We'll go with you now for Chase.' This meant nothing but a vehement desire to overthrow the existing Administration, but might mean much if the Democrats would only cut loose from slavery and go for freedom and the protection of labor by a national currency. *If they would do that, I would cheerfully go for any man they might nominate.*

How

"Coming events cast their shadows before,"

as we read those words! In 1864 we see 1868.

July 11, Mr. Chase wrote as follows to an old friend:

"MY DEAR SIR: We have not written each other frequently of late, but my regard for you has by no means diminished.

"Hard at work, I have not had time for correspondence; but my heart holds still to my old friends.

"I trust there is no ground for the fear that the country is again to be cursed with the miscellaneous currency of local corporations; but it is impossible to foresee what is to come. It was one of my greatest desires to give the people a uniform currency, made, in the end, the equivalent to gold every where. My efforts were stoutly resisted outside, and had not earnest sympathy inside of the Adminis-

tration. They were steadily prevailing, however, when a sense of duty to myself and the country also compelled me to resign. I hope they will not be abandoned.

Your friend,

"S. P. CHASE."

There was this postscript:

"I inclose cancelled your note for \$272.50, dated June 16, 1860. I am sure you would have paid it long ago if you could; and, though I am not now so well off as I thought myself then, I do not wish to inconvenience an old friend by holding it unpaid. Besides I have fewer claims on my care and support than I had then."

Here is another letter which I think must prove interesting:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., *July 11, 1864.*

"MY DEAR GENERAL: Accept my thanks for your very kind note. I wish I could avail myself of your invitation to pass a few days under your hospitable roof; but can not promise myself that pleasure at present.

"My feelings upon going out of office are of a mixed sort—regret that I leave great works half done—satisfaction in relief from cares and manifold annoyances. Sometimes one of these feelings predominates—sometimes the other.

"I should like very much to see you and have a little talk; but unless you happen to be in New York about the end of the week, do not see how I can be gratified. It is my expectation to be there, at the St. Nicholas, if the rebels let us out.

"Communications, except by river, are pretty much broken off just now; but I think they will soon be open again. There has been some skirmishing and some casualties on the north side of the city; an assault was expected this morning. I do not hear that it has taken place, and imagine that the rebels will hardly try it. They ought never get back to Richmond.

"Please give my best regards to Mrs. Cameron and the young ladies, and believe me

Yours sincerely,

"GENERAL S. CAMERON.

S. P. CHASE."

Hon. Charles S. May was the (Republican) Lieutenant-Governor of Michigan when he wrote to ex-Secretary Chase a letter in reference to a movement in behalf of Mr. Chase for the Presidency.

"It was," writes Mr. May to me,¹ "a time of great discouragement and dissatisfaction with Mr. Lincoln's administration. The almost treasonable attitude of the Democratic National Convention at Chicago soon after changed the whole current of feeling."

Mr. Chase answered Mr. May as follows:

"CRAWFORD, WHITE MOUNTAINS, *August 31, 1864.*

"DEAR SIR: Your letter of the 9th did not reach me until a day

¹Letter dated September 16, 1878.

or two since. I thank you heartily for your expressions of confidence and esteem.

"My friends in Cincinnati should not have presented my name in competition with any other. They knew well that I did not desire a nomination to Congress, and should not feel bound to accept any other than one spontaneously and unanimously tendered. I regret their action; for it has subjected me to some unnecessary misapprehension.

"It was not without some reluctance that I resigned my position as head of the Treasury Department; but I could not, consistently with my sense of duty to the country, or with what I thought a proper self-respect, acquiesce in Mr. Lincoln's determination to make the appointment of the Assistant Treasurer of New York, the officer more intimately connected with the finances of the Government than any other except myself, and most important to my successful administration of them, dependent on the will of a particular man and his political associates. I felt sure that if I should acquiesce I should not only be unfaithful to my trust, but I should establish a precedent which would be followed so frequently and so constantly that the successful administration of the department would be impossible. I felt sure that the President would not make this issue with me if he really desired me to remain in the department; and I, therefore, sent him my resignation. By accepting it he showed that I was not mistaken.

"My conscience tells me that, under exceedingly difficult circumstances, I served my country with all the ability and courage God gave me, and with an eye single to the public good. This consciousness is my sufficient reward.

"I am now a private citizen and expect to remain such. Since my retirement from the department, I have had no connection with political affairs. No one has been authorized to use my name in any political connection, except that I said I should not feel at liberty to refuse my services to the citizens of my Congressional district, if spontaneously and unanimously demanded. I think now that I erred in saying this; but it seemed right at the time. No such movement as the one you suggest seems to me expedient so far as I am concerned. Whether it would be expedient or patriotic in reference to some other name, I am not able to judge. I see only, as all see, that there is a deplorable lack of harmony, caused chiefly, in my judgment, by the injudicious course of some of Mr. Lincoln's chief advisers, and his own action on their advice; and I most earnestly wish that harmony might be restored, and the success of our cause, now in serious jeopardy, assured. Yours very truly,

"HON. CHAS. S. MAY.

S. P. CHASE."

Mr. Chase wrote mildly when he said that that movement, designed to make him the congressional successor of Mr. Pendleton, subjected him to some unnecessary misapprehension. It did more than that. It damaged him forever as a Presidential candidate. After that he had no Presidential possibilities whatever.

Next to the nomination of Horace Greeley for the Presidency, it

was the most foolish thing ever attempted by politicians in the Cincinnati valley. It was perfectly characteristic of the *Tribune* office—the most curious combination of absurdity and recklessness the country has yet seen.

But so strong was Mr. Chase, in spite of that performance at his expense by Greeley, Reid & Co., that Mr. Lincoln, when the death of Chief Justice Taney made a place for Salmon Portland Chase, made Chase Chief Justice.

Mr. Sumner had urged that appointment. Mr. Lincoln had promised Mr. Sumner that it should be made. The great difficulty in the way, as discerned by Mr. Lincoln, appeared to be that Mr. Chase had the Presidency on the brain. Mr. Sumner related to me that Mr. Lincoln once proposed to send for Mr. Chase and frankly tell him that in his (Lincoln's) judgment he (Mr. Chase) would make the best Chief Justice we ever had, if he could only get rid of his Presidential ambition. Mr. Sumner pointed out how objectionable would be such a course; that it would expose the President to imputation as to his motives, and would be offensive to Mr. Chase, as requiring, in effect, a pledge from the latter not to be, thereafter, a Presidential candidate. Mr. Lincoln at once saw that what he had so well intended to do, in that behalf, would not be proper. He determined, therefore, to take all risks, and appoint Chase without any suggestion as to the possibility of Presidential candidature.

This is not the only information for which this volume is indebted to the talks its author had with Mr. Sumner.

Shortly after Chase's death, I called on Mr. Sumner, as he had invited me to do, in order that he might impart to me, not only matter of fact, but matter of mere judgment. It was evidently hard for the great man from Massachusetts to say much of Chase. For five words about our hero, he gave me twenty-five about himself. But, after all, I learned some new things about Chase, and among them an anecdote, which, I have learned, Mr. Sumner related to at least one person other than myself.

Mr. Sumner was the first to tell Mr. Chase of his confirmation as Chief Justice. As he came out of the room in which that information had been imparted, he met Mrs. Sprague, who, shaking her right fore-finger at him, said:

"And you, too, Mr. Sumner? You, too, in this business of shelving papa? But never mind! I will defeat you all!"

The life of our hero's eldest daughter has become, in some degree,

historical. It had become historical, indeed, at the time when, according to Mr. Sumner, the fair fore-finger of a beautiful, accomplished woman aided her lips to give impressiveness to the words just quoted. I have not felt free to withhold the anecdote here offered.

Was Mr. Sumner right in telling it to me and to at least one other person? He is dead; but he did not appear to me a gentleman of the finest type. He seemed to me not single-hearted and not single-faced. I had four or five conversations with him, three of which I must remember while I live. They did not tend to make me like him, and they rather lowered than exalted my appreciation of his taste, his learning, and his talents. Yet, I have no reason in the world to doubt the truth of the anecdote referred to; and it seems to me not unimportant.

So strangely has the heroine of it been somehow led to bear herself toward the composition of this work, and so desperate has shown itself the disposition of her minions to prevent, if possible, even the publication of these pages, that I can not comment on that anecdote as, but for the facts just referred to, might seem proper; but, I trust, I know how to make all due allowances for filial fondness, combined with other feelings, on the part of Mrs. Sprague, in 1864.

It was on the 13th of December, 1864, that Salmon Portland Chase, "having previously, on the same day, taken the oath of allegiance in the room of the judges, and the oath of office in open court, at his place upon the bench," first took his seat as Chief Justice of the United States.² This interesting ceremony took place "in presence of a large number of ladies and gentlemen."

It is not the purpose of this work to set forth his opinions as a Judge. Of some of those opinions, indeed, some notice must be taken in these pages; but to the average reader a full account of them would be very far from inviting. In another chapter I have given my opinion of him as a legist, and set forth my judgment of his actions as a Judge.³ At present, I go forward with

¹ Mr. Justice Swayne, of the Supreme Court, not knowing that that anecdote had been related to me by Mr. Sumner himself, communicated it to me as he had heard it from the senator.

² So he designated his official character in a letter written under his dictation, and by him signed, not long before his death. That letter was addressed to Benjamin Vaughan Abbott, Esq.

³ Post, Chapter LIII.

a narrative which I desire to interrupt as little as possible by disquisition.

January 2, 1865, the President thus wrote to the Chief Justice :

"Chief Justice Chase :

"MY DEAR SIR: Without your note of to-day I should have felt assured that some sufficient reason had detained you.

"Allow me to condole with you on the sad bereavement you mention. Yours truly, A. LINCOLN."

The note so answered is not in my possession. The bereavement mentioned by the President was the loss of a sister. A letter to Mr. Jay Cooke will be found referring to it:

January 12, the Chief Justice wrote to Mr. Jay Cooke :

"MY DEAR MR. COOKE: Accept my thanks for your kind sympathy in the sorrow which the loss of my dear sister has given me, and receive mine in your own for the loss of your excellent father. When such persons die, what consolation to those who must follow later, that those who have gone before have gone to Heaven.

"I rejoice to read the call you sent me, and to see the grand name of Horace Binney at its head, followed by that of his son. It is a great step in the right direction. If we wish God's blessing, we must not oppress His poor.

"In a day or two I will write you on other matters; but may we not hope for the pleasure of seeing you here?"

¹On the 5th of the same month the Chief Justice wrote as follows to General B. C. Ludlow :

"I wish there was no brevet to diminish my pleasure in thus addressing you, but I hope the full promotion will come in due time.

"Charlotte sends me your very interesting letter giving an account of your Christmas dinner, and I was delighted to read it. What a —— letter that was of — [Here are omissions in my copy on account of illegibility, I suppose.]

"As soon as I came I saw the Secretary about Israel. He seemed disposed to do all he could, but has since told me that Israel could not be transferred consistently with regulations. I wish Israel would write me, and tell me exactly his present stating his rank in his own regiment and company, and everything which I ought to know to be of service to him. I can't do much, but what I can do will do gladly.

"Can I be of any service to you? Give my regards to General Barney and Marcellas. I am trying to do something for him—Marcel."

On the 10th the Chief Justice wrote as follows:

*"MY DEAR SIR: The 'General Theological and Religious Association,' of Cincinnati, are extremely desirous to procure a copy of the *Codex Sinaiticus*, a few copies of which were printed at the expense of the Emperor of Russia for distribution to universities and public libraries, and I shall be very glad if you can aid them in the attainment of their wish. Yours, very truly, S. P. CHASE.*

"THE RT. HON. MR. DE STOECKL, etc., etc., etc."

To Judge Kelly, January 22, he wrote :

"DEAR JUDGE : I have not yet seen your speech. Please send me a copy, and a hundred more for friends in Ohio.

"The assault of Fields is the best commentary that could be made on your position. It was prompted by the very spirit which, if the blacks *are* not secured in the right of suffrage, will prompt the most cruel legislation against them, and probably produce a renewal of bloody civil strife.

"In a letter received to-night, from a Southerner at New Orleans—not of the Democratic side either—are these significant words: 'Only some strong political necessity will induce the legislature to extend the right of suffrage. If such extension was made, on condition of the recognition of the State, it would probably be granted.'

"Recognition without such condition would be, in my judgment, equally wrong and impolitic."

In a letter addressed, the same day, to Mr. George L. Denison, are the words :

"I trust, and there is some reason to believe, not without good grounds, that Congress will not recognize Louisiana unless the right of suffrage is extended to the colored people. Recognition without this extension would be, in my judgment and in that of our wisest and most influential men, equally wrong and impolitic.

"It was a mistake in the friends of General Banks and Governor Hahn, that they did not have this right granted in the Constitution. It would have removed every obstacle to recognition.

"The attack of Fields on Judge Kelly has damaged the cause of the Louisiana senators and representatives a good deal.

"We are all well and rejoicing over the fall of Fort Fisher and the waning fortunes of rebellion."¹

¹To Jones, the sculptor, on the 23d, he wrote :

"MY DEAR MR. JONES: Sometime ago, I promised to give the Otterbein University a copy of your draped bust of me, but forgot the name of the gentleman to whom it was to be sent. I have just received a letter from him, reminding me of the promise, and I beg you to have one carefully boxed and sent to Rev. H. A. Thompson, Professor, etc., in Otterbein University, at Westerville, Ohio—Westerville is twelve miles north of Columbus. Please see that such directions are given the express company as will make sure of its reaching its destination.

"Are you now selling copies of this bust? Occasionally, inquiries are made of me where one can be procured. If you are selling any, please let me know the price. Let me know, also, the cost of the one, including packing, sent to Westerville, and I will at once remit it.

"I was very sorry, indeed, not to see more of you in Cincinnati. I wish I could afford to have your bust put in marble. I think it, next to Mr. Ewing's, your greatest work.

"T. D. JONES, Esq., Cincinnati, Ohio.

S. P. CHASE."

On the 23d, a letter to Hon. B. F. Flanders said, with other things :

"I doubt whether recent developments, will not constrain Congress to refuse recognition to any State which has been in rebellion, unless reconstituted upon the basis of equal rights for all men, and equal participation in suffrage, as the only reliable safeguard to these rights.

"If Louisiana wishes her present representatives admitted, the legislature will probably find it necessary to exercise the power conferred by the Constitution, of extending the right of suffrage to the loyal colored citizens of the State."

Here is surely a remarkable letter :

"WASHINGTON, D. C., *January 23, 1865.*

"DEAR COUNT : I did not reply to your note at the right time, but I hope you will excuse the omission in consideration of the pressure of my new duties.

"It gratified me, because it came from one whom I have long honored as an implacable hater of wrong, as a faithful friend of *man*. The very intensity of your devotion to justice, has, I fear, sometimes made you unjust ; but, no matter ; the zeal for the truth and the right remain. I have been, I think, a patient worker for the same ends. Certainly I have aimed to be ; thinking, however, I could do most good without assailing men who may change from worse to better, while bad principles never amend.

Yours truly,

"COUNT GUROWSKI, etc., etc., etc.

S. P. CHASE."

Just think of such a letter to such a man from such a man !

January 30 we have this letter :

"MY DEAR MR. BARNEY : I was very glad to learn from your letter that gentlemen, of undoubted responsibility and personal worth, are about to organize a savings bank with special reference to the freedmen, and, I hope, the soldiers. I have not a doubt that such an institution could work immense good. Hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of dollars, now wasted through fraud or misfortune of depositories, could be saved for the comfort and improvement of families and homes. I see no reason why a national bank for freedmen's savings can not be organized, and answer every purpose without further legislation by Congress. And through agencies already established, especially those of the Christian Commission, the workings and benefits of it could be made widely known, in a very short time, to the parties interested. I am sure the President would feel much interested in it, and that the War Department, under its able and clear-sighted head, would cheerfully coöperate."

In a letter, dated February 23, the Chief Justice said to Mr. James R. Gilmore, of Boston :

"I rejoice that you had an opportunity of speaking to the Baltimore people ; they are nearer right than many farther north.

"I fear our good President is so anxious for the restoration of the Union, that he will not care sufficiently about the basis of representation. In my judgment, there is none sound except absolute justice for all, and ample security for justice in law and suffrage."

On the 3d of March, the Chief Justice wrote this letter:

"DEAR RIDDLE: Thanks for your note informing me of the deposit in First National Bank by Mr. Ball's direction, of \$513.93, being amount advanced by me for him to Mr. Wilson. It is welcome, because it is wanted.

"Some seem to think that a man who has handled millions must be rich; and so I should be, if I could have retained for myself even one per cent. of what I saved to the people. But I would not exchange the consciousness of having kept my hands free from the touch of one cent of public treasure for all the riches in the world.

"My wants are very moderate—and the chief use I have for income is to provide for the wants of others. Demands of this nature are urgent enough to keep me generally tight.

"I see I have used an equivocal word, but I won't scratch it out. You will not put an intemperate construction upon it.

"Your old brother colleague and sincere friend,
"HON. A. N. RIDDLE. S. P. CHASE."

CHAPTER XLIV.

ASSASSINATION OF LINCOLN—JOHNSON'S INAUGURATION.

ON the day of Lincoln's second inauguration as Chief Magistrate, the Chief Justice wrote as follows to Mrs. Lincoln :

"DEAR MADAM: Will you oblige me by accepting the Bible kissed by your husband, on taking to-day, for the second time, the oath of office as President of the United States?

"The page touched by his lips is marked.

"I hope the sacred Book will be to you an acceptable souvenir of a memorable day, and I most sincerely pray Him, by whose inspiration it was given, that the beautiful sunshine, which, just at the time the oath was taken, dispersed the clouds that had previously darkened the sky, may prove an auspicious omen of the dispersion of the clouds of war, by the clear sunshine of prosperous peace, under the wise and just administration of him who took it.

"With great respect, yours truly, S. P. CHASE."

That beautiful sunshine, that dispersing of the clouds, was after all, perhaps, not quite a delusive omen. But, as to Lincoln, it at least did not portend long life.

To the President, March 6, our hero wrote as follows :

"MY DEAR SIR: I inclose the Circassian decision. An order or proclamation closing or restricting the ports will, when military occupation is permanent, answer most of the purposes of blockade, and be subject to no objection. In the case of the Venice, which I mentioned to you, the court held that the occupation of New Orleans must be considered as permanent from the 6th of May, on which day General Butler's proclamation was printed in the papers.

"As to Virginia, I take the liberty of suggesting that it may be well that any proclamation declaring the State no longer in insurrection should recite the fact of a continuous loyal State government, and confine the effect of the proclamation to the counties acknowledging that government, and regularly represented in the loyal legislature, or hereafter acknowledging it and being so represented.

"Except one from West Virginia, no cases have been heard on appeal from the courts of either district of Virginia since the rebellion.

Yours most truly,

"THE PRESIDENT.

S. P. CHASE."

In a letter to Mr. J. Schuckers, dated April 4, we have the words :

"All tongues are busy and all hearts filled with the glorious news of Richmond and hopes of peace."

April 9, the Chief Justice wrote to Hon. R. S. Field:

"DEAR JUDGE: You have much obliged me by sending your excellent discourse on the late Chief Justice Hornblower.

"When a very young member of the bar, I was called upon to plead the cause of an alleged fugitive from slavery, upon *habeas corpus*, before our Common Pleas Court in Cincinnati. My examination of the Constitution and the Ordinance of '87 and the Articles of Confederation led me to the same conclusion with the Chief Justice; and I remember that I was greatly strengthened in it by a paragraph in a newspaper, which gave a very brief statement of his decision in the case to which you refer, made about a year before my argument. I was much gratified on the publication of his pamphlet report, many years after, to find that our paths to one common conclusion were nearly identical.

"In 1860 I was called to Newark to address the people in favor of Lincoln and Hamlin, and was his guest. My experience confirms all you say of his hospitality; and my observation, all you say of his benignity of manners, his cheerful spirits, his fervor in religion, and his patriotic devotion to his country.

"I am glad to have my impressions, to which I then gave some inadequate expression in my address, revived by your discourse.

"With great respect, and very truly yours." S. P. CHASE."

April 14, we have these letters:

"MY DEAR BISHOP: I send you some seeds under Senator Sumner's frank. They will, at worst, and probably at best, prove my remembrance, and serve as a token of my respect and esteem.

"Your letter about an amendment to the Constitution came just before Congress adjourned. There was no possibility of securing favorable action. Most think the recognition already sufficient. When in the Treasury Department I directed devices and mottoes to be put on the coinage—the two-cent pieces—and on our notes and bonds, expressive of our dependence on God, and our recognition of the supreme authority of the Bible. One, on the coins, was, 'In God we trust;' you have possibly seen it. Another, on notes and bonds, was the Bible, with the Constitution under it. There were others, I think, but these alone are distinct in my recollection.

"Faithfully your friend,

"RT. REV. C. P. McILVAINE.

S. P. CHASE."

"I am anxious about reconstruction, and clear that there should be no recognition of any State as restored to full relations without recognition on its part of colored loyal men as citizens entitled to vote."

"MY DEAR MRS. TRIMBLE: The Commissioner of Agriculture sent me some seeds the other day. I send a few to you, more as a token of remembrance and sincere friendship than with any hope that they will be of any use to you. Will you so receive them?

"I was very sorry that my new duties allowed me to see so little of you when here last winter. My time was never so wholly absorbed; and yet it seemed to me as if I was *doing* nothing. This was the

hardest part of my condition. Work from morning to midnight, and no result, except that John Smith owned this parcel of land or other property, instead of Jacob Robinson; I caring nothing and nobody caring much more about the matter. Ah! but the great principles settled, and the honorable post! Let me console myself.

"Please assure the doctor of my warmest regards. Somehow or other I feel drawn toward him with more than a common affection.

"Most truly your friend,

"MRS. DR. TRIMBLE.

S. P. CHASE."

"MY DEAR MR. BUCHANAN: To send seeds to you is like sending coals to Newcastle, gold to California, or water to Lake Erie; but what seems so superfluous will, I hope, be received as a slight mark of remembrance and desire to be remembered. I send them by this day's mail, under my friend Sumner's frank.

"We are all jubilant here; but some of the thoughtful ones are much alarmed about the likelihood of reconstruction without adequate guarantees against future evils.

"I send you, under Governor Sprague's frank, Senator Collamer's speech, showing the duty of the Government to secure the future.

"Your friend,

"R. BUCHANAN, Esq.

S. P. CHASE."

"MY DEAR ARCHBISHOP: I send you a few seeds under my friend Sumner's frank—more because I want to remind you of myself, and of my esteem and respect for you, than because I suppose you can have any use for them. But you may know some good people to whom they will be acceptable.

"With best regards to the Rev. Mr. Purcell and to Father Collins, believe me, Sincerely and faithfully yours,

"MOST REV. ARCHBISHOP PURCELL.

S. P. CHASE."

Not seldom, in the theater, the orchestra performs a lively prelude to a fearful tragedy.

How strange the relation of the prelude to the play! Yet whoever has deeply studied the philosophy of Shakspeare's tragedies, especially as that philosophy is interpreted by William Schlegel, may have some comprehension of the manner in which sport and earnest are related, not only in those tragedies but on the stage of real life.

A diary or register of Chief Justice Chase contains this unaffected, fearfully affecting narrative:

"April 14, Friday—At home morning; afternoon, rode out with Nettie, intending to have myself left at President's, and talk with him about universal suffrage in reorganization; felt reluctant to call lest my talk might annoy him, and do harm rather than good; home a little after dark, having postponed my intended call; retired to bed about ten. Some time after, a servant came up and said a gentleman, who said the President had been shot, wished to see me. I directed that he should be shown into my room. He came in (an employé in the Treasury Department), and said he had just come

from the theater; the President had been shot in his box by a man who leaped from the box upon the stage, and escaped by the rear. He could give no particulars, and I hoped he might be mistaken; but soon after Mr. Mellen, Mr. Walker, the Fifth Auditor, and Mr. Plantz came in and confirmed what I had been told, and added that Secretary Seward had also been assassinated, and that guards were being placed around the houses of all the prominent officials, under the apprehension that the plot had a wide range.

"My first impulse was to rise immediately and go to the President, whom I could not yet believe to have been fatally wounded; but, reflecting that I could not possibly be of any service, and should probably be in the way of them who could, I resolved to wait for morning and further intelligence. In a little while the guard came—for it was supposed that I was one of the destined victims—and their heavy tramp, tramp was heard under my window all night. Mr. Mellen slept in the house. It was a night of horror.

"April 15. Up with the light; a heavy rain was falling, and the sky was black. Walked up with Mr. Mellen to Mr. Seward's, crossing the street (Ninth I believe¹) on which is Ford's theater, and opposite the house to which the President had been conveyed; was informed at that point that the President was already dead."

The death of Lincoln was so sudden, and the manner of it was so tragic, that to this hour the memory of the "night of horror," characterized as we have seen by the pen of Chase, interferes with every attempt to do simple justice to the relations of the late Chief Justice with the man who so quietly passed him in the race for the Presidential nomination, fourteen years ago.

The rule, *de mortuis nil nisi bonum*, is older than the saying put by Shakspeare on the lips of the shrewd orator that comes

"To bury Cæsar, not to to praise him;"

the saying, namely, that

"The evil that men do lives after them—
The good is oft interred with their bones."

If there was aught deserving to be called evil in the amiable life of Abraham Lincoln, it was buried with his bones. The people would not suffer it to outlive him. Even to this hour, allow me to repeat, it is a daring thing to make a fair endeavor to do simple justice to the sad, glad, merry, melancholy man, whom the mad guilt, the guilty madness, of John Wilkes Booth put to death in a play-house.

Among the papers furnished by Chief Justice Chase for my biographic use, I found one in his own handwriting as follows:

¹It is really Tenth.

"April 15, 1865.

"The administration of the oath.

"Early yesterday morning the Heads of Departments met and certified to the Vice-President the death of the President, in the form used on the decease of President Harrison and President Taylor; and fixed on ten o'clock as the hour for meeting him at his lodgings and for the administration of the oath of office, which the Chief Justice was requested to administer. Accordingly, several members of the Cabinet, with a number of other gentlemen, met the Vice-President and the Chief Justice about the hour appointed. Among those present were Secretary McCulloch and Attorney-General Speed, Senators Foote and Ramsey, ex-Senator Hale, F. P. Blair, Senior, and Judge Montgomery Blair. All were manifestly deeply impressed by the great National bereavement. Every countenance was sad. The Chief Justice administered the oath by repeating it word by word, and the Vice-President repeating it after him, very distinctly and impressively. At its close the Vice-President kissed the Bible. The passage which his lips pressed happened to be the 21st verse of the 11th chapter of Ezekiel: 'But as for them whose heart walketh after the heart of their detestable things and their abominations, I will recompense their way upon their own heads, saith the Lord God.'

"When the Chief Justice received the Bible again from the President, he said to him, very earnestly: 'You are President. May God support, guide, and bless you, in your arduous duties!'

"The other gentlemen congratulated Mr. Johnson; but seemed to find the usual phrases cold and unsuited to the occasion. They found others, however, more cordial and less formal, to which Mr. Johnson responded substantially as follows:

"GENTLEMEN: I must be permitted to say that I have been almost overwhelmed by the announcement of the sad event which has so recently occurred; I feel incompetent to perform duties so important and responsible as those which have so unexpectedly been thrown upon me. As to an indication of any policy which may be pursued by me in the administration of the Government, I have to say that that must be left for development, as the administration progresses. The message or declaration must be made by the acts as they transpire. The only assurance that I can now give of the future is reference to the past. The course which I have taken in connection with this rebellion must be regarded as a guarantee for the future. My past public life, which has been long and laborious, has been founded, as I, in good conscience, believe, upon a great principle of right, which lies at the basis of all things.

"The best energies of my life have been spent in endeavoring to establish and perpetuate the principles of free government; and I believe that the Government, in passing through its present perils, will settle down upon principles consonant with popular rights, more permanent and enduring than heretofore. I must be permitted to say, if I understand the feelings of my own heart, I have long labored to ameliorate and elevate the condition of the great mass of the American people. Toil and an honest advocacy of the great principles of free government have been my lot. The duties have

been mine—the consequence God's. This has been the foundation of my political creed. I feel that in the end the Government will triumph, and that these great principles will be permanently established.

"In conclusion, gentlemen, let me say that I want your encouragement and countenance. I shall ask and rely upon you and others in carrying the Government through its present perils.

"I feel, in making this request, that it will be heartily responded to by you and all other patriots and lovers of the rights and interests of a free people."

Another paper so furnished for my biographic use was either the original or a duplicate, in his own hand, of the certificate given by him of the oath he administered, on the 15th day of April, 1865, to Andrew Johnson. On another paper, in the same hand, is this indorsement :

"Copy of an address to the people, written at the request of President Johnson for his use, April 15, 1865, but not used.

"The Chief Justice left the room when the oath was administered and went to his house to write the within address. When he returned, he learned that Mr. Johnson had made some remarks to those present, contrary to his purpose as expressed to the Chief Justice, who inferred, though he delivered the address to the President, that no use would be made of what he had prepared. The remarks made by President Johnson may be found in the *Am. Ann. Cyclop.* 1865, p. 800."

The address prepared by the Chief Justice reads as follows :

"Fellow citizens of the United States :

"The ways of God are inscrutable.

"In the midst of National rejoicings, because of the brightened prospects of restored, benign, and permanent peace, Abraham Lincoln, the revered and beloved President of the United States, has fallen by the hand of an assassin.

"The blow was stricken yesterday evening about half-past ten ; and he died this morning at twenty-two minutes past seven. The agonizing grief which seizes¹ all hearts fills my own.

"Oppressed by this sorrow, and profoundly conscious how much I shall need the support and favor of my countrymen, I have taken the oath prescribed by the Constitution, and have entered upon the duties of the great office so suddenly and so sadly made vacant. It will be my sincere endeavor to perform them faithfully and to justify the trust which has been reposed in me by the American people. In this endeavor I earnestly ask the coöperation of all patriots and the prayers of all Christians ; and reverently invoke the gracious favor of Almighty God."

¹This word was substituted for *wrings*.

How out of character that would have been for the man who followed Lincoln in the Presidency!

Again, we see how Chase idealized the men whom he had reason to desire to love or to esteem.

Who does not remember what a day was that which dawned on Lincoln's dying moments? I was then at Springfield, in Ohio. There the frozen tears of Nature seemed to mourn the Nation's loss, and every chill breeze appeared to be devoted to the same sad function.

Here is a document that might seem to open up a very interesting line of progress for this work:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, April 29, 1865.

"All officers in the military, naval, and civil service are instructed to afford to Chief Justice Chase, in his journey by sea to New Orleans, and thence by sea or inland to Washington, and in visiting any place under National military control, all such facilities as their respective duties may allow.

"ANDREW JOHNSON,
"President of the United States."

On the same day a paper, signed by Edwin M. Stanton, and addressed to the departmental commanders and all commanders of military divisions, armies, posts and detachments in the United States military service, made the following statement, request, and order:

"The Hon. Salmon P. Chase, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, proposes to make a trip to the South. If he should visit your command, it is the desire of this department that you afford him every facility in your power to observe and become acquainted with the condition of the society and people, and the state of public affairs, within your respective commands, and that you extend to him and his companions courtesy, assistance, and protection. You will give him such transportation as he may require."

The letters written to the President, in the course of this tour, I have not space to present in the present work.¹ Here I ask attention only to some notice of a speech he made at Charleston, South Carolina, to an audience chiefly composed of colored men and women.

Of that audience, he says himself that it seemed quite as intelligent as a similar gathering at the North; the colored citizens of Charleston being more intelligent than elsewhere, because schools for free blacks have never been there prohibited.

¹ I intend to give them in the work mentioned in Chapter III.

At Covington, Kentucky, I addressed, more than once, in 1872, colored fellow citizens. I found them far more interesting to a speaker, dealing fairly with them, than I had anticipated. But I own, in reading the report of the speech made by Chief Justice Chase to that colored audience at Charleston, I could not acquit the speaker of some self-conscious acting, in the sense of playing a part—the part of a man with Presidency on the brain.

Our hero said, on that occasion :¹

“MY FRIENDS: In compliance with the request of General Saxton, your friend and mine, I will say a few words.

“He has kindly introduced me as a friend of freedom; and such, since I have taken a man’s part in life, I have always been. It has ever been my earnest desire to see every man, of every race and every color, fully secured in the enjoyment of all natural rights, and provided with every legitimate means for the defense and maintenance of those rights.”

How strictly true that is has been insufficiently known. But we have seen that this same speaker, at the age of three-and-twenty years, delivered, at Cincinnati, a lyceum lecture, not to colored freedmen and freedwomen, but to hearers of his own complexion and condition, in which he foreshadowed his whole subsequent agitation against slavery.²

To those colored men and women, in that church at Charleston, the Chief Justice of the Union also said :

“No man, perhaps, has more deplored the war, from which the country is now emerging than myself. No one would have made greater sacrifices to avert it. Earnestly desirous, as I always was, of the enfranchisement of every slave in the land, I never dreamed of seeking enfranchisement through war. I expected it through peaceful measures. Never doubting that it would come sometime; fully believing that by a wise and just administration of the National Government, friendly to freedom, but in strict conformity with the National Constitution, the time of its coming might be hastened, I yet would gladly have put aside, if I could, the cup of evil, of which our Nation has drunk so deeply. Not through those seas of blood and those vast gulfs of cost, would I have willingly sought even the great good of universal emancipation.

“But God, in His providence, permitted the madness of slavery-extension and slavery-domination to attempt the dismemberment of the Union by war. And when war came, there came also the idea, gradually growing into settled conviction in the hearts of the people,

¹ I quote from the Appendix to Mr. Whitelaw Ried’s *After The War*.

² Ante, Chapter XL.

that slavery, having taken the sword, must perish by the sword. It was quite natural, perhaps, that I, having thought much on the relations of the enslaved masses to the Republic, should be among the first to recognize the fact that the colored people of the South, whether bond or free, were the natural allies of the Nation [prolonged cheers] in its struggle with rebellion, and the duty of the National Government to assert their rights and welcome their aid. A very few months of experience and observation satisfied me that if we would succeed in the struggle, we must, as a first and most necessary measure, strike the fetters from the bondsmen. [Cheers.]

"Such was my counsel in the Cabinet; and when our honored President, whose martyrdom this nation now mourns, in common with all lovers of freedom throughout the world, made up his mind to declare all men in our land free, no one was more ready with his sanction or more hearty in his approval than myself." [Cheers.]

The Chief Justice also said :

"So, too, when necessarily that other question arose: 'Shall we give arms to the black men?' I could not doubt or hesitate. The argument was plain and irresistible. If we make them freemen, and their defense is the defense of the Nation, whose right and duty is it to bear arms, if not theirs? In this great struggle, now for universal freedom not less than for perpetual Union, who ought to take part if not they? And how can we expect to succeed, if we fail to avail ourselves of the natural helps created for us by the very conditions of the war? When, therefore, the President, after much consideration, resolved to summon black soldiers to battle for the flag, I felt that it was a wise act, only too long delayed." [Cheers.]

But even this was not all that the Chief Justice ventured to relate and to explain to his tutored and untutored hearers. He thus advanced on the great highway of political considerations opened by this ever memorable speech :

"And now, who can say that the colored man has not done his full part in the struggle? Who has made sacrifices which he has not made? Who has endured hardships which he has not endured? What ills have any suffered which he has not suffered?

"If, then, he has contributed in just measure to the victory, shall he not partake of its fruits? If Union and Freedom have been secured through courage and fortitude and zeal, displayed by black as well as white soldiers, shall not the former be benefited in due measure as well as white soldiers; shall not the former be benefited in due measure as well as the latter? And, since we all know that natural rights can not be made secure except through political rights, shall not the ballot—the freeman's weapon in peace—replace the bayonet—the freeman's weapon in war?"

CHAPTER XLV.

CHASE, JOHNSON, DAVIS—GOV. BROUGH—VIEWS OF RECONSTRUCTION.

AUGUST 11, 1865, President Johnson telegraphed as follows to the Chief Justice, who was then at Kingston :

"I would be pleased to have a conference with you in reference to the time, place, and manner of trial of Jefferson Davis, at your earliest convenience."

Among the matter prepared for this work was a pretty full account of our hero's expressions on the subject of the trial of Mr. Davis. Accidentally, that account has been mislaid; and this volume has to go to press without it. But in another place will be found other matter, especially an address to the bar, at Raleigh, and a letter to General Schofield, which may sufficiently indicate Chase's views in the particular referred to.

Next, attention is invited to this letter:

"MY DEAR SIR: It has been made my duty to transmit to you a copy of the proceedings of a recent meeting of citizens of Ohio, convened in this city, to express the mingled sentiments of grief and gratitude with which the intelligence of the death of our late Governor filled their hearts; grief, because of the great loss and sore bereavement; gratitude, that he was spared until he had seen the auspicious issue of his labors, watchings, and anxieties in the assured salvation of the land he loved from the rebellion he abhorred.

"It is a sad duty which I perform. We have lost in John Brough a useful citizen, a sincere patriot, a faithful friend, a great statesman, our honored and beloved Chief Magistrate. Our only consolation, little felt in the first moment's anguish, but sure to come, though slow, is in the memory of his honorable work, in the observation of its beneficent results and influences, and in the hopes of the hereafter.

"I have the honor to be, sir, with very great respect and esteem,

"Yours most truly, S. P. CHASE.

"HIS EXCELLENCY, CHARLES ANDERSON, Governor of Ohio."

¹The next day the Chief Justice wrote as follows:

"DEAR MADAM: I perform a sad duty by transmitting to you a copy of the recent meeting of citizens of Ohio, assembled in this city, to pay the homage of

October 20 yields this note to Mr. Sumner:

"MY DEAR SUMNER: Your convention speech was welcome in pamphlet; but I had read it in the *Advertiser*. It is noble and worthy of you.

"The statement that the President is unfriendly to the Freedmen's Bureau is untrue. He is much embarrassed by clamor from all sides; and, as I think, has not done right in refusing suffrage to the colored citizens in reorganization; but I have good hopes that all will come out well, if Congress stands firm, and we also, while earnest, are conciliatory.

"Ever yours,

S. P. CHASE."

Is not here a precious letter?

"MY DEAR KATE: Don't address me as *dear Judge*. I hate that title as much as I do Salmon. Say, my dear brother; or, if you want to be stately, my dear Mr. Chase; but, 'dear Judge!' no, no.

"You see, I am giving you a 'a reply direct this time.'

"So far as I am concerned, you may have the lot for the price you name, and on the terms you name; and I have no doubt that Nettie will agree so far as she is concerned. So you may have the deed made out for execution by both of us—Salmon P. Chase and Janet R. Chase—and all mortgages and notes made to her alone. You may furnish the stamps, or I will, just as you please.

"If the man who wishes to buy the lot on the avenue will have a deed made in like manner, I will execute it, and I have no doubt Nettie will. *He must furnish the stamps and pay cash*. I mean to invest what I get for Nettie in 7-30's.

"Mr. Hunt and Annie were here a day or two ago. They are now gone to New York. The President tells me he was most favorably impressed by Mr. Hunt; and well he may have been.

"I am exceedingly grieved by what you write of dear Josie. I hope that her faith in Christ, her Savior, is clear; and that a perfect trust in God, our Father, may sustain and comfort her.

"Give my love to her and Charlotte and Josie Jones, and Israel and Lud, and to Dunlop, when you write him.

"Affectionately your brother,

"MRS. C. L. WHITEMAN.

S. P. CHASE."

their affectionate respect to the memory of the late honored Chief Magistrate of our State, your lamented husband.

"The country, the State, his friends (among whom I feel it an honor to be counted), his family, and above all yourself, dear madam, have sustained a great bereavement.

"That He who in His inscrutable wisdom and certain, though hidden, goodness, has brought this great sorrow upon you, may support and console you under it is the earnest prayer of

Your sincere friend,

"MRS. JOHN BROUGH,

S. P. CHASE."

In a letter to Mr. J. D. Ludlow, under date November 20, appears the paragraph :

"We are all well, including the baby, Master Wm. Sprague, Jr., and would all be delighted to see you and yours. Won't you be coming to Washington? If not, next summer we may see you on the prairies. Love from all of us to all of you."

December 4 is the date of the following :

"MY DEAR MR. SMITH: In September I received a charming letter from you, which, I am ashamed to confess, yet remains unanswered, except by verbal acknowledgment. One reason, and I think a pretty good one, is that I can't hope to give as good as I get. Indeed, the sense of my inability to write anything worth your reading has been one of the chief causes of my delay.

"But as I don't want that my letter should find you among the Cheyennes, Ojibbways, so I must send a line or two now.

"Your extract from Mr. Balch's letter was very gratifying. I shall look for Mr. Chevalier's book with great interest. If I could not find the appreciation and support I (shall I say it?) felt I deserved at home, it will be some compensation to have the approval of such a thinker and writer as Mr. Chevalier. When you write Mr. Balch make my best regards acceptable to him.

"Cordially your friend,

S. P. CHASE."

"P. S. When you *come back an Indian*, don't fail to show yourself *first* to your friends here."

The next letter to which I desire to call attention reads as follows :

"WASHINGTON, D. C., April 30, 1866.

"MY DEAR JUDGE: It grieved me much to hear from your brother, Mr. Cyrus W. Field, that you have been quite ill. I supposed that you were now in, or very near, California. You must take the best care of yourself, not only for the sake of your family, but of your country, which now needs true patriotism as well as legal learning upon the bench. I feel all the interest of warm personal friendship in your welfare. It is not in my nature to forget friends, even where serious differences of judgment and political affinities come in to make separation; and no such differences come between us. Do you remember when, just before the end of the term, in the spring of 1864, you met me on the avenue, and expressed your warm wish that I might fill the place I now occupy? If you have forgotten it, I have not, nor shall I ever forget it. It took me by surprise, but was very grateful to my feelings.

"What do you think of the plan of reconstruction, or, rather, of completing reconstruction, presented by the Committee of Fifteen? To me it seems all very well, provided it can be carried out; but I

am afraid that it is, as people say, rather too big a contract. So far as I have had opportunity of conversing with senators and representatives, I have recommended to confine constitutional amendments to two points: (1.) No payment of rebel debt, and no payment for slaves; and, (2.) no representation beyond the constituent basis. And, as so many were trying their hands at form, I drew up these two amendments according to my ideas, as follows:

"Article 14, Section 1. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States, according to their respective numbers; but whenever in any State the elective franchise shall be denied to any of its inhabitants, being male citizens of the United States above the age of twenty-one years, for any cause except insurrection or rebellion against the United States, the basis of representation in such State shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of male citizens so excluded shall bear to the whole number of male citizens over twenty-one years of age.

"Sec. 2. No payment shall ever be made by the United States for, or on account of, any debt contracted or incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States; or for or on account of the emancipation of slaves.

"And I proposed, further, that the submission of this article to the States should be accompanied by a concurrent resolution to this effect: "That whenever any of the States, which were declared to be in insurrection and rebellion by the proclamation of the President of the United States, dated July 1, 1862, shall have ratified the foregoing article, senators and representatives from such ratifying States ought to be admitted to seats in the Senate and House of Representatives respectively, in the like manner as from States never declared to be in insurrection and rebellion; and that whenever the said article shall have been ratified by three-fourths of the several States, senators and representatives ought in like manner to be admitted from all the States.

"It has really seemed to me that on this basis the completion of reorganization by the admission of members in both Houses of Congress would be safe; and I have greatly doubted the expediency of going beyond this. In two or three important respects the report of the committee does go beyond this: (1.) Prohibiting the States from interfering with the rights of citizens; (2.) disfranchising all persons voluntarily engaged in rebellion till 1870; and, (3.) in granting express legislative power to Congress to enforce all the new constitutional provisions. Will not these propositions be received with some alarm by those who, though opponents of secession or nullification, yet regard the real rights of the States as essential to the proper working of our complex system? I do not myself think that any of the proposed amendments will be likely to have injurious effects unless it be the sweep of the disfranchisement; but, I repeat that I fear the undertaking of too much; and I add that it seems to me that nothing is gained sufficiently important, and unattainable by legislation, to warrant our friends in overloading the ship with amendment freight.

"But this letter is too long. Pardon and answer. Have you read the opinion and the dissent in the Bank Tax cases together?"

"Yours cordially,

"S. P. CHASE."

The next document I offer is this letter :

"WASHINGTON, May 1, 1866.

"DEAR SIR: I can not attend the annual meeting of the American Anti-slavery Society, on the 8th, except by sincere wishes for the complete accomplishment of its purpose to achieve the deliverance of our country from the spirit, as well as the fact, of slavery.

"Among the most urgent duties of the hour, I count that of pressing upon the intelligence and conscience of our countrymen the duty and expediency of unqualified recognition of the manhood of man.

"The nation has liberated four millions of the people from slavery, and has made them citizens of the Republic.

"That all freemen are entitled to suffrage upon equal terms is an axiom of free government. Neither color nor race can be allowed, as grounds of exception, without injustice and damage.

"If, in the first movement toward national reconstruction, this truth had been distinctly recognized by an invitation to the whole loyal people, of every State in rebellion, to take part in the work of State reorganization, can it now be doubted that the practical relations of every State in the Union would have been already reestablished, and with the happiest consequences?

"Nothing is more profitable than justice. Does not suffrage promote security, content, self-respect, betterment of condition? With suffrage will there not be more and more productive labor than without? Will not suffrage insure order, education, respect for law, activity in business, and substantial progress?

"I have heard the difference between the production of the lately insurgent States with universal suffrage, and the production of the same States without it, estimated at one hundred millions of dollars a year. At this rate, the injustice of the denial of suffrage will cost those States—will cost the nation—five hundred millions of dollars in five years—enough to pay nearly a fifth of the national debt.

"Is it too much to expect that sensible and patriotic men in those States will, before long, see their true interest in their plain duty, and join hands with those who seek, not their injury nor their humiliation, but their welfare and their honor, in equal rights for all?

"However these things may be, this, at least, seems clear: the men who so long contended for justice to the enslaved, and now contend for justice to the emancipated, will not, can not, must not cease their efforts till justice prevails.

"Yours truly,

"WENDELL PHILLIPS, Esq.

S. P. CHASE."

Writing to Mr. A. Mot, February 17, 1867, the Chief Justice said:

"I have no ambition to resemble Louis XVIII, and yet I acknowledge that punctuality is a virtue in all men.

"But, really, I have not known what to do concerning your enterprise. I am not of the fortunate, or unfortunate, class called capitalists, and have no control over the movements of men; and what you seemed to want was men and money.

"I spoke to General Howard about your scheme, and it seemed to impress him favorably; but he has no funds at his command except to aid in the erection of school-houses, as I understand; and there is nothing definite in your letter on which to base action.

"Perhaps the best plan will be to write to him, and also to J. M. McKim, Corresponding Secretary Freedmen's Union Commission, in New York, and explain to each your views, and in what practical way aid can be afforded. You may refer to me as your friend.

Sincerely yours, S. P. CHASE."

On the 18th of February, in the course of a letter to Hon. J. A. Arnold, he said:

"I honor you for your zealous and faithful friendship to the Martyr President; and I was the more grieved that you should attribute to me an abuse of my position against which my whole soul would protest. The truth is, that the bringing forward of my name for the Presidency was not sought by me; and when it was brought forward, and I felt the embarrassment created by it for me, in my service as head of the Treasury, I availed myself of the very first honorable opportunity to ask that no further consideration might be given to my name; and, though much urged afterward to allow it to be used, steadfastly refused. It was months after this, and under very peculiar circumstances, that I felt myself compelled to tender my resignation. But enough of this; we may *talk* it over, sometime."

In a letter, dated March 1, 1867, the Chief Justice stated to a Cincinnati, an old acquaintance, Mr. Hinkle:

"My private income is very little more than it was twelve years ago, before I was elected governor; and I have always been obliged to add to it my salary to meet the demands which always follow official position; so that, so far as worldly goods go, I should have, no doubt, been better off had I kept at work in my profession.

"I make this explanation because I don't want you to think that anything else than total inability, at present, prevents me from contributing to your noble undertaking."

In a letter to his "dear Bannister"—of whom he seems to have been singularly fond—the Chief Justice said, March 1, 1867:

"I have done to-day what I did not believe I would do for

anybody—certainly, what I would not do for myself. At Taylor's instance, having learned that your name and his were not in the list sent to the Senate, I have called on the Secretary of War and on the President to ask that appointments may be given you both."

Another paragraph of the same letter reads :

"From Stanton I went to the President, who received me, as he does everybody, I believe, with courtesy—took your names and my wishes for you, and said that he would do what he could. How much this means, I can't say."

It was not so that our hero always treated applications. Much depended on his mood; and he was very moody. He made many foes and chilled the hearts of many friends by his behavior, from time to time.

March 2, 1867, in the course of a letter to Judge Robert A. Hill, District Judge of the United States, at Jacinto, Mississippi, the Chief Justice said :

"Your charge to the grand jury was exactly what it should have been. The Civil Rights Bill is as important to the prosperity of the whites as it is to the security of the blacks."

Again :

"It is deeply to be lamented that the legislatures of the several Southern States did not ratify the constitutional amendments. Prompt ratification would have assured complete restoration, in my judgment. The refusal to ratify has resulted, as I expected, in a more stringent measure. I am glad to see that Governor Brown, of Georgia, recommends to the people the acceptance of the new bill, and organization under it by universal suffrage. Southern men, I [think], should follow this lead. Universal suffrage is sure to come, and the sooner it is conceded the sooner will all political questions be settled."

And again :

"For one, I am exceedingly anxious for the complete recovery of the Southern States from the evils of the war. They are a most important part of the country. Their prosperity is the prosperity of the whole. I know that the path of restoration is a hard one; but with wise men difficulty and even harshness is better than permanent or long-continued distraction."

On the same day he commenced, as follows, a letter to John M. Langston, Esq., now Professor :

"DEAR MR. LANGSTON: Yours of the 26th came yesterday. I am

very sorry I did not see you in Washington. It seems to me that now is the time for great benefits to both races from your labors in the Southern States. There are indications that the Southern people may conform their action to the recent legislation of Congress. If so, you will be everywhere well received. Governor Brown's letter is manly and strong, and its counsels may be heeded. I hope they may be."

Then we have the words :

"My position and duties allow me little part in the present work of restoration and elevation. But I was glad that Governor S——,¹ who was the first to organize a colored regiment, was ready to aid the plan of the League in restoring the late rebel States. I know very little about it, except that you were naturally thought of as one who could render great service; and so wrote you. It is a pity you can't come at once; but I hope you may not delay beyond the thirty (?) days."

Marked evidence of a good, kind heart, in spite of moodiness, appears in a letter, dated on the same second of March, and addressed to Mrs. Mary Eliza Chase, widow of the writer's brother, Edward. But it seems improper to transcribe the letter, much of which relates to the condition of an afflicted relative. But I feel free to copy the sentences:

"I am willing to pay the expense. I remember her when I was very young as a kind aunt, and I wish to do all I can to smooth the remnant of her days."

The letter concludes with the words :

"We are all well. Nettie is, you know, in Germany. She writes cheerfully and seems to be improving every way."

In a letter of the same date, to Mr. Arnold, are the words

"I have nothing of Mr. Lincoln's which seems proper for publication, at this time, unless it be what he said to the Cabinet at the first reading of the Proclamation of Emancipation. I hardly know whether this should be published; but if, on reflection, it may be, it was promised to Mr. Owen, for his book, before I knew of your intended publication.

"The draft of a proclamation, to which you refer, as submitted to the President by me was very brief, and not at all a 'grand paper.' It is remarkable for nothing except for the concluding paragraph, which, with some modification, Mr. Lincoln adopted as his concluding paragraph.

¹Sprague.

"The paragraph, as I wrote, was as follows: 'And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution [and an act demanded by the circumstances of the country], I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind, and the gracious favor of Almighty God.'

"Mr. Lincoln struck out the words in brackets, and inserted, instead, 'upon military necessity.'"

In a letter to Mr. Ball, dated March 11, are the words:

"I have inclosed a check for \$50 to Oma Smith (colored), a former servant of Mr. Wirt, at the request of his daughter, Mrs. Goldsborough. . . . Perhaps you may remember Oma, as he drove my carriage about twenty years ago."

On the same day, Oma himself was thus addressed by the same pen:

"FRIEND OMA: At Mrs. Goldsborough's request, I inclose a check on First National Bank of Cincinnati for \$50, payable to yourself or order. Please call with it yourself at the bank and get the money. Mrs. Goldsborough showed me her letter to you; 'tis very kind, and I hope you will accept her offer. Your sincere friend,

"MR. OMA SMITH, colored.

S. P. CHASE."

It is pleasant thus to find ourselves again reminded of the Wirts; and I am rather proud of that little note to "friend Oma."

On the same day, the Chief Justice wrote, as follows, to Judge Miller:

"MY DEAR JUDGE: I want you to give me the benefit of your best judgment on the question, Can Congress Constitutionally authorize the nomination of Registers in Bankruptcy to the District Court by the Chief Justice or any Associate Justice of the Supreme Court? I have asked Swayne for his advice, and, as yet, no one else beside yourself. I shall not, probably, act in any case before April, but shall be glad of your views as soon as you can consider the matter.

"I wish most heartily that Congress had put the duty of nomination on some one else; but am inclined to perform it, if the putting of it on me is not unconstitutional."

Did the Chief Justice "fool himself" about that wish? Was he not rather fond of patronage? Was he not at heart rather glad of the opportunity, afforded by the change in question, to make faster friends and to disarm opponents? It appears to me that he did not deceive himself in that respect. I think he had more than begun to find out his Achilles heel.

The same letter to Judge Miller says:

"You and Mrs. Miller have reached home in safety and health, I

hope. The dreadful cold under which I was suffering, when you left, grew much worse and alarmed me a good deal. I hope I am rid of it now. But my new duties have pressed me so much that I have had no time for study. I tried to get to the Capitol to-day, and shut myself up; but could not make my escape till four this afternoon. I am writing in the Conference Room.

"Yours most cordially,

"HON. SAMUEL F. MILLER.

S. P. CHASE."

On the 14th, writing to Governor Fenton, the Chief Justice said :

"Our political sky seems to be clearing. It seems probable that under the Military Act and the Supplemental and Restoration Bill, all the Southern States will be back, with full representation, in a year. I do not think this will hurt, but rather help us."

I next find the copy of an undated letter to Horace Greeley, as follows :

"MY DEAR MR. GREELEY: Reid showed me a letter from you the other day, and, I presume, has seen you ere this, and assured you of my wish to do all I can to benefit a paper which has rendered such invaluable service to the cause of freedom and right.

"I was glad to see your articles on resumption. If I had time I would look up the facts of the last six years and, lay them in order before you. I was often accused of expansion, and I never went beyond the original limit of \$450,000,000, nor beyond¹ mill., except in an emergency. The expansion, by *adding* the national currency to the greenback currency, instead of substituting the former for the latter, took place after I left the department.

"Would you like to see the list of persons recommended for register in New York? The number is large and increasing. I wish you would advise Congress to repeal the clause putting the nomination on me.

"Your friend sincerely,

S. P. CHASE."

A letter to Colonel R. C. Parsons, dated March 16, concludes as follows :

"Smith—Comly's father-in-law—told me that you are too ardent, and manage too much. I mention this that you may be careful: but told him that friends who wait for something to turn up are not the most valuable. He says Comly is friendly.

"Yours always,

S. P. CHASE."

On the same day we have this letter :

"MY DEAR MR. AUSTIN: Your note, announcing the death of Mr. Garniss,² filled me with sadness. All gone! Father, mother, their

¹A word is here illegible.

²Ante, page.

daughter, my dear wife; their grandchild, my precious little one; their adopted daughter, the beloved partner of your bosom; all! How this earth slides from under our feet! It is a comfort to be assured that Mr. Garniss, so full of years, was ready to depart. It is a comfort, too, to hear that your boys are doing well. I shall always, while I live, take a warm interest in them.

"With sympathizing regards to Mr. and Mrs. Ferrie, believe me,

"Most sincerely your friend, S. P. CHASE.

"DAVID AUSTIN, Esq.

"Did Mr. Garniss leave a will? I should like to have the pictures of myself and of Kate, and our child."

Have I exaggerated in describing the supreme affliction of our hero's private life? But more of this we shall see hereafter.

CHAPTER XLVI.

CHASE AND JOHNSON—CHASE AS A UNIONIST—PRESIDENTIAL FEVER—
CHASE AND THE COOKES.

ON the 21st of March, the Chief Justice said to his "dear Parsons," by letter:

"Your note, or rather letter, of yesterday, is just received. I am very, very sorry that Mrs. P—— and Julia are ill. I would rather have my friends well and happy than be President by a good deal. Most earnestly do I hope that they are already much better, and will soon be well.

"The letter from Smith was to the effect that it was understood, at Col's., that you and some others of my friends were seeking strength for me by alliance with the Conservatives, and that there was no use in such alliance; that the radicals would unite on Corwin, and that my *prospects* would be injured by apparent opposition to him. I told [here follow illegible words] the substance. That's all. By your man, I mean Mr. D., not Gov. D. He is very able, and has shown, of late, in all things, a very good record; and what I meant to say was that, if he can not have the office you spoke of, his talents and character should be called into service in some other honorable position.

"I agree with you about work. No cause can prosper without it. Though there be men who sometimes seem to have honors thrust upon them.

"The court will meet on the 1st of April, and will at once appoint a Marshal. I mentioned your name to Field to-day, and he was, or seemed, much gratified. Nobody will object. All, I think, will¹ with satisfaction—real satisfaction. Will you accept? Of course you will; for you have promised; and, unless you see something disagreeable in the duties, or likely to injure your future prospects, I shall insist on your promise. But do not accept at any sacrifice of inclination or prospects. I know another man who will *do*, though no one who will do as well or be half so acceptable to me."

That curious letter goes on as follows:

"I am very sorry to give you so much trouble about the iron stock."²

¹ Here is again an illegible word.

² In an earlier letter, dated March 16th, are the words: "Dear Parsons: I have no memorandum or memory of the iron stock. All I know is, that I bought of you, and had a certificate for the number of shares, which \$5500 paid for, and that I

It is very strange what became of the note case which contained it, and some other certificates and notes. There was nothing that could be used by a thief, except two notes which were indorsed. One of them has since become due and has been paid as a lost note by the maker. The original has not been presented. This makes me think it possible that the case and contents may yet come to light.

"With affectionate remembrances to Mrs. P. and my dear little friend, Julia, and the youthful Richard, believe me

"Cordially yours,

"Col. R. C. Parsons.

S. P. CHASE."

"P. S. Dr. Smith is a true friend, if not a very active one. I think C—— will not differ materially from him."

On the 22d we have the following :

"DEAR MR. SCHUCKERS: I inclose the acceptance. If your expectations are realized, you may consider it as payment for stock. If not, and you can not conveniently pay, I will set down to the debit of 'experiment' and 'good will.'

"It is my trust, however, that you will come out successful.

"Faithfully your friend,

"J. W. Schuckers, Esq.

S. P. CHASE."

In another handwriting, below, we have :

"Note for \$500 accepted, payable to Mr. J. W. Schuckers, four months after date, March 21st, 1867."

Concluding a letter to Hon. Horace Maynard, on the 25th of March, the Chief Justice said :

"You had¹ not place any more dependence than your experience shows you ought to, on rumors of my intentions, which find their way into the papers."

On the same day he wrote to the celebrated "Parson Brownlow," a letter, beginning as follows :

"MY DEAR GOVERNOR: I am a little late in congratulating you on the late proof of confidence which the loyal men of Tennessee have given you. It was nobly deserved, and must have been as gratifying to you as it was to your friends every-where.

"Your recent proclamation has just appeared in our papers here. God grant that it may have the effect of repressing the violence of

soon after received a dividend at New York of \$500. There must be entries on the books of the company that show the issue of the certificate to me; or the books must be very loosely kept."

¹ So in original.

the bad and encouraging the efforts of the good, so that peace and prosperity of your great State may soon be fully restored."¹

On the 27th we have the note :

"DEAR MR. GREELEY: I was much disappointed in not seeing you when you were in Washington.

"It seems that Congress is determined to make me nominate the registers. If adjournment takes place without relieving me, I shall do the best I can.

"I may make slow work, for I must attend to my judicial duties.

"When do you come here again ?

"Yours always,

"Hon. H. Greeley.

S. P. CHASE."

April 26th the Chief Justice wrote to Mr. J. W. Schuckers :

"MY DEAR SCHUCKERS: I am much to blame for neglecting your letter, but I am pressed out of measure.

"As to the stock, I should prefer to let it remain as it is, if after seeing Mr. Miller, I think it best. My relations to Mr. M—— are much the same as mine to you, and I should be perfectly willing to communicate freely with him.

"If this is not agreeable to you, however, do as you please, and I shall be content. Only don't *burden* yourself on my account. Take care of yourself and you will please me.

"Your friend,

"J. W. Schuckers, Esq.

S. P. CHASE."

On the same day General Schofield was thus addressed by letter :

"DEAR GENERAL: I received, some days ago, a kind note from you, inviting me, in case I should come to Richmond to hold the Circuit Court, to share your quarters.

"As my duties were certain to detain me here till late in May, I allowed the pressure of other engagements to delay my reply, and the expression of my thanks for your kindness.

"To-day I have received (I suppose from Judge Underwood) your letter to him of the 30th of March.

"The judge must have misapprehended me, since he evidently thought that I required some assurance of welcome and protection

¹ On the 27th he wrote to John C. Tucker, Esq., assistant assessor United States internal revenue, Marksville, Avoyell's Parish, Louisiana :

"I remember very well the occasion to which you refer in your letter of the 18th. I trust the time is now nigh at hand when frank recognition of the rights of all by all will secure to every child in the country the benefits of education.

"I regret that it is not in my power to procure for you an appointment under government in Louisiana; I am not, however, at present, in a position which enables me to influence appointments in any of the departments."

How different from that letter to "dear Bannister" about the call on Secretary Stanton and President Johnson !

from your headquarters for the Circuit Court, to remove my doubts as to the propriety of my attending the May term.

"I certainly never expressed a wish for any such assurance, though I greatly value assurances of good-will from you.

"I have not entertained any doubts as to the safety of the Circuit [Court] in Richmond; and, whether welcome or not, personally, to the people there, I never had any apprehension that I should not be received, as Chief Justice, with proper respect.

"My unwillingness even to seem to feel such apprehension will compel me, in case I come to Richmond, to decline your offered hospitality. I must find my quarters at the hotel and take my chance with other visitors of the place, whether on business or for pleasure.

"With great regard and esteem, yours truly,

"Maj.-Gen. Schofield.

S. P. CHASE."

And to Judge Underwood, on the same day, was written :

"MY DEAR JUDGE : I have received, to-day, Gen. Schofield's letter to you of the 30th of March, which, I suppose, was inclosed to me by you.

"You must have misconceived me. I wanted no assurance of welcome and protection for the Circuit Court from headquarters.

"If I go to Richmond at all, I intend to have no relations with the military, except those which spring from the good-will which subsists between myself and some of the officers.

"But I can not go at all till after the 30th of May, by which time the Circuit Court will, I suppose, have adjourned."

And now comes a letter evidently addressed to Col. Donn Piatt, now of the Washington *Capital*, though no name is attached to my copy. Col. Piatt was then, *more suo*, gently agitating men and measures in the *Macacheek Press*. The letter reads as follows :

"MY DEAR COLONEL : Your letter gratified me so much that I must reply instantler, though in so much haste that I can't be certain that you will be able to make out my crow-tracks.

"I never tire of assurances of friendship from friends, and no man, I believe, is more sincerely attached to his friends, or feels estrangement more painfully than I. And yet I have not unfrequently experienced estrangement when I was unconscious of having done any thing to cause it. And I did not know but such might have been the case with you.

"The article in the *Macacheek* was, if I remember rightly, a letter from Washington, for nothing in which was the paper responsible except the publication. I can not now remember what it was in it that struck me as unjust, but its publication did excite the apprehension I expressed in my letter to the general; and it pained me, for I felt that I had not been wanting in proofs of friendship for you.

"If the *Macacheek* was returned by the postmaster here, it was my fault; for I directed no papers to be sent me unless prepaid.

They had become rather numerous. But the order was a foolish one, like some other general orders I have read of, and was soon rescinded, and now *Macacheek* will be welcome.

"You are right in not holding me responsible for my friends, but wrong in holding me responsible, *in any bad sense*, for my enemies. I am sure, I do not 'create' them, by wrong doing. Some of them make themselves such by mistakes and misconception—some are enemies because they hate what I think best—and some from envy and spite. How am I responsible for these?

"The prospects in the country are excellent except the financial, and I don't work on these. The reconstruction measures are doing their work. The best men in the South are making up their minds to welcome the new order. A gentleman, prominent Democrat, and who has held high positions—just returned—tells me that many leading gentlemen, whom he met in the South, are going to take hold of universal suffrage as a principle for the whole country, and make it the basis of future action.

"It will be a glorious resurrection when the South prospers by justice.

Faithfully your friend,

"S. P. CHASE."¹

To Judge Underwood, May 13th, the Chief Justice wrote a letter saying :

"Thanks for your note and thanks for Mr. Millward's offer of accommodations. I do not know that I should care to be in the same house with Mr. Davis, while he and I occupy our present relative positions.

"It is certain that I shall be detained here all this week and next. After that, if the Circuit Court business requires my presence, I shall try to join you.

"In that case, I will thank [you] to request Mr. Chandler to procure suitable quarters for me. I shall want a parlor and a bed-room, adjoining, and a sleeping-room for my messenger, who is colored."

¹ To Gov. Dennison, on the 5th of May, the Chief Justice wrote a letter, containing this language :

"I had a letter from you some days since which I meant to make an occasion for writing you my thanks for what has been reported to me as having been said by you of me. I value greatly your friendship and good opinion. It was my habit to rely much on you when I was governor of Ohio. When I was secretary, a temporary difference in financial views deprived me of much of the benefit I hoped from your counsels. But I can never forget the magnanimity and generous terms in which you declared yourself convinced of the wisdom of my course. I have rejoiced in all the honors you have received ; and while I regretted that you felt yourself constrained to retire from the post you filled so ably, I most cordially approved the course you felt required of you by duty.

"I do not know that I shall ever again be in a position in which I shall require any other counsel than that of counsellors at law ; but if that should happen, I shall rely on yours."

On the 21st, a letter to Hon. Flamen Ball began as follows :

"MY DEAR OLD FRIEND: My nomination of you for Register will go to Judge Leavitt by next mail."

June 3d, in a letter to Mr. Geo. O'Harra, of Columbus, Ohio, the Chief Justice said, with evidently unaffected feeling :

"I deeply regret your embarrassment through Mr. Stone. Hardly any thing ever gave me so much pain as his misconduct."¹

What a history those few words will open up for many residents of Columbus! Mr. Stone, the reader will remember, was the man appointed by Gov. Chase State Treasurer, on the resignation of Gen. Gibson.

At Raleigh, on the 6th of June, 1867, in the State Senate Chamber, was opened the United States Circuit Court, Chief Justice Chase presiding. A large number of distinguished members of the bar listened to the following address of the Chief Justice, pronounced before proceeding to business :

"GENTLEMEN OF THE BAR: Before proceeding to the regular business, I think it proper to address a few observations to you. For more than four years the courts of the Union were excluded from North Carolina by the rebellion. When active hostilities closed in 1865, national military authority took the place of all ordinary civil jurisdiction, or controlled its exercise. All courts, whether State or National, were subordinated to military supremacy, and acted, when they acted at all, under such limitations and in such cases as the commanding general, under the direction of the President, thought fit to prescribe. Their process might be disregarded, and their judgments and decrees set aside by military orders. Under these circumstances, the justices of the Supreme Court, allotted to the circuits which include the insurgent States, abstained from joining the district judges in holding the Circuit Courts. Their attendance was unnecessary; for the district judges were fully authorized by law to hold the Circuit Courts without the justice of the Supreme Court, and to exercise complete jurisdiction in the trial of all criminal and almost all civil cases. And their attendance was unnecessary for another reason: the military tribunals, at that time, and under the existing circumstances, were competent to the exercise of all jurisdiction, criminal and civil, which belongs, under ordinary circumstances, to civil courts. Being unnecessary, the justices thought that their attendance would be improper and unbecoming; they regarded it as unfit in itself and injurious in many ways to the public interests, that the highest public officers of the judicial department of the government should exercise their functions under

¹ Ante, p.

the supervision and control of the executive department. At length, however, the military control over the civil tribunals was withdrawn by the President. The writ of *habeas corpus*, which had been suspended, was restored, and military authority in civil matters was abrogated. This was effected particularly by the proclamation of April 2d, and partly by the proclamation of August 20, 1866. These proclamations reinstated the full authority of the national courts in all matters within their jurisdiction, and the justices of the Supreme Court expected to join the district judges in holding the Circuit Courts during the interval between the terms at Washington.

"On the 23d of July, 1866, however, an act of Congress reduced the number of the circuits and changed materially the districts of which the Southern circuits were composed, without making or providing for an allotment of the members of the Supreme Court to the new circuits; and, without such allotment, the justices of that court have no circuit jurisdiction. The effect of the act, therefore, was to suspend the authority of the justices to hold the Circuit Courts in the altered circuits. This suspension was removed by the act of March 2, 1867, by which a new allotment was authorized. Under this act the justices of the Supreme Court have been again assigned to circuit districts, and the Chief Justice has been allotted to hold, with the district judges, the national courts for this district.

"I am here to join my brother, the district judge, in holding the Circuit Court for this district. It is the first Circuit Court held in any district within the insurgent States, at which a justice of the Supreme Court could be present without disregard of superior duties at the seat of government or usurpation of jurisdiction. The associate justices allotted to the other southern circuits will join in holding the courts at the regular terms prescribed by law; and thus the national civil jurisdiction will be fully restored throughout the Union.

"It is true that military authority is still exercised within these southern circuits, but not now as formerly, in consequence of the disappearance of local authority and in suspension or control of all tribunals, whether State or national. It is now used under acts of Congress, and only to prevent illegal violence to persons and property, and to facilitate the restoration of every State to equal rights and benefits in the Union. This military authority does not extend in any respect to the courts of the United States. Let us hope that neither rebellion nor any other occasion for the assertion of any military authority over courts and justices will hereafter suspend the due course of judicial administration by the national tribunals in any part of the republic."

On the 25th of June, the Chief Justice, writing to Horace Greeley, started off as follows:

"DEAR MR. GREELEY: How could you! Do n't the Constitution say what shall constitute treason? Is n't it 'levying war?' Did not the rebels 'levy war?' Did n't they, then, 'commit treason?'

"Read that part of Webster's speech in reply to Hayne, in which he describes the consequences of nullification. You will find no hint that nullifiers, pursuing their nullification to civil war, ceased to be traitors on becoming engaged in such a war.

"But no matter what he said. There is the Constitution, and it is so plain that it can't be made plainer.

"Now what is the business of a court? To fritter away plain words by arbitrary interpretation? or, to declare their obvious meaning and leave to the political departments."

Here my copy, in the letter-book, becomes totally illegible. There are, indeed, subsequent passages which can be made out; but I shall quote farther only the conclusion of the letter and its post-script. In these we have the sentences:

"I would not be surprised if, when the States have thus returned to their duties, Congress should adopt your doctrine of universal amnesty. Meantime do n't let us by construction cut out the law; but take it as it is, and conform it, at last, to the highest of all laws, whose voice is the harmony of the world."

"Yours cordially,
"Hon. H. Greeley. S. P. CHASE."

"P. S. Since writing this letter I have seen a head-note in the *Commercial*, in which some part of my opinion is referred to as 'an adroit thrust at Greeley.' You know better. You know—at least I hope you know—how earnest and sincere is my attachment to you. In political matters I generally accept your views; but in questions of law I am and must be a mere judge; or be dishonest."

It is here that I propose to anticipate, so far as to present some extracts from the opinion of Chief Justice Chase, in *Texas vs. White*.¹

In that too little studied case our hero said:

"It is needless to discuss at length the question whether the right of a State to withdraw from the Union for any cause, regarded by herself as sufficient, is consistent with the Constitution of the United States.

"The union of the States never was a purely artificial and arbitrary relation. It began among the Colonies, and grew out of common origin, mutual sympathies, kindred principles, similar interests, and geographical relations. It was confirmed and strengthened by the necessities of war, and received definite form, and character, and sanction from the Articles of Confederation. By these the union was solemnly declared to 'be perpetual.' And when these articles were found to be inadequate to the exigencies of the country, the Constitution was ordained 'to form a more perfect union.' It is difficult

¹ 7 Wallace, 700.

to convey the idea of indissoluble unity more clearly than by these words: What can be indissoluble, if a perpetual union, made more perfect, is not?

"But the perpetuity and indissolubility of the union by no means implies the loss of distinct and individual existence, or of the right of self-government by the States. Under the Articles of Confederation each State retained its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right, not expressly delegated to the United States. Under the Constitution, though the powers of the States were much restricted, still all powers not delegated to the United States, nor prohibited to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people. And we have already had occasion to remark, at this term, that 'the people of each State compose a State, having its own government, and endowed with all the functions essential to separate and independent existence,' and that, 'without the States in union, there could be no such political body as the United States.'"¹

"Not only, therefore, can there be no loss of separate and independent autonomy to the States through their union under the Constitution, but it may be not unreasonably said that the preservation of the States, and the maintenance of their governments, are as much within the design and care of the Constitution as the preservation of the Union and the maintenance of the National Government. The Constitution, in all its provisions, looks to an indestructible union, composed of indestructible States."

It seems to me, the Union is composed of private as well as public persons—of individuals as well as communities,—of natural as well as artificial persons—if, indeed, it can be said to be composed at all of persons. But of that I wish to say no more at present. We are interested to discern not *my* conception of the Union, but the views of the man whose life we study.

Having explained that if the State of Texas was not, at the time of filing the bill before the court, one of the United States, the bill must be dismissed for want of jurisdiction, the Chief Justice says, in that interesting case:

"We are very sensible of the magnitude and importance of this question, of the interest it excites, and of the difficulty, not to say impossibility, of so disposing of it as to satisfy the conflicting judgments of men equally enlightened, equally upright, and equally patriotic. But we meet it in the case, and we must determine it in the exercise of our best judgment, under the guidance of the Constitution alone.

"Some not unimportant aid, however, in ascertaining the true sense of the Constitution, may be derived from considering what is the correct idea of a State, apart from any union or confederation

¹ *County of Lane vs. State of Oregon*, 7 Wallace, 76.

with other States. The poverty of language often compels the employment of terms in quite different significations; and of this hardly any example more signal is to be found than in the use of the word we are now considering. It would serve no useful purpose to attempt an enumeration of all the various senses in which it is used. A few only need be noticed.

"It describes sometimes a people or community of individuals united more or less closely in political relations, inhabiting temporarily or permanently the same country; often it denotes only the country or territorial region inhabited by such a community; not unfrequently it is applied to the government under which the people live; at other times it represents the combined idea of people, territory, and government.

"It is not difficult to see that, in all these senses the primary conception is that of a people or community. The people, in whatever territory dwelling, either temporarily or permanently, and whether organized under a regular government, or united by looser and less definite relations, constitute the State.

"This is undoubtedly the fundamental idea upon which the republican institutions of our own country are established. It was stated very clearly by an eminent judge,¹ in one of the earliest cases adjudicated by this court, and we are not aware of any thing, in any subsequent decision, of a different tenor.

"In the Constitution, the term State most frequently expresses the combined idea just noticed, of people, territory, and government. A State, in the ordinary sense of the Constitution, is a political community of free citizens, occupying a territory of defined boundaries, and organized under a government sanctioned and limited by a written constitution, and established by the consent of the governed. It is the Union of such States, under a common constitution, which forms the distinct and greater political unit, which that constitution designates as the United States, and makes of the people and States which compose it one people and one country.

"The use of the word in this sense hardly requires further remark. In the clauses which impose prohibitions upon the States in respect to the making of treaties, emitting of bills of credit, and laying duties of tonnage, and which guarantee to the States representation in the House of Representatives and in the Senate, are found some instances of this use in the Constitution. Others will occur to every mind.

"But it is also used in its geographical sense, as in the clauses which require that a representative in Congress shall be an inhabitant of the State in which he shall be chosen, and that the trial of crimes shall be held within the State where committed.

"And there are instances in which the principal sense of the word seems to be that primary one to which we have adverted, of a people or political community, as distinguished from a government.

"In this latter sense the word seems to be used in the clause which provides that the United States shall guarantee to every State

¹ Mr. Justice Patterson, in *Penhallow vs. Doane's Adm.*, 8 Dallas, 98.

in the Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion.

"In this clause a plain distinction is made between a State and the government of a State.

"Having thus ascertained the senses in which the word State is employed in the Constitution, we will proceed to consider the proper application of what has been said.

"The Republic of Texas was admitted into the Union, as a State, on the 27th of December, 1845. By this act the new State, and the people of the new State, were invested with all the rights and became subject to all the responsibilities and duties of the original States, under the Constitution.

"From the date of admission until 1861, the State was represented in the Congress of the United States by her senators and representatives, and her relations as a member of the Union remained unimpaired. In that year, acting upon the theory that the rights of a State under the Constitution might be renounced, and her obligations thrown off at pleasure, Texas undertook to sever the bond thus formed."

Then follows a rehearsal of facts which it is unnecessary here to set forth.

The Chief Justice said, in the same opinion :

"When, therefore, Texas became one of the United States, she entered into an indissoluble relation. All the obligations of perpetual union, and all the guaranties of republican government in the union, attached at once to the State. The act which consummated her admission into the Union was something more than a compact; it was the incorporation of a new member into the political body. And it was final. The union between Texas and the other States was as complete, as perpetual, and as indissoluble as the union between the original States. There was no place for reconsideration, except through revolution, or through consent of the States."

It is impossible to reconcile this opinion with the views of the citizens who believe in the doctrine of secession. But here is a passage, part of which can not be reconciled with the views of certain citizens who heartily reject that doctrine :

"Considered, therefore, as transactions under the Constitution, the ordinance of secession, adopted by the convention and ratified by a majority of the citizens of Texas, and all the acts of her legislature intended to give effect to that ordinance, were absolutely null. They were utterly without operation in law. The obligations of the State, as a member of the Union, and of every citizen of the United States, remained perfect and unimpaired. It certainly follows that the State did not cease to be a State, nor her citizens to be citizens of the Union. If this were otherwise, the State must have become foreign, and her citizens foreigners. The war must

have ceased to be a war for the suppression of rebellion and become a war for conquest and subjugation."

It appears to me that that opinion was correct; but it is proper to inform the reader, that of the judges who dissented, two, at least, Mr. Justice Swayne and Mr. Justice Miller, were most learned, able lawyers. They concurred with Mr. Justice Grier, who delivered a dissenting opinion, holding that, in her then condition, Texas had no capacity to maintain an action in that court. Mr. Justice Swayne, with whom Mr. Justice Miller concurred, said: "The question, in my judgment, is one in relation to which this court is bound by the action of the legislative department of the Government."

On the 29th of June, 1867, the Chief Justice wrote to Mr. John Russell Young, Esq., a long letter, which commences in these terms:

"MY DEAR MR. YOUNG: Your kind note is just received.

"Your reference to the absence of Mr. Greeley leads me to suppose that you are probably the author of the article, criticizing my recent opinion in Georgia. It was too kind in its tone to make me feel very bad; but I am so sure that its logic is wrong and that the conclusion of the opinion, in which the *Tribune* concurs, can not be defended except upon the premises which it does not admit, that I could not help writing a few lines to Mr. Greeley, which please take as addressed to yourself. Of course, I want nothing of this by-talk in the paper."

Then we have the words:

"I seldom read the *Herald*. I should, if I were in a position which required me to acquaint myself with all that could be said against as well as for my public action. But I am in no such position; and its causeless and persistent personal hostility is better unread than read. I know that it can do me no real harm.

"One of its chief correspondents, when I was secretary, menaced me with its displeasure if I did not give him some special advantages in respect to departmental intelligence. My only reply was: 'The *Herald* did not make me, and I do not believe that it can unmake me.'"

In another paragraph appear the sentences:

"I must say frankly that I see no ground for thinking that the President has not intended to carry out the Reconstruction Acts in good faith, or that the attorney-general has not honestly sought to ascertain and state their true meaning. I do not concur in the attorney general's opinions in some of their most important particulars, because I start with the premises that Congress has full power to govern the rebel States until they accept terms of restoration which will insure future loyalty, the fulfillment of national obligations, the repudiation of all rebellion and the obligations of rebellion; and the se-

curity of all rights for all men ; and that the acts of Congress must be construed with reference to these ends, liberally ; whereas the attorney-general starts with the premises that the acts are punitive and must be construed strictly. But I have known him long ; am sure of his great legal abilities, and equally sure that he is an upright and loyal man.

"I don't want to see Congress set aside the provisional State governments. It would be a very mischievous measure in its effects on private rights, and lead to much litigation, and very seriously retard, I fear, the restoration of order and prosperity to the South.

"Congress may very well provide that the military commander may remove State officials who put themselves in the way of reconstruction ; and that their successors be elected by *universal suffrage* ; but I would not have military commanders authorized to appoint their successors, unless temporarily ; nor would I have them diverted from their proper work under the acts to the work of legislation in matters of property and business.

"My observations in North Carolina fully satisfied me that Congress acted wisely in recognizing the existing governments as provisional governments, and that all will go well if it adheres to the general policy of the acts.

"I have written too much—for I have been obliged to write hastily. My old motto was, 'Freedom and Union without Compromise.' It is so still.

"By the way, I must mention that one of the best Republicans I met in N. C.—an active and influential member of the State committee—was a member of Stonewall Jackson's staff, and is disfranchised."

In the course of a letter, under date July 3d, the Chief Justice wrote to A. M. Clapp, Esq.:

"I most gratefully acknowledge the constant devotion of the *Express* to the great cause of freedom and union, for which I care a great deal more than for any personal advancement ; and my esteem for its editor is cordial and sincere. If I could serve either the journal or yourself, I should be glad to do so. But it is too obvious that I can not control the action of any of the district judges. Congress alone is competent to do this."

In a letter to Theodore Tilton, dated July 9th, was said :

"I see no objection to your using the letters which Mr. Bailey put into your hands, as you say, 'in parts and discreetly.'

"If any names are used, they should, of course, not appear in print.

"I hope you will say nothing, in connection with them, unkind of President Johnson. The letters were written with anxious desires that he might take a line of action which would make him the great leader of freedom and progress. I greatly regret that he did not take it, for his own sake and the country's ; but he did not. His error was its own punishment. I make no reproaches, and

wish none made in connection with any correspondence of mine with him at a time when I thought we were nearly agreed.

"He assures me, now, that he is in favor of universal suffrage; and, *I think*, regrets the past. He has, so far as I can see, executed in good faith the reconstruction acts ever since the veto. He certainly was not to blame for calling for the opinion of the attorney-general on points as to which the generals were in doubt and asked for instructions, nor can he be blamed for agreeing with the attorney-general on points of construction. I am glad that Congress has come together and will make plain what was, in the judgment of able and good men, obscure. I shall be sorry if they attempt [to] supersede the President in the command of the army, or to make the district generals superior to all civil authority as well as all military. For I do not think this necessary to the great ends for which the country longs—restoration on the basis of justice and equal rights firmly secured by constitutions and laws.

"So far, Congress has acted with great wisdom. If it acts with less wisdom, or, what I think, unwisdom, now, I shall console myself by the reflection that its ends are just and noble, and that, in a few months, with wisdom and prudence, and firmness in action, we shall have doubled the cape and entered the *Pacific Sea*."¹

Writing to Horace Greeley, on the 5th of August, the Chief Justice said :

"I do not know that you are not much better informed as to public matters here than I am; but it is well enough that, in your position, you should know what I am about to tell you.

"The President sent for me last Friday morning, and I went to the White House between nine and ten. He received me kindly, as he always does, and soon went, as his way is, directly to the matter upon his mind.

"He declared, most expressly, that he had executed, and meant to carry out, the reconstruction acts in perfect good faith; but was much dissatisfied with General Sheridan's action. He censured, especially, the letter of General S. to General Grant, in which he spoke of the President as hostile to the legislation of Congress, and of the attorney-general's construction of it as forming a highway for perjury. He thought it insubordination, and inexcusable that such

¹ While there is fine writing, and hard sense, and amiable spirit, in that letter, that rhetorical flourish, ending in the *Pacific Sea*, is almost laughable as an example of the folly into which a man may be seduced by too great love for the effects of rhetoric. If congressional wisdom, prudence, and firmness were necessary to effect the doubling of the cape and the passage into the *Pacific Sea* of government, what storms might not unwisdom on the part of Congress raise?

Our hero was decidedly too fond of rhetoric, during periods of his life, if not during most of his days, after he began to use the pen. And he wrote too much, and not always to the right persons.

Tilton, for example, was no fit correspondent for such a man as Chase.

a letter should be sent to the commanding general, and published at New Orleans and New York, about high matters, and never communicated to him officially even to this day. He censured Sheridan, also, for his course in other respects."

Then follow several clauses of the sentence which I can not make out, followed by the words :

"And he intimated very plainly his intention to remove him and put Hancock in his place.

"After hearing what he had to say, I asked him if he wanted my views, and he said that was what he wanted to see [me] for. And then I told him what I thought, very plainly, very much as follows: The people had set their hearts on the restoration of the rebel States with full guaranties for future peace, order, and security, especially by universal suffrage; his vetoes had created a general impression, north and south, that he was hostile to this purpose; that this impression had been partially removed by his action in carrying the laws into execution; but the reference of the applications of the district generals for instructions to the attorney-general, and his opinions, had revived and intensified this impression, encouraging the enemies of reconstruction, discouraging its friends in the unre-stored States, and inflaming the people in the other States. This had made the meeting of Congress a necessity, and the new law and the new acts had caused him to be looked on, more and more, as opposed, not to the policy only, but to the objects, which the people favored. Under these circumstances, it was, I thought, exceedingly unadvisable to make a new issue by displacing General Sheridan. I did not argue with him the fitness of General Sheridan's acts, farther than to express my decided opinion that Thomas, Hinton, and Abell ought to have been put on trial for their part in the massacre—but I urged that any interference with General S. would and could work only evil.

"Of course, I give only a frank (?) sketch of what was said on both sides, merely summing up the substance, instead of trying to repeat words or preserving any thing of the circumstantial character of the discussion.

"He had expressed no decided determination when I left him; but, as three days have now elapsed and nothing has been done, I hope the idea has been abandoned. Every member of his Cabinet, I was told (not by him, however), is against interference; and I earnestly hope that there will be none. The country wants all its energies, now, for the direct work of restoration, without the distraction of another hot conflict with the President.

"In the course of our talk, he said that he thought of putting General Grant temporarily at the head of the War Department, to which, of course, nobody would object, except that it would imply the displacement or resignation of Mr. Stanton. I took the liberty of expressing a quite decided opinion that no change would benefit the country or ought to be made.

"Of course, I do not wish any thing of what I have written should

be made public; but while you will not refer to any thing said in this letter, it may be, you will write somewhat differently with this knowledge than without it. Sincerely yours,

"S. P. CHASE."

Was it well so to confide in Horace Greeley, one of the most reckless journalists that ever libelled or lauded public men or public measures? I think not.

In a letter to A. N. Cone, Esq., the Chief Justice, on the 6th of August, said:

"In respect to the matter you write about, it is my wish not to be consulted at all. Information will always be acceptable; but consultation should be with those like-minded with yourself, in your own city and State—especially in your own city. I can not take any active part in what so nearly concerns myself."

Our sick man begins to recover. He has been disordered fearfully with the brain-fever and heart-sickness of presidential candidature. Now, he begins to be convalescent.

He subjoins:

"I do not know that I understand what assurances you give to the friends to whom you write; but have too much confidence in your friendship to suppose that you would wish me to take any place, or seek any support, upon any other assurances than those of general fidelity to our cause, our principles, and our organization."

Here is a matter of most painfully suggestive purport, indicating quite too clearly, that in some respects, Chief Justice Chase was "powerfully weak."

"WASHINGTON, *August 10, 1867.*

"MY DEAR COOKE: Inclosed is a check which will pay the balance to my debit on your books, as per statement just received, \$2448.

"I am glad to receive any kindness from you not of a pecuniary nature. Your hospitality I am always glad to share, and your friendship I greatly value; but I don't want to have any hotel bills of mine assumed by you, because I happen to have just before been your guest. Hence my objection to your paying my bill at the Continental; it was carrying your hospitality just a little too far."

One would say so! But why did not our hero spurn from him the man capable of such pretended hospitality and real management? Our patient hero closed that letter with these words:

"A good name and the consciousness of having done faithful and

useful service to my country was all that I expected or desired from my public labors. The latter can't be taken from me; I will not believe that enemies will be allowed to deprive me of the other.

"But I can not help feeling keenly such attacks as those you speak of, knowing that good men must be deceived by them.

"Faithfully your friend,

"S. P. CHASE."

I must once more anticipate a little. On the 17th of November, 1868, the same infatuated pen addressed to Mr. Jay Cooke the following letter:

"MY DEAR COOKE: Have you ever sent me the certificates of Franklin and Warren stock? If you have, I have mislaid them. If not, please send them; four of \$500 each, and one \$250, which I believe is the balance since consolidation. You wrote me there would be a dividend last month—I hope it did not fail.

"I inclose the certificates of Sterling stock. I have never felt exactly satisfied about that matter. To be sure, the transaction took place after I left the Department, and did not come within the rule against purchases for resale, and it would all have been well enough if you had made me take and pay for the bonds, as well as the stock, as you did more lately in the F. and W. subscription. As it was, I know nothing blameable in it. Still as you did in fact sell the bonds and with the proceeds paid for bonds and stock, and so let me have the stock without cost, the matter wears too much of the appearance of a present from yourself and Mr. M. for my taste, and I prefer not to have it transferred to me. Please, therefore, take the certificates back, and don't think me overscrupulous. If you do, I know you will excuse me for wishing to err on that side, if at all.

"I appreciate fully your friendly intention in the matter, and that of Mr. M., and I acknowledge with pleasure your friendly services in investing my small means, aided sometimes, temporarily, by you very much to my benefit, and particularly for allowing me an interest in the Franklin and Warren investment, which now promises to turn out so well. That, I think, is the best investment I ever made, and I should like to make enough more of the same sort to enable me to pay for a good house here in Washington. You may help me in this way by counsel and service as much as you please.

"I shall never cease to be glad and grateful that I laid down for myself the rule, after Congress gave me such great powers, enabling me to raise and depress values very largely at my discretion, that I would have nothing to do, directly or indirectly, with speculations or transactions, in gold or securities of any sort, for my own or any body's private benefit. You were well paid for your services as government agent for loans, but it was by well-earned commissions and not by any advantages which all might not equally have. If I was poorly paid as Secretary, by a salary insufficient to meet the expenses of housekeeping, which in my position could not be credit-

ably avoided, I was nevertheless abundantly paid in the consciousness of good service, honestly and faithfully performed, not without benefits, both immediate and permanent, to my country and all my countrymen.

"My separation from politics and parties seems now complete; but I earnestly hope that you, who will now have great influence, and be greatly responsible for it, will set your face like a flint against any modification of the funding system (which I established, and which I honestly think can not be materially improved), impairing at all the great principle of controllability. Redeemability after five years for six per cents.; after ten for five per cents.; and after not more than fifteen for four per cents., is indispensable. I would undertake now to fund the whole of the 5-20 sizes into 10-40 fives of even date with those now outstanding, so as to be controllable after seven or eight years. If any thing will reconcile the American people to repudiation, direct or indirect, it will be perpetuity, or apparent perpetuity, of debt. Be sure of that.

"Faithfully your friend,

"Jay Cooke, Esq.

S. P. CHASE."

I give the whole of this letter, in order that there may be no question as to context. Mr. Cooke I have treated with a consideration which he has clearly shown himself incapable of courteously and properly regarding. I have given him every opportunity of justifying, if he could justify, the course of presses which, belauding him, disparaged the financial life of Salmon Portland Chase. Immediately on the appearance of one of the articles referred to, I addressed to Mr. Cooke a courteous letter, calling his attention to the matter, and expressing my unfeigned desire to give due credit to Cooke as well as to Chase.

As was, perhaps, to be expected, Mr. Jay Cooke treated with contempt my wish to make this work as faithful to the truth as to the ordinary courtesies and kindnesses of civilized society. He answered not at all; and now the country—the whole country—knows how to estimate the laudation and disparagement just mentioned.

Much I have read, much heard, about the great indebtedness of Secretary Chase to the financial genius of Mr. Jay Cooke. I have faithfully endeavored to inform myself on the subject. Even after the failure of Jay Cooke & Co., I felt particularly anxious to show, practically, that the fallen fortunes of that house had not in the least disposed me to deny to any member of it any credit properly ascribable to him. Sometimes, I had heard or read that it was not to the financial genius of Mr. Jay Cooke, but to the really greater financial genius of his brother, ex-Governor Henry D. Cooke, that Secretary Chase owed such heavy obligations. Circumstances as to

which I have already made some intimation, deepened my desire to deny neither to Mr. Jay Cooke nor to ex-Governor Cooke any tribute, which a faithful biography of Salmon Portland Chase might fairly be expected to pay. I do not, however, find myself acquainted with any facts whatever, even tending to show the supposed obligations.

That, in any case, I should not have been disposed to exaggerate any such obligations, has, perhaps, appeared in some of the foregoing chapters. Intimation has been made already, that, for one, the author of this work can not discern in the financial career of Salmon Portland Chase the real glory of his life.

It is to me, indeed, the darkest part of his whole public life. The truth is, he was totally unfit for any save judicial office. Never was a man less fit to judge of men with whom it was necessary to deal in a public office. Be that as it may, however, had Salmon Portland Chase never seen a Cooke, it had been well for him and for his country. That is now too evident to be disputed or denied.

CHAPTER XLVII.

THE IMPEACHMENT OF THE PRESIDENT—CHASE AND GRANT.

ON the 19th of September, 1867, the Chief Justice wrote as follows:

"I am just about starting for Ohio, and wish you were going with me.

"If you will come and act as secretary for me, I shall be glad to have you do so in October. I will guarantee you \$1500 per annum, and hope Congress will allow me a secretary with the same salary as the secretary of the Vice-President, in which case that will be your salary. Perhaps, Congress will enable me to pay you at that rate from the date you commence work. Write to me at Cincinnati.

"Sincerely your friend,

"J. W. Schuckers, Esq.

S. P. CHASE."

Thus prepared, I offer next this document, about the authenticity of which there is no question:

"WASHINGTON, *November 25th, 1867.*

"DEAR SIR: Chief Justice Chase directs me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter and paper for the press. He is grateful for the confidence and favor with which a portion of his countrymen seem to regard him; but under the rules he has prescribed to himself, can not request of any journal the insertion of your communication. He desires me to say, moreover, that he desires no commendation through comparisons with statesmen or soldiers whom the people honor. Under no circumstances could he sanction any disparagement of Gen. Grant or any of the brave men who shared in labors and achievements by which, so far as military service was concerned, the integrity of the Republic was vindicated and saved. Their honor and renown are public treasures, which he would gladly augment but by no means diminish.

"I am very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"John S. Corbin, Esq., Selma, Alabama. J. W. SCHUCKERS."

"P. S. Your paper will be returned if you desire it."

In the course of a letter to Dr. John Paul, then of Ottawa, Ill., the Chief Justice, on the 20th of December, 1867, said:

"As to the next Presidency, I am content to let matters take their course. It is a great gratification that so many of the best and most earnest men of the country honor me by their preference; and I am particularly gratified by the confidence and attachment manifested by the new citizens, whose rights to freedom and equality I have so long maintained. Gratitude is not extinct among them at least; nor can they be said to be deficient in sagacity who prefer tried friends."

What language for the pen that syllabled that sentence! *That* sagacity, at least, our hero never showed. The greatest error of his life, perhaps, was that he so often showed himself insensible to the wisdom in the Polonian precept:

"Do not dull thy palm with entertainment
Of each new-hatched, unfledged comrade,"

But that letter to an old friend goes on as follows:

"What the issue will be can not be foreseen. Many of my friends are sanguine. Some feel that the political currents are now running in military channels, and apprehend that they will continue so to run. I am not sanguine, and never was, in regard to my personal prospects. Indeed, I have never been taken up on personal considerations, but simply because enough men thought my services needed, to carry my nomination and election."

It might have been quite otherwise had this man been duly friendly to his friends and not so friendly to his foes. But he proceeds:

"If there are enough such men, now, I shall be nominated, and if not, not. I mean to be quite contented either way. If not now nominated, my name will never again be mentioned in connection with any political office, with my consent. Especially shall I eschew all connection of it with the Presidency.

"How glad I should be to see *you*!

"Sincerely and faithfully your friend, S. P. CHASE."

And so this volume for the present, bids farewell to the year 1867.

On the second day of January, 1868, some one—I know not who—was thus addressed by letter:

"DEAR SIR: For your kind note of the 31st ult. please accept my thanks.

"Professions are of no value, especially when made under circumstances which indicate, however fallaciously, that they were made with expectations of personal advantage.

"You will excuse me, therefore, if I say nothing, at this time, of the particular question in which you naturally feel so much interest.

"I send you, however, a couple of pamphlets, which will show what my sentiments were in 1843 and 1863; and you know I am not a man much given to change."

Good heaven! what a self-judgment! Not a man much given to change, indeed!

To the changes we have witnessed I suggest no exception. I believe that they were all supposed to be required or suffered by a due regard to conscience and a due devotion to the common weal; but it is very, very strange, to find our hero writing—evidently in good faith, too—in 1868:

“You know I am not a man much given to change.”

On the 14th of January, a letter from our hero to J. W. Holden, Esq., said:

“I am greatly obliged to you for sending me the proceedings of the Raleigh meeting and by the part you took in it.

“The approval of the loyal men of the Southern States is especially gratifying to me. I have long felt that to no equal number of patriotic Americans does the country owe more, or may reasonably expect more.”

Another part of the same letter says:

“I do not know that the declaration of your Raleigh meeting will find echoes enough to make it a national expression. Its sentiments are shared, I am assured, by some of the truest and best republicans in all parts of the land. I shall be content, in any event, by whatever will best advance the cause of equal rights secured by equal laws, enacted through universal suffrage.”

On the 19th of February, writing to Judge Underwood, our presidential convalescent—who was, however to have two relapses—said:

“In political matters, the prospect now is that if General Grant does not decline, he will be the nominee of the Chicago Convention. I shall not fret about it; but think that the earnest republicans will have most power and effect most if they—that is, in the restored States—abide by their first choice.”

In a letter to Hon. W. S. Hatch, of Ohio, the Chief Justice, on the 2d of March, said:

“Receive my sincere thanks for your welcome letter of the 25th. It proves that you still cherish the old time friendship, as I also do. Our political differences have never wrought personal estrangement, and now they can not.

“I rather think you give me credit for more political ambition than I have. My consciousness does not accuse me of any which I could not subordinate cheerfully to the claims of duty. It bears me

witness that I have ever regarded offices as opportunities of usefulness, rather than as a distinction or means of aggrandizement."

These words appear to me precisely true. This man, as we have clearly seen, was far from faultless, far from untouched by foibles; but he never had the low ambition of the place-man. His ambition as to office ever was an aspiration after usefulness and the true glory, shining out of splendid duties splendidly performed.

The same letter contains the words:

"I have never had any sanguine expectation that the people would call me to the Presidency. There have been, now and then, some indications of that sort; but none so marked as to raise in me any very troublesome thoughts.

"At the present time I have no wish, whatever, to have my name connected with that office. In my judicial action I can not regard party policy, and can not hope to please any party. And no man who is not a party man, or a party necessity, can expect party favor. So I dismiss any thought except that of doing the duty which lies directly before me, whatever that may be, and leave all the future to Him who disposes of all things.

"I never expected great success in any position I have occupied. My surprise at the degree of it that I have achieved has been greater, perhaps, than any other man's. And now I can still less hope for much success as a judge. I came to the bench too late and from too active pursuits to think of emulating any of my great predecessors. It will suffice if the duties of my position are performed according to the measure of my ability and circumstances."

This is a sad, a very sad confession. Had our hero but appreciated his great opportunity, as a successor of John Marshall, he could have at least equalled that great judge, in most respects, and more than equalled him in some. Chase did *not* go to the bench too late and from too active pursuits. All the pursuits of his life had admirably tended to prepare him for his grand position as Chief Justice.

Let us fairly take into consideration the state of things when that letter was written.

It was on the 24th of the preceding month that the resolution to impeach the President passed the House of Representatives. The letter just quoted was written on the day before the articles of impeachment were agreed to. Very sad, no doubt, were the thoughts of the Chief Justice, in anticipation of that fearful mockery.

But he disparaged all his previous legal life when he so wrote to Mr. Hatch, his old neighbor, on the 2d of March, 1868. And here, as well as in another place, I might say a few words more about his learning and his powers as a legist; but I have decided to reserve

that subject for a future chapter.¹ Now, let us return to that sad letter to Hon. W. S. Hatch. It contained also these words:

"I see you date your letter from your river home; and trust that all things around you contribute to your comfort and happiness. It would be very agreeable to me to drop in upon you this blustering night, instead of studying law arguments and reading up about impeachment.

"The times are as blustering as the weather. May our merciful God bring our beloved land through the storm safely and gloriously."

Passing notice has been already taken of the fact that the resolution to impeach the President passed the House of Representatives February 24, 1868. The conclusion of the trial resulting from the actual impeachment was on the 26th of the following May. During this period, the spectacle so often witnessed in this country, the spectacle, I mean, of prejudgment by the press, did not fail to sadden the hearts of the unprejudiced and the unbiased.

Articles of impeachment were, we have already seen, agreed to on the 3d of March. The next day, Chief Justice Chase addressed to the Senate a letter, in which he submitted observations on the subject of the proper mode of proceeding in the contemplated impeachment trial. He suggested that "the organization of the Senate, as a court of impeachment under the Constitution, should precede the actual announcement of the impeachment on the part of the House," the House first giving notice to the Senate of intention to impeach. He thought it "a still less unwarrantable opinion that articles of impeachment should only be presented to a court of impeachment; that no summons or other process should issue except from the organized court, and that the rules for the government of the proceedings of such a court should be framed only by the court itself." But, the Senate having taken a different view of propriety in procedure, it was not the purpose of the Chief Justice to contest the matter. He desired only to dissent; and it seems to me he erred in that dissent.

But let that pass. I need hardly say that this whole matter is of history far more than of biography. But there are things about it which this volume must not fail to state.

Among the papers furnished for my biographic use was a large bundle relating to the trial of the President. There was, among other papers in that bundle, a printed one, discussing the question

¹ Post, Chapter.

whether the Chief Justice, in such trials, in case of a balanced verdict, if I may so express myself, has the casting vote. Then there were papers setting forth the course of procedure in other cases. In a word, the indications were that the Chief Justice had deeply studied the whole matter.

But to set forth, in this book, a full account of the impeachment here in question, would be quite impossible; and without setting forth a full account, I could not do justice either to my readers, to my hero, or to the compiler of these pages. I confine myself, therefore, to some indications of our hero's correspondence.

On the 10th of March, the Chief Justice, heavy-hearted, wrote as follows, to Col. Wm. B. Thomas:

"MY DEAR COLONEL: I am much obliged to you for your letter and for your views of the situation, and the more so because it makes no reference whatever to the impeachment. To be sure, I expected no such reference in a letter from you; but there are so many, and persons of sense, too, who think it necessary and proper to advise me on that subject, that I could not help noticing the absence of it in your letter. If the correspondents who favor me with such letters could only be made aware that they are never read, but consigned to the waste-basket as soon as their subject is ascertained, they would, doubtless, save themselves some labor.

"As to political matters, I take only the interest of a citizen who loves his country and desires earnestly the speediest possible restoration to all the benefits of union the ex-rebel States on the basis of equal rights secured by equal suffrage. Whatever I may have formerly thought, or even desired, in connection with the Presidency, I wish now to have my name completely disconnected from it. I am satisfied that I am not a suitable candidate for either party. My opinions on the leading questions of the day are well known, or may be inferred, without difficulty, from my public acts. On some questions, intimately connected with those leading questions, I shall, probably, be obliged to pass judicially. And I can not be a party judge. I must express my honest opinions of the Constitution and the law. I must do my duty without fear and without favor. Thus acting, it is not likely that my judgments will gratify the wishes of party on either hand.

"Hence, I prefer to keep clear of all personal interest in political contests.

"A year ago—even six months ago—I did not anticipate the present condition of affairs. But impeachment has come; the constitutionality of trials of civilians, in the late rebel States, by military commissions is before the court; new doctrines are promulgated by Republican as well as Democratic conventions, of disregard to public faith, and in respect to these, the question of the constitutionality of the legal tender law assumes new importance. And in regard to all these matters I have a not unimportant voice. I prefer, in this state of things, to dismiss every thought which

might incline the scale of judgment either way. Do what I may, I can not hope to escape imputations. I hope only to avoid giving any just occasion for them. The rest I leave cheerfully to Him [who] alone judgeth righteously.

"For all your friendship accept my grateful thanks. Such friendship of men like yourself is my best reward for my endeavors to serve our country; for it is disinterested. Believe me that I reciprocate fully all your good-will, and remain,

"Sincerely and faithfully yours,

"S. P. CHASE."

On the 16th of March, in the course of a letter to Dr. J. E. Snodgrass, the Chief Justice said :

"Those who opposed slavery and the domination of the slave power when it cost something to do so, can afford the censures of new zeal which risks nothing and may gain much."

And the same letter said :

"As to the Chief Justice being the ally of Mr. Johnson, it is a flat absurdity. Since his proclamation of a provisional government for North Carolina, in order to reconstruction on the White basis, I have been opposed to his plans. And I have been just as steady a friend to the congressional policy of reconstruction, so far as it contemplated equal rights for all, secured by equal constitutions and laws. But I do not believe in military domination any more than I do in slaveholding oligarchy; nor do I believe that any thing has been accomplished by military supremacy in the rebel States that could not have been as well, if not better, accomplished by civil supremacy, authorized and regulated by Congress, with military subordination. But I prefer even military domination for a time, itself controlled and directed by Congress, with an honest reference to restoration of the States to full participation in the government, with suffrage secured to all who will not seek to withhold it from others, to any such plan as that proposed by the President.

"While I have condemned the President's attempt to impose on the colored population of the South, the rule of the ex-rebel population, and his hostility to congressional reconstruction, I have not thought it necessary to revile him. I do not quarrel with people about matters in which I differ from them. I like manly and frank dealing even between extremest political opponents. I have, therefore, called on the President when official propriety has required, and three or four of these occasions have been at his request; others have been on public occasions. Once, and once only, have I called to serve, if I could, old friends who had done faithful service in the war. On several occasions when I have met the President, public matters have been the theme of conversation; and I believe I never failed in what I thought my duty on such occasions. I urged him by every argument that I could think of to abandon his opposition to congressional reconstruction, and to universal suffrage. At the last of these interviews, now months ago,

he complained of Sheridan and Stanton, and intimated his purpose to remove them. I told him plainly what I thought of it and what the people would think of it, and warned him of the danger of the avalanche.

"I do not deny that sympathy with him had something to do with my action. I remembered his loyalty at the outset of the war and his patriotism all through the war, and I urged him to retrace his steps. But I could do nothing. I believe, however, that he saw that my purpose was an honest purpose and not actuated by personal hostility, and therefore felt a certain degree of respect and perhaps regard for me. It was not enough to induce him to spare my friends from removal, but it led him, doubtless, to pay me the compliment of attending that reception of mine to which the correspondent refers.

"Now, that is all of my intercourse with the President. I tell you for your own satisfaction and information. Let it go no farther. I will not defend myself against calumny except by my acts.

"And in the present heated temper of the public mind I can not hope to escape a great deal of honest censure. My duties are judicial. What I honestly believe the Constitution and laws to sanction or condemn, that I must, fearless, sanction or condemn. I am of no party on the bench. If I believe an act, or part of an act, of a Republican Congress to be unconstitutional, I must say so. If a man whom Republicans would gladly see condemned, has rights, and I must judge, the rights shall be respected. And so of the Democrats. I expect to please neither at all times. But, God helping me, I will do my duty, sorry only that limited powers do not allow me to do it better.

"Good-bye. Sincerely your friend,

"S. P. CHASE."

On the 20th of the same memorable month of March, the Chief Justice wrote to Francis J. Tucker, Esq., as follows:

"DEAR SIR: Please accept my thanks for your kind note.

"I am not, however, an aspirant for any political position, and do not desire to have my name connected with the presidential nomination in any way.

"To discharge honestly and faithfully the duties of the difficult position in which I am called to act, is all I can hope to accomplish, and more, I fear, than I am likely to accomplish to the satisfaction of the majority of any party. I shall be satisfied if I get the approval of my own conscience.

"Very respectfully yours,

"S. P. CHASE."

To Jacob Heaton, Esq., March 23d, he said:

"You need not fear for me. Good men have misunderstood and bad men have misrepresented me before now.

"As a judge, whether presiding with large powers in a Circuit Court, or presiding with very limited powers in the Supreme Court,

or in the Senate, sitting as a Court of Impeachment, I mean to do impartial justice according to the Constitution and the laws made in pursuance thereof; and, God being my helper, neither clamor nor imputation shall move me from the doing of it.

"I adhere to the old creed of universal freedom and equal rights; but no one knows better than you that, as a citizen, I have never been the bondsman of party. As a judge, I can recognize no party obligation whatever.

"I seek no political office. I am neither candidate nor aspirant. All I want is strength, wisdom, and courage for whatever duty reason and conscience show to me."

Writing to Hon. Gerritt Smith, on the 2d of April, he said :

"The subject of the Presidency has become distasteful to me. Some will say, 'sour grapes;' and there may be some ground for the application of the proverb. But I really think that I am not half so ambitious of place as I am represented to be. Certainly, I never used any of the ordinary means to get place. I worked for ideas and principles and measures embodying them, and with all citizens of like faith and aims; and was always quite willing to take place, or be left out of place, as the cause, in the judgment of its friends, required. And I am certainly entirely content, now, to be left out of consideration in connection with the Presidency.

"My desire, at present, is [to] perform the duties of President of the Senate, sitting as a Court of Impeachment, faithfully and impartially. My constant prayer is for guidance and strength, for wisdom and courage; and I trust I shall be kept from making any serious mistake.

"My position is peculiarly difficult. As the Chief Justice, my whole duties, except in the single case of impeachment, connect me with another body. Coming into the Senate to preside, I feel and am felt as a sort of foreign element. The Senate, like all other bodies, has a good deal of *esprit du corps*. I, as Chief Justice, look for my powers and duties in the Constitution, and very naturally disagreeing as to their nature and extent from many Senators. So far, these differences have been attended by no disagreeable result. The majority has substantially sustained my views, and I have tried to avoid every claim which could be, as I thought, called in question.

"Mr. Sumner's motion, yesterday, alarmed me. The question, however, forced itself upon me: 'What will be my duty in case the Senate, by denying to me the casting vote which belongs to the President of the Senate, sitting as a Court of Impeachment, and so refusing, in effect, to recognize my right to preside?' Happily, I was not compelled to decide this question.

"I hope that your health is good, and that you are enjoying your delightful home. How I should like to drop in upon you."

April 6th, the Chief Justice wrote to Col. John D. Van Buren :

"I see nothing in the article you sent me to object to; but am much obliged both to Mr. Marble and yourself for it. It will do

much to disabuse the public. Here my position is well understood, and no one, on either side, except, perhaps, a few over-jealous partisans, desires or expects any thing of me except the honest and impartial discharge of my duties as presiding officer. In this expectation I trust no one will be disappointed."

April 8th, the Chief Justice wrote to Hon. Alexander Long a letter which contained these words:

"Your letter, marked 'strictly confidential,' has been received. You hardly need any assurance that the injunction will be scrupulously observed.

"It would please me to know the author of the article you inclosed; and it does please me to be assured that you have no regret for the part you took in my election to the Senate in 1849. If you will turn to the Congressional Globe Debates in the Senate, of April 9, 1853, you will find the view I take of that election and its results, which will, I think, interest you now. It may interest you, also, to read again, if you have ever read it all, my letter to Mr. Breslin on the subject of the union between the Old Line and the Independent Democracy, written during the summer after that election. You will find it in the *Congressional Globe*, 1849-50, Part I., p. 135. You will see, if you read Mr. Butler's speech, especially its second paragraph, and what immediately follows the latter, that he favored that union. It is my belief, to-day, that if that union had taken place, all our calamities would have been avoided; or, if that be too strong, that civil war and national debt would at least have been escaped; and yet that universal freedom would have been assured, if not as soon, yet without any great delay, and with the concurrence of the States most interested.

"Nothing would now gratify me more than to see the Democracy turn away from past issues, and take for its mottoes: Suffrage for all; amnesty for all; good money for all; security for all citizens, at home against military despotism, and abroad against governmental invasion.

"But I am neither aspirant nor candidate myself. I want no more political distinction or position. All I desire is courage and wisdom to do my immediate duty, now and in the future."

In a letter to Hon. Gerritt Smith, dated April 19th, the Chief Justice said:

"The trial of the President draws toward its end. The evidence will, doubtless, be closed to-morrow; and it is not improbable that the first speech on the part of the managers will be made. If the Senate adheres to its resolution to allow only two arguments on each side, I do not see how the discussion can be protracted beyond the week, unless the Senate retire for consultation among themselves.

"To me the whole business seems wrong, and if I had any opinion, under the Constitution, I would not take part in it. But the President is on trial, and the Constitution is express that 'when the President is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside.'

"Nothing is clearer to my mind than that acts of Congress, not warranted by the Constitution, are not laws. In case a law, believed by the President to be unwarranted by the Constitution, is passed, notwithstanding his veto, it seems to me that it is his duty to execute it precisely as if he held it to be constitutional, except in the case where it directly attacks and impairs the executive power confided to him by that instrument. In that case it appears to me to be the clear duty of the President to disregard the law, so far at least as it may be necessary to bring the question of its constitutionality before the judicial tribunals.

"Until the late rebellion a broad distinction has always been taken between the oath of office required of the President and the oath required of other officers. That of the President is prescribed by the Constitution itself: 'I do solemnly swear that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, *preserve, protect, and defend* the Constitution of the United States.' That of other officers was prescribed by law—the first ever enacted under the Constitution—and follows almost literally its direction: 'I do solemnly swear that I will *support* the Constitution of the United States.'

"The test oath act of 1862, introduced for the first time into the oath to be administered to other officers than the President the word 'defend' in addition to the word 'support.'

"How can the President fulfill his oath to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution, if he has no *right* to *defend* it against an act of Congress, sincerely believed by him to have been passed in violation of it?

"To me, therefore, it seems perfectly clear that the President had a perfect right, and, indeed, was under the highest obligation, to remove Mr. Stanton, if he made the removal, not in wanton disregard of a constitutional law, but with a sincere belief that the tenure-of-office act was unconstitutional, and for the purpose of bringing the question before the Supreme Court. Plainly it was the proper and peaceful, if not the only proper and peaceful, mode of protecting and defending the Constitution.

"I was greatly disappointed and pained, therefore, when the Senate, yesterday, excluded the evidence of members of the Cabinet as to their consultations and decisions (in one of which Mr. Stanton took a concurring part), and the advice given to the President in pursuance thereof. I could conceive of no evidence more proper to be received, or more appropriate to enlighten a court as to the intent with which the act was done; and accordingly ruled that it was admissible.

"The vote, I fear, indicated a purpose which, if carried into effect, will not satisfy the American people, unless they are prepared to admit that Congress is above the Constitution.

"Have you looked at the questions, whether, in the event of conviction, the President *pro tempore* of the Senate is an 'officer,' who, under the Constitution, can 'act as President?' and 'whether, if such an officer, he must *remain* such while acting as President?' My own mind answers the last question in the affirmative, and inclines to the negative on the first.

"It seems to me that you ought to give the public the American view of these questions, if you can find time to consider them."

There is a postscript as follows :

"I suppose you have seen Mr. Tilton's 'folded banner.' He came to Washington, some ten days or two weeks ago, and sought a conversation with me, and I talked pretty freely with him. I dare say he thought what I said warranted the opinion he expressed. I do not; but if he did, it was certainly an abuse of hospitality to build and publish such conclusions on the basis of a private conversation."

Had our hero then forgotten what use *he* had made of private conversations? But of that more must be said hereafter. It is an unpleasant theme; but one that can not be avoided.

Far from pleasant also is the subject to which, not for the first time, attention must be drawn by stating that on the same day when the foregoing letter was dictated by our hero to his private secretary, he wrote an autographic letter to Alexander Long.

It was remarkably imprudent to address to Alexander Long that letter of the 8th of April, 1868. It was yet more imprudent to write to him the letter now about to be presented.

On the 19th day of April, then, this letter was addressed by Salmon Portland Chase to Alexander Long:

"MY DEAR SIR: My reply to your last note has been somewhat delayed. My time, as you may readily imagine, is much occupied.

"It appears to me quite unlikely that such a union as is essential to success can be brought about among those who agree in opposition to military commissions and military ascendancy in the government.

"The Democratic party, no doubt, could insure such a union by proclaiming anew its old creed of equal and exact justice for all men, and declaring itself for the full restoration of the States, now unrepresented, on the basis of universal suffrage and universal amnesty, but against military government, and military commissions, and the whole train of related doctrines, such as State suicide, State subjugation, confiscation, and the like. Of such a union, if brought about, I should certainly desire the success. I should wish as earnestly now as I did in 1849 for the success of the Democracy, united on such a basis. I could not wish otherwise, and be faithful to my antecedents.

"With these sentiments I should not be at liberty to refuse the use of my name in the contingency you refer to. I see, however, very slight indications that such a contingency will occur; and I have, certainly, no desire for a nomination. I greatly prefer to remain disconnected from all political responsibilities, save that of casting my vote.

"I have no doubt, however, that such a union as you desire would

be attended with complete success. Nor is there any reason stronger than prejudice why it should not take place. The restoration of the Southern States, on the basis of universal suffrage, is now certain. Every one of them will have adopted constitutions, recognizing the right of every citizen, not disfranchised, to vote, before the present Congress ends—most of them certainly, and all of them probably, before the presidential election. The united democracy, frankly conceding the permanence of these constitutions and the rights of suffrage secured by them, and appealing to the sentiments of justice and generosity and enlightened interest for universal amnesty and the removal of all political disfranchisements, could carry two-thirds, if not more, of those States; whereas, without the union suggested, and upon the antiquated issues, the Democratic party can hardly hope to carry one of them; and its success seems impossible.

"But enough of this. The impeachment draws to an end. The arguments will probably be concluded this week. Whether the Senate will proceed at once to vote, or take time for conference and deliberation, no one can say. The course thus far pursued would indicate an immediate vote. I hazard no conjecture as to the result; but I think it safe to say that if the vote were deferred for six weeks, until after the Chicago nomination, conviction would be impossible.

"The Senate, in my opinion, made its greatest and most injurious mistake yesterday, when it refused to receive the testimony of the heads of the departments."

Then follows an argument similar to that contained in the letter to Hon. Gerritt Smith. The letter closes in these terms:

"I am glad to know who wrote the article you inclosed to me. I greatly honor Mr. Reed's abilities and his independence of thought, and wish I could give him better evidence of it than these words.

"But I must close this already too long letter.

"Very truly yours,

"Hon. Alexander Long.

S. P. CHASE."

The rôle performed by Mr. Long in Congress is of history. I did not purpose to disparage him at all, when I said that it was imprudent on the part of the Chief Justice to address to him such letters. It was worse than idle for a man with a record such as that of Mr. Long, to open up with Salmon Portland Chase a correspondence such as we have seen; and it was worse than idle for Chief Justice Chase to correspond with Mr. Long on such a subject.

On the same day a letter, hardly less imprudent, was addressed to Mr. Tilton by our hero. It contains these words:

"Your article, under the caption, 'A Folded Banner,' was very different from any thing which your conversation with me foreshadowed.

"You visited me at my house and invited a conversation. I was

glad to see you, as I always have been ; and my esteem for you and trust in you were such that I talked with you very freely. I little thought that I was on trial before an editor, and that he was about to pronounce a sentence upon me, *ex cathedra*, according to the supposed result of his investigations. Had I been aware of that I should probably have followed a great military example, and observed a prudent silence.

"I had seen, with perfect content, so far as I was concerned, the Republican preference concentrating upon General Grant. I had observed, also, new shibboleths of Republican faith, invented and demanded, in the hot contentions of the time, which I could not frame my lips to pronounce. I felt, therefore, that whatever might be my obligation to support Republican candidates, because of my agreement with the majority of the party on the great point of equal rights protected by equal suffrage, I could not myself properly represent it as its candidate. And I said to you that I could not take the Republican nomination if I could have it. I knew I could not have it, even were General Grant out of the way, if I proclaimed my opinions on impeachment, military commissions, military government, and the like ; and I wanted no nomination with concealed or unavowed opinions ; and, indeed, wanted no nomination at all. For this reason, I said I would not take the Republican nomination if I could have it. I had said it to nobody else. I said it to you because I felt like saying it, and thought you knew me well enough to believe me. I certainly never dreamed of a proclamation by you in *The Independent*, based upon it. I knew very well that every body who should think I had made such a declaration to you, and did not know me intimately, would characterize it, coming as it must have come from one who knew he had not the least chance of receiving the nomination, in very uncomplimentary terms.

"I was still more surprised by your confident expression that I would accept the Democratic nomination. I refused to say to you that I would not accept it. But I did not say that I would ; nor did I say any thing to that effect. I have never sought or expected it. I have never thought it in the least degree likely that it would be offered to me. It would have been ridiculous in me to say that I would not accept what had not been offered, and was not likely to be. It would have savored strongly of a vanity and presumption justly offensive, and from which, at least, I hope I am free. What you said led me to suppose that you agreed with me in opinion that the Chief Justice, presiding in the Senate, has the same right as the Vice-President when presiding in that body, and I expressed a wish that you would express that opinion in *The Independent*. You said you would, and your article does contain a sentence to that effect.

"For this and for your declaration that I am not likely to abandon any of the ideas and principles on which, I suppose, your former preference was based, I beg you to accept my thanks. I regret that you saw fit to withdraw that preference with such a flourish of trumpets. You might have said, with truth, that I was neither candidate nor aspirant for any nomination ; and that *The Independent* did not think it useful to urge any farther consideration of my name. I do not think you had any right to make any other inference from

my conversation with you; and if the conversation did warrant any other inference by you, I do not think you had a right to use a private conversation for the purpose of making it.

"I write frankly, just as I spoke frankly. I do not believe that you will hereafter reflect with complacency upon your article. But I do not desire to have another written, based on this note, *which is exclusively for your personal information, and not for that of the readers of The Independent*. I am content to be read out of the Republican party. I can afford to be, so long as I retain my old principles and my old fidelity to the cause of the oppressed and the needy. I regret only that Theodore Tilton took upon himself the office of reader, and that he read the sentence in a way which, taken in connection with the *leaded* and leading article of some weeks ago, and his remarks to me concerning it, strikes me as peculiarly ungracious and unwarranted. And so I remain, regretfully, yours,

"Theodore Tilton, Esq.

S. P. CHASE."

I have shown, by quoting and commenting on a thought of Mr. Tilton,¹ that I do not look upon him as without ability. But I think he never was a safe correspondent for our hero, or, indeed, for any other man. The *tone* of Mr. Tilton is not high. He is a canter, half-religious, half-political.

But though the letters here in question were not prudent, they are deeply interesting documents for us, who now study Chase's course and character.

To Dr. A. L. Child, of Glendale, Nebraska, on the 24th of April, the Chief Justice wrote:

"DEAR SIR: Yours of the 12th is received. The account given of the Chase family by Senator Dudley Chase is, I believe, correct. I am the son of Ithamar, and you, being the grandson of Mercy, are my second cousin.

"I am sorry to learn from your account that the old bishop had so bad an opinion of me. I hope he has thought better of the matter since, for he was a good man, and is, I believe, in heaven. He made some inquiry into the connection of our family with that of Judge Chase, who was impeached and acquitted; though, upon one of the articles, there was a majority (though not two-thirds). The bishop found, I believe, some relationship between the families. What it was I don't know.

"With hearty good wishes for your welfare, and thanks for your letter, I remain,

Yours very truly,

"S. P. CHASE."

An animated account of Judge Samuel Chase (with the spelling Chase) may be read in the admirable autobiographic book of Judge

¹ Ante, p. 21.

Brackenridge, once of Baltimore, but first and last of Pennsylvania. I have not the book at hand, and I am not sure about the title, but I think it is *Recollections of Life in the West*.

The impeached Judge Chase had many traits of resemblance to the unimpeached Judge Chase.

Col. William Brown, of Nicholasville, Kentucky, not long after the death of the Chief Justice, sent to the *Cincinnati Commercial* a letter received by him from our hero, under the date April 29, 1868. It contains, according to the *Commercial*, these words:

"I have ceased, as I told you, to have any aspirations connected with the Presidency. It once seemed to me a position highly desirable for the opportunities of usefulness it afforded; nor was I indifferent to its distinctions. But I am almost surprised to find how contentedly I have seen the preference of the Republicans fall upon General Grant, and how little I am troubled by any lingering desire for the place. You doubtless notice the talk there is about uniting all the opponents of military ascendancy and military commissions on one candidate, and making me that candidate. But I have no idea, with my known principles and convictions in respect to restoration on the basis of universal suffrage as well as universal amnesty, that there will any such unite upon me; and I am very sure that I shall not seek any nomination from any party. I do n't want any office enough for that; and, indeed, if I could now do so, with propriety, would prefer to resign the post I hold to being a seeker for any other.

"I am none the less grateful to you for your strong friendship. Should what some paper calls 'the miracle' of the suggested nomination take place under circumstances which would make it my duty to accept it, and should success attend it—what a succession of unhatched chickens!—it may be in my power to prove better than I can otherwise how I value it. Whether or no, it will always be pleasant to me to show my sense of it in any fitting way."

On the 5th of May, the Chief Justice wrote to Richard Gaines, Esq., a letter saying, in the last sentence but one: "This, my old friend, is entirely for your own satisfaction, and not for any printer." In the first paragraph of that letter are the words:

"Your kind note reached me a day or two since. It was very pleasant to hear from you; for the days when a few of us were united in a seemingly insignificant minority, by a common devotion to what we sincerely believed to be a good and noble cause, are very fresh in my remembrance. I have made no friends since for whom I cherish a warmer attachment than for those of that time."

How natural that language! It appears to me sincere. But then follows a paragraph in which I think I see some self-delusion. It runs thus:

"I was a Democrat, then, too Democratic for the Democratic party of those days; for I admitted no exception on account of race or color or condition, to the impartial application of Democratic principles to all measures and to all men. Such a Democrat I am to-day."

The birthday letter, most of which will be found in Chapter LII of this volume, contemplated a method different from that which, some time after the death of our hero, seemed to me advisable. Had I observed that originally contemplated method, I would have presented a pretty full account of parties which I have quite carefully made up. I have not space for that account in any portion of the present work. But I may say that I always thought that Chase had never clear conceptions of the measure in which he could be regarded as, in any sense, "too Democratic for the Democratic party." He was never of that party, heart and brain, if I was not, at all times, much in error as to him as well as in regard to the party known as Democratic. But of this more must be said hereafter. In that letter of May 5th to Mr. Gaines, our hero also said:

"But I am not a candidate nor an aspirant for any political office, nor do I see any reason for thinking that the people will ever again require my services in any political capacity.

"As a citizen, however, I shall always be ready to aid, so far as I properly may, 'with malice toward none, and charity toward all,' in the complete restoration of the States lately in rebellion, to full participation in all the benefits of the Union on the basis of equal rights secured by equal suffrage. I fervently desire the renewed prosperity of those States and of all their citizens. Restoration on this basis is just now the most important object of political efforts; but there are others which seem to me hardly less important. I refer particularly to making the currency good enough to pay all debts whether to bondholders or to working-men, and to resistance to the attempts which have lately become so alarming; to subjugate the executive and judicial departments of the government to the unlimited control of the legislative, and to subvert the regular order of the administration of criminal justice, by substituting, at the discretion of Congress, military commissions for trial by jury in time of peace.

"With these views, you will readily imagine that I am quite content to be regarded as an outsider by both the great political parties which now divide the country, and to preserve my independence in a non-political station."

On the next day, the Chief Justice wrote to Col. John D. Van Buren:

"You are at liberty to say to the governor what I said to you.

"There seems to be a persistent effort to create the erroneous impression which I hoped was effectually suppressed by your article.

"The more I reflect on the subject, the more decided is my conviction that the Chief Justice, presiding in the trial of the President, has no other or different powers or responsibilities than the Vice-President would have, presiding in a trial of the Chief Justice. There is nothing in the Constitution which, in my judgment, warrants a different conclusion; and I would no more assume an unconstitutional function.

"Even if the Chief Justice were, strictly speaking, a member of the court, he would have no right to charge the other members of the court; he could only express his opinion in common with them."

Is that so certain? I find reason to doubt whether the Chief Justice whose opinion we are ascertaining, ever read Forsyth's *History of Trial by Jury*. In that work he could have found, what other works also show, respecting the process of mere usurpation through which gradually the foremost of the sworn—the presiding trier—came to be a charging Judge; and how long it was before the now settled doctrine, touching the duty of the jurors to receive and to regard instructions given by the Judge, became completely settled. But the Chief Justice thus goes forward in that letter of May 6th:

"But he is not, in any strict sense, a member. He is presiding officer; being Chief Justice, it is proper that he should rule, preliminarily, questions of evidence, and if *called upon*, express his opinion on any other questions, in analogy to the practice in England when the Judges attend the House of Lords on trials of impeachment, and answer such questions as the House of Lords *sees fit* to put. But I see in the Constitution no authority beyond this.

"I have endeavored, looking only to the Constitution and the law, to do exactly right, thus far, seeking nothing—disregarding every thing—except the satisfaction of my own conscientious judgment. So, God helping me, I shall continue to the end."¹

On the 12th, he wrote to his old friend and former partner, Mr. Ball:

¹ On the same day, he wrote to Hon. Emory Washburn:

"MY DEAR SIR: If I have been somewhat remiss in thanking you for your kind note of the 27th of April, it is not because I do not gratefully appreciate it. It is, indeed, a great satisfaction to have your assurance that my course, as presiding officer of the Senate during the trial of the President, has met the approval of those whose judgment may be taken as representing the candid judgment of the country.

"My own conscience testifies to me that I have desired nothing except to be right, and to have the Senate right on the important questions which necessarily arose in the organization and proceedings of that body as a Court of Impeachment. To have this testimony reinforced by the approbation of gentlemen whose judicial experience and professional ability give the greatest weight to their opinions, is a real support and consolation, amid censures, most of which, I am sure, spring from party heat or unreflecting bias."

"The vote on impeachment is ordered for to-day, but it is quite probable it will not be taken, as Senator Howard is said to be quite ill. But you will know before you receive this. I am entirely uncertain as to the result; and, indeed, do not wish to be better informed in advance of the actual vote. I have tried faithfully to do my whole duty, with absolute impartiality, and my conscience does not reproach me."

In the course of a letter of May 13th, to Col. J. R. G. Pitkin, of New Orleans, the Chief Justice said:

"It was not my purpose, in any thing I said, to express any preference between Messrs. Taliaferro and Warmouth. When I was engaged in political contests, my *rule* was to accept the nomination of my party, and I made no exceptions unless on what seemed to me clearly obligatory reason. I have not undertaken to decide whether any such obligatory reason existed in Louisiana for the refusal of yourself and your friends to support Judge Warmouth; but I am sure you must have thought so, or you would [not] have supported even so good a man as Mr. Taliaferro in opposition.

"I feel honored by the esteem and confidence expressed in me by yourself and many other honored citizens of Louisiana. But it was without regret that I observed the preference of the Republican party gradually concentrating upon Gen. Grant; and new issues, new measures, and new leadership have made it unfit that I, who cared most of all for the restoration of the Southern States on the basis of equal rights secured for all by universal suffrage and universal amnesty, should be, even if I would be, selected as its representative in a political canvass. I, therefore, very willingly dismissed, long since, the subject of the Presidency from my thoughts; and am now, more than ever, satisfied with the dismissal."

Is not that a singular expression? Never was a heart more self-deceived than was the heart of our hero when he wrote that letter and some others of like import. He continued:

"You will, of course, infer, that, while much obliged by your kind reference to future possibilities, I am wholly indisposed to the consideration of them. I neither expect nor wish for any contingency in which my name will be again connected with political contests, or in which I should be called upon to take any other part than that of a voter."

In a letter to Hiram Barney, Esq., dated May 13th, the Chief Justice said:

"Thanks for your promised kindness. I hope that the bust will come safely; if not, Nettie will be grievously disappointed.

"We have surely fallen upon evil times. Think of legislatures, political conventions, even religious bodies, undertaking to instruct Senators how to vote, guilty or not guilty! What would be thought

of such attempts to drive the decisions of any other courts? All the appliances to force a measure through Congress are in use here to force a conviction through the Court of Impeachment.

"To me personally the result is not a matter of the smallest consequence; but to every lover of the country and of the Constitution, it is of the utmost consequence that the Senate should be left free to decide according to the oath each member has taken 'to do impartial justice according to the Constitution and the laws.'"

On the 16th he wrote to G. W. Jonson, Esq.:

"DEAR SIR: I return your letter as requested, but have taken no copy.

"It gives me much pain that one of those old anti-slavery men with whom I labored in the early days of the great movement for freedom and justice, and for whom I cherish and shall ever cherish a warm and sincere affection, so totally misconceives and misrepresents me. I do not care to defend myself. My conscience does not reproach me with any lack of fidelity in my service to our cause and our country. With this I must be content, and leave events to the Great Disposer."

On the same day, he wrote to Mr. Clark Williams, of Cincinnati:

"MY DEAR SIR: I was glad to see your hand-writing once more. I do not quite agree with you. To me the most important thing seems to me —¹ not that Mr. Johnson should be acquitted or convicted, but that his judges, the Senators of the United States, should render an honest and impartial judgment, according to [the] Constitution and the laws, upon the facts proved before them. In what I have done as presiding officer, I have endeavored to be, and I believe I have been, perfectly unbiased.

"I had written thus far when the time came for me to go to the Capitol, whence I have just returned. You have already learned the result of the vote on the 10th Article, on which the Senate required the question to be put first; thirty-five declaring the President guilty and nineteen declaring him not guilty; so that there not being two-thirds voting guilty, he was declared acquitted. I was under the impression that the result would be the other way, until the vote had been taken. With one exception, I had never heard any Senator who had not pronounced his opinion in committee, even intimate what his vote would be on this article; and yet if you were to believe what is published in the papers you would imagine that I had contrived the whole thing.

"The truth is, that conviction, which should be a judicial, has assumed very much the character of a party question; and here, in my judgment, is the chief danger to our country.

"What possible harm can result to the country from the continuance of Andrew Johnson — months longer in the presidential chair, compared with that which must arise if impeachment becomes

¹ So in the original.

a mere mode of getting rid of an obnoxious President? 'What would be thought of a jury or a court which would convict or sentence a man to the penitentiary because of 'general cussedness,' to use the current phrase, without sufficient proof of specific charges of offenses or crimes? Suppose the proof sufficient, but the facts alleged not to constitute the crime charged, what court could sentence? If any body brought suit against you, would you be satisfied with the court or with the jury which should find and adjudge against you without good warrant in law and in fact?

"But I have written more than I intended. All I meant to say, when I began, was, that I fear you do not allow sufficiently for honest differences of judgment; and that your old friend is still just what you always took him to be, and that nobody shall fail of having a fair and impartial trial in any tribunal where he presides, if your friend has the power of securing it to him."

In a letter to Hon. John H. Gilmer, May 17th, he said:

"If I know my own heart, I desire much more to merit than to receive the approval of my fellow-citizens. All indeed, that is possible for man is, to act steadily in that manner which he honestly believes ought to have that approval; for all experience teaches that no one can so act as to secure it from all. No man can do more than satisfy his own convictions of right and duty; and my conscience testifies to my earnest endeavors, in all my public life, to do this. I make no boast of an *iron will*; but trust that I have 'firmness to do the right as God gives me to see the right,' 'with malice toward none, but with good-will toward all.'"

Again our hero's meditations called up Lincoln.

More and more, the true philosophy of life begins to be acknowledged by the life we study. It is yet to be subjected to temptation, that so often tempted life, and it is yet to exhibit weakness in the presence of temptation; but, from this time on, it will be found from time to time ascending, still ascending, high above the plane where low ambition finds its most aspiring level.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

ABOUT IMPEACHMENT AND ABOUT THE PRESIDENCY.

TO Horace Greeley the Chief Justice wrote as follows, on the 19th day of May, 1868:

"MY DEAR SIR: I am very sorry to see, in *The Tribune* of yesterday, a statement that 'he (the Chief Justice) decided the vote of Mr. Van Winkle. He did his utmost, happily in vain, to carry off Messrs. Anthony and Sprague. We doubt that Mr. Henderson would have voted as he did but for the Chief Justice's exertions.'

"I appeal from Horace Greeley thus informed to Horace Greeley better informed. More lies seem to be afloat about me than I thought invention capable of. I have not interchanged a word with Mr. Van Winkle, on the subject of impeachment, that I remember, and my acquaintance with him is very slight. I have not exerted myself to influence any body, one way or the other. Until yesterday, when I happened to fall in with him on the street, all my conversation with Anthony would not occupy ten minutes. Sprague was not influenced by me, nor did I seek to influence him. Henderson took his dinner—he is a near neighbor—twice with Sprague and myself, during the trial; but I am sure that I gave him no advice, nor sought, in any way, to control him, *and could not, if I had.* The stories about dinner are mere bosh, and so are the stories about rides, except that there is a grain of fact sunk in gallons of falsehood. On particular points, in occasional talks with senators, I have expressed my opinion, just as I should in talk with you; but, certainly, have not sought to make converts to my views, and, just as certainly, I had no idea, when I put the question on the XIth Article, what the result would be. I thought it doubtful, and very doubtful, with the probability in favor of conviction. I had no information whatever how any senator would vote; I mean of those who had not read opinions, or declared them, in the Senate; except, of course, that I did not doubt how Sumner, Drake, and those of that sort, would vote.

"I care very little for clamor. But I have felt greatly enriched by your friendship and good opinion, and know I have done nothing which should entail the loss of either. I have kept my oath on the trial, and have done nothing from partiality or hostility.

"Your article of May 9, 'Counsel in Extremity,' was just and kind, only overrating me. I have not made a step from my platform and your platform of universal suffrage and universal amnesty. I am looking for nothing in the political way. I believe myself to be, as

you say, 'a thorough democrat, according to the true definition of that much-abused term;' and nothing would more rejoice my heart than to see the Democratic party conforming its policy to democratic ideas and principles. I do not expect it to do so this year; but it may, for this is a day of revolution. Whether it does or not, I ask nothing from it or any other party.

"Perhaps there is little use in writing this note. In the tempest there is little chance of hearing. And when this note reaches you, the shouts from Chicago will be filling your ears.

"So let me end by assuring you that I am in no whit changed in my devotion to the ideas and principles which you have approved, and that I can never change in my gratitude for your friendship—not *past*, I hope—and for the support with which you have aided me in my endeavors to serve the country.

"Most truly, yours."

To Hon. H. S. Bundy the Chief Justice, on the 21st of May, somehow obtained his own consent to write as follows:

"MY DEAR SIR: I inclose a couple of paragraphs, copied from the *Washington Chronicle*, which will surprise you, I think."

That was a doubtful proposition. Bundy politicians are not easily surprised. But the Chief Justice went on as follows:

"That so gross a fabrication should get into print can only be accounted for by the strange excitement which seems to possess men's minds.

"Did I invite you to call on me? If I met you anywhere previously, I doubtless did; but I don't recollect it. I certainly never said that I had 'important matters to talk about.'

"In the rest of the article, there is nothing but falsehood; except that I may have predicted the downfall of radicalism as represented by the advocates of impeachment. If I did, I must have predicted it, not as a consequence of impeachment itself—though I was always opposed to it as a political measure—but as a consequence of the denunciatory and proscriptive course pursued toward the senators who had declared for acquittal. I still think that if that course does not defeat the Republican party, it will be because of the devotion of many who feel greatly aggrieved and wronged by it, to the principle of restoration on the basis of equal rights, and the rejection of that principle by the opponents of that party.

"The conversation between us must have taken place on Wednesday or Thursday evening, May 13th or 14th. It was telegraphed to the *Chicago Republican* on Friday, and published in that paper on Saturday morning, on the day when the Senate voted. I really remember nothing of the conversation; except that we talked some about impeachment, but more, I believe, about your iron business and family affairs. I only know the falsity of the statement because I know that the intentions and ideas ascribed to me never entered into my mind. It is simply impossible that I should have predicted the failure of the impeachment, for I did not know whether it would

fail or not. I knew absolutely nothing of the votes of any senators claimed to be in favor of acquittal, except what Senators Trumbull, Fessenden, Grimes, and Henderson had publicly declared. If possible, it is even more impossible that I could have said what I am reported as having said about candidacy, success, the pledges of Fessenden and others, and all that. This is not counterfeiting; for there never was any original to be counterfeited. It is mere false coinage. And I think you owe it to your own honor, and to me, to stamp the whole invention with the infamy it deserves.

"It can not hurt me except by robbing me of the good opinion of some good men; for I am not a contriver of new political organizations, nor am I an aspirant or expectant of any political office or position. If new political organizations arise, they will grow—they won't be manufactured—they will grow out of the real or imagined exigencies of the times. What may be, in my judgement, my duty as a citizen in respect to political parties hereafter, I do not know. It will be determined, as heretofore, by the principles they represent and the measures they propose. Of one thing, however, you may rest assured, that among men faithful to the ideas of impartial justice and equal rights which ought to constitute the basis of political organization, no one will be more faithful than

"Your friend,

S. P. CHASE."

I have not space, and it is unnecessary, to set forth other letters addressed to Mr. Bundy by the Chief Justice. Mr. Bundy may have erred in understanding. Error of that kind, I think, was far from difficult to him; and I trust it was easier than intentional misrepresentation. But hallucinations and illusions of the auditory organs very often happen to such partisans as Mr. Bundy of the "iron business."¹

On the 22d of May, the Chief Justice wrote to Mr. Murat Halstead:

"MY DEAR MR. HALSTEAD: Your note is just received. I have no concern with third parties, or with first or second parties. To make and unmake parties is the work of the people. Politicians can't do it, and their attempts to do it are always failures.

"The Bundy story is pure invention, except that I dare say I may have said that proscription of Republican senators would be 'likely' or 'sure' to result in the organization of a new party. If I said 'sure' I was too fast. If I said 'likely,' I only stated what then seemed highly probable. I did not refer to a third party, however,

¹To Mr. Van Winkle, on the same day of May, our hero wrote as follows:

"MY DEAR SIR: If I ever exchanged a word with you on the subject of the impeachment, I do not remember it. Certainly, my respect for you, to say nothing of proper respect for myself, is too great to allow any attempt on my part to influence your vote. It is impossible, therefore, that you could have made any such statement to Mr. Willey as is asserted in the slip which I inclose."

bat to a coming together, upon the common ground of opposition to the tyranny of the dominant majority in the House of Representatives, of *all* not interested in its support. All that I am reported to have said about myself and the Democratic party is mere bosh. I do wish that the Democratic party would consent to be democratic; but I neither seek nor want any nomination. I have neither the ambition nor the vanity which some unambitious and very modest gentlemen are pleased continually to ascribe to me. It amazes me to see how a simple endeavor to be absolutely impartial in conducting a great trial is magnified into lofty virtue on one side, and stigmatized as political recreancy on the other. I suppose there is no man in the country who had less personal interest in the result than myself. And my interest as a citizen was balanced between hopes of good in the event of conviction, through the assured success of reconstruction on the basis of equal rights for all, and the fear of evil, present and to come, from the strain to which, in the same event, all our institutions would be subjected in consequence of the transfer, under the dictation of the House of Representatives, of the executive power from the President elected by the people to the President *pro tempore* of the Senate.

"You have seen Henderson's testimony about the dinner to which such consequence was given by *reliable* correspondents. Nobody at dinner but himself and that accidental!—no talk of a third party, and no attempt, direct or indirect, to bring any influence to bear on the votes of senators! This is a fair specimen.

"Faithfully, yours."¹

May 22, the Chief Justice wrote to James Gordon Bennett, Esq., a long letter, containing these paragraphs:

"MY DEAR SIR: I can not any longer forbear saying to you how much I feel myself indebted for the kind things which the *Herald* has lately said of me.

"It is a particular gratification, since this gives me an opportunity of saying to you, directly, how much I valued your son's patriotic services and the generous tender of his yacht to the Treasury Department at the beginning of the war. I wanted to do this when he retired from the service; but, about that time, something, I know

¹ On the 25th of May, the Chief Justice wrote to Senator Anthony:

"DEAR MR. SENATOR: Mr. Greeley writes me as follows: 'Hon. Thomas A. Jenckes is my authority for the statement that you tried hard to set Mr. Anthony against impeachment. Mr. J. personally controverted arguments which Mr. Anthony said he had heard you advance.'

"If I tried hard to set you against impeachment, I don't know it; and if you heard me 'advance' any 'arguments' against it, or say any thing about impeachment beyond simply expressing the opinion that the first, second and third articles must go together, and were too weak to warrant a verdict of guilty, I don't know it.

"But I see no reason why I *might not* have argued the case with you, being Chief Justice and presiding in the Court of Impeachment, with much more propriety than a gentleman who is one of the accusers and committed in advance to conviction."

not what, drew down upon me the wrath of the *Herald*, and I did not wish to do or say any thing which might be construed into an effort to stay or mitigate its censures. My Scotch blood rebels against asking or seeming to ask quarter.

"Before that time, the *Herald* had given me important support in my efforts to get money for the war, and I had more than once sought an opportunity of expressing my appreciation of it, but never found you in your rooms when I called for that purpose.

"Let this suffice for the past. I only want it understood. And now, after thanks for present kind words, let me say that a remark in your columns, a few days ago, to the effect that I have undertaken to engineer the movement for my nomination to the Presidency, does me injustice. I have done no such thing, and shall do no such thing.

"What was said in the *Herald*, some time before, that I had ceased to be a candidate, was the exact truth. There was a time when I thought I might be nominated, and I don't deny that a nomination would have gratified me; but, I assure you, I never desired it so much as to make me at all discontented when the probability of it disappeared."

After several sentences of the succeeding paragraph, came the words:

"So I have preferred to be entirely quiescent in respect to the recent discussions in which my name has been brought forward. If they result in any thing more than mere discussion, it will be beyond my expectations and without any procurement of mine. But I am none the less grateful for every generous word you have uttered, and I trust you will never have occasion to regret it."

June 1, the same entirely too prolific pen produced a letter to Mr. Murat Halstead, beginning in this fashion:

"MY DEAR MR. HALSTEAD: I am glad you did *not* print my note to you. It would certainly have been taken as conclusive proof of this conspiracy between us.

"The apparent strength and extent of the movement for my nomination at New York surprises me. You would be surprised, too, if I could tell you what letters I receive, and from whom and from what distant parts of the country. I do not know that any thing will come of it. I think that it is pretty well understood now, that I want no nomination; and that while I should not feel at liberty to decline one which really represented the wishes of the masses, whether Republican, Conservative, or Democratic, opposed to the present leadership and new measures and tests of the dominant party, I can not, under any contingency, abandon the principles of equal rights and exact justice for all, which I have heretofore maintained. This being understood, I am content to let the movement take its course, and shall be satisfied whatever the issue.

"A singular error crept into the *Commercial*, a few days ago. Mr. Fessenden had remarked, in the Senate, that *he had been* in favor of

the nomination of General Grant; and this remark got transformed, in the *Commercial*, into a statement by Mr. Fessenden that the *Chief Justice* had declared his intention to vote for General Grant. Mr. Fessenden did not make that statement, and I certainly did not make that declaration. As Mr. Webster once said, 'I will think of that; yes, sir, I will think of that.'

"I had the pleasure of administering the iron-clad oath, this morning to General Schofield, as Secretary of War."

On the 19th of June, the Chief Justice wrote as follows, to William Cullen Bryant:

"MY DEAR SIR: It was at Richmond, where I was holding the Circuit Court, that your kind letter of the 13th reached me. It gave me great satisfaction in one respect; for it proved that recent events have not impaired the esteem with which you have long honored me, and which I have ever felt to be a true and great honor. To have lost that would, indeed, have been a great calamity.

"The movement for my nomination has taken me entirely by surprise, and I can not, even now, persuade myself of the reality of it; or, rather, I can not imagine that it will develop into such strength as will produce any important result in the action of the Convention of the 4th. It is pretty obvious that a large number of the Northern Democrats are wearied of the formulas under which, for the last ten years, they have been led to defeat; and that very many of the Southern men long for peace and restoration on almost any terms which will insure to them amnesty and complete removal of disabilities, and which are not in themselves dishonorable. All these would gladly accept me as a candidate, believing that, through the election of a citizen holding my ideas of restoration, on the basis of universal suffrage and universal amnesty, peace and prosperity would be most certainly restored to the country, and the party so established upon true Democratic principles, as to afford just hope of a continued ascendancy, unless forfeited by corruption and maladministration hereafter.

"But to these progressives in the Democratic party a large body of the Democrats are very hostile; and these anti-progressives will, most probably, control the Convention; and another period of four years' minority will probably be necessary to bring the progressives into the ascendancy.

"So you perceive that it is not likely to be at all in my power to exercise any material influence upon the platform to be adopted next month. Nobody now, I am glad to find, expects me to desert the original application of democratic ideas which I have ever labored to make real in the Government. This application might be sufficiently assured by the incorporation into the platform of one of two forms of expression,—either restoration on the basis of universal suffrage and universal amnesty, without any declaration, one way or the other, about suffrage in the States; or, recognition of the fact that universal suffrage is a democratic principle, the application of which is to be left in the States, under the Constitution, to the States themselves, without saying any thing more about restoration, except

to declare in favor of general amnesty and the removal of all disabilities on account of insurrection. Upon a platform in either of these forms of expression, I might, I suppose, honorably accept a nomination; and I have no doubt that this practical settlement of the question would be hailed with great satisfaction as the harbinger of restored union, and peace, and prosperity. It is hardly extravagant to say that such action as this would be speedily followed by a large advance in the value of property throughout the South. On all other questions there is no substantial difference between me and other Democrats who do not propose repudiation.

"I do not expect any result personal to myself from the action of the Fourth of July Convention. If any comes, it will surprise me not less than the movement which has already taken place. The movement itself, however, will not be without result. It has shown a liberality and progressiveness of sentiment among Democrats which can not fail to have an auspicious influence upon the future; and it has given to the country a better knowledge than it has hitherto had of my true character and sentiment, and will enable [me] hereafter to speak to the Southern educated classes on the great questions which especially concern their status with freedom, and with a respectful and, very often, a kindly hearing. It may enable [me] in this way to do as much real good as I could do in a higher position. With this I ought to be, and I shall be, content.

"It would be interesting to you, I think, if I would relate to you the conversations I had in Richmond. They indicated a great advance in the right direction, and gave me great hopes of the future.

"Very faithfully, your friend, S. P. CHASE."

This is, if I do not greatly err in judgment, one of the most indicative documents presented in these pages. Yet, on the whole, it is hardly equal to the much shorter letter written to the author of this work by the hero of it, on the 3d of November following, as we shall see hereafter.

And now I must reluctantly ask leave to go back a little, in order to refer to a letter carefully preserved by Chief Justice Chase, and, some months after its reception, most characteristically answered by him, as we shall see, but for some time apparently considered as not worthy of an answer.

Before the 1st of May, 1868, I had had many conversations in Ohio, but especially at Cincinnati, tending to convince me that many voters of Ohio, and especially some German-Americans, desired to take measures to contribute toward making the Chief Justice a people's candidate for the Presidency. On that day I wrote a letter to him on that subject. In that letter I used this language:

"The time (I think) has come when, without indelicacy, one who loves his country, and would prove his love by honorable service, may address you on the subject of the Presidency. . . . I implore

you to do all you honorably may to place your name before the people as a candidate for the highest office in the land. False modesty would be a crime at such a moment. . . . North and South alike have reason to demand that such as you devote themselves to the country. South, as well as North, would hail the prospect of your election. You can be elected. What we need is a popular movement, to the end of bringing you before the people as a 'people's candidate.' I believe the Democrats would be driven to support you, if you were before the people in that manner. I believe that the great body of the voters, North and South, would hail your nomination."

Here, of course, was nothing even looking toward nomination by the Democratic party. Such a nomination always would have seemed to me miraculous. There never was a time when I anticipated witnessing a wonder so complete. Yet perhaps it may seem that a popular movement such as that I looked upon as possible would have been hardly less miraculous than the nomination by the Democratic party of Chief Justice Chase in 1868. Who knows what might have been done in the direction indicated by my letter? Chase, however, answered not. Perhaps he thought the letter not entitled to an answer; possibly it puzzled him. Apparently he misconstrued it. That, as we shall see, is indicated by his answer, which apparently assumes that I had expected him to be made the Presidential candidate of the Democratic party. But, however that may be, some time after the 26th day of June, 1868, I received, quite unexpectedly, the following circular:

"PHILADELPHIA, *June 26, 1868.*

"DEAR SIR: You were appointed by the Chairman of the meeting of the friends of Chief Justice CHASE, held at the Continental Hotel in this city, on the 10th inst., one of a Committee of one hundred to visit New York and present the name of the Hon. SALMON P. CHASE to the National Democratic Convention, as a suitable person to be nominated by that body, as their candidate for President of the United States.

"The Committee will assemble, on the 3d day of July, 1868, at parlor No. 129, Metropolitan Hotel, in the city of New York, at five o'clock P. M. Please be present.

"Very respectfully, yours,

"JOHN WELSH,

"WM. S. PRICE,

"JOHN W. STOKES,

"DAVID W. SELLERS,

WM. F. JOHNSON,

THEO. H. McFADDEN,

CHAS. D. FREEMAN,

Executive Committee."

I need not insist that nothing in my letter to Chief Justice Chase warranted any one in supposing that I was in favor of the movement proposed by the document just set forth. That document was

not, I believe, sent to me by the Chief Justice. For I found among his papers, furnished for my biographic use, a copy of it, marked in his handwriting: "Knew nothing of this before receiving it by mail." But the same copy has this addition in a handwriting entirely strange to me:

"I inclose for your information the form of notice. We have assurances of a full attendance.

"Yours, truly,

J. W. STOKES."

Was not that a foolish movement? It appeared to me a foolish movement then; it seems to me now just as it appeared to me at the time.

There never was an instant in 1868 when the Democratic party could have been expected to accept Salmon Portland Chase as its Presidential candidate. A madder movement never was inaugurated than the movement indicated by the document just offered.

July 1, however, Chase thus wrote to Alexander Long:

"MY DEAR SIR: You were quite correct in saying that I am decidedly of the opinion, that the military force should be withdrawn from the Southern States without delay. It is best for the whole country that those States, as well as all others, should govern themselves, without interference by the National Government; and I have no fears of the result; only let disfranchisement cease, and all disabilities be removed.

"I am greatly obliged to you for the various proofs of esteem and friendship you have given me, and have no apprehension that you will make any representation which I can not sustain.

"Yours, truly,

S. P. CHASE."

Next, attention is invited to this letter:

"WASHINGTON, July 4, 1868.

"MY DEAR SIR: I inclose a letter which may be addressed to yourself or Colonel Van Buren, or any other gentleman you may think best. I have also allowed Colonel McElhenny to take some notes of conversation with me, which may answer every purpose without using the letter. He will hand both to you in strict confidence. It is my special request that no use be made of either, unless some real exigency shall require it, and that none at all be made of it in any event, without full consultation with Colonel Van Buren, or without his advice and consent.

"You will see that I have not been able to comply precisely with your suggestions; but I have felt bound by my obligations to your friendship to come as near to doing so as I could.

"But my self-respect is worth more to me than fifty Presidencies. Without the nomination I shall sleep more soundly than with it. To surrender my consciousness of doing right by binding myself,

in advance, to, I know not what, is simply impossible for me. If it were possible, it would prove me unworthy of the trust and confidence of my countrymen.

"Do n't fail to call on Colonel Van Buren immediately. He is wise, and may be implicitly depended upon. His residence, I presume, you know, No. 11 West Ninth Street.

"Faithfully, yours,

S. P. CHASE."

"Hon. ALEX. LONG.

What happened in Convention is of history. Moreover, I could not set it forth without making intimations which, in the first place, seem to me unnecessary, and which, in the second place, might seem to make this book an instrument of party politics.

But I do not feel free to pass on without presenting a matter of great delicacy—one of the most delicate matters which these pages have to touch.

It was in the *National Republican*, of Washington City, that I first encountered this extract from the correspondence of the *Courier-Journal*, of Louisville:

"I saw yesterday a correspondent's description of Mrs. Kate Chase Sprague's house at Narragansett, the fashionable sea-side resort in Rhode Island. It contains eighty rooms, and is magnificently furnished, and is, of course, filled with choice works of art. Mrs. Sprague has all which ought to make life desirable—wealth, beauty, grace, and accomplishments; yet I doubt not the May morning on which her father was found unconscious in his room, with no hope of his recovery possible, has darkened her life forever, and though time may alleviate her grief at the loss of the father of whom she was so proud, and to whom she was so devoted, yet nothing can ever cure the pain from the mortal wound her ambition has received. Mrs. Sprague is thoroughly ambitious. It has not been because of mere personal vanity that she has perfected herself as a woman of the world and a queen of society. It was not the desire to fascinate and delight, merely for the sake of the homage it brought her, that induced her to study every graceful pose, and school herself in courtly language and brilliant repartee. She for years prepared herself, using all the advantages wealth gave her to cultivate her really remarkable talents, for a social ruler, in the fond expectation of being one day the presiding lady at the White House. Mr. Chase was credited with an over-weening desire to be the Chief Magistrate; yet I believe that this was less due to his own ambition than to his elder daughter's. A gentleman who acted as one of Mr. Chase's chief agents during the campaign, prior to the nomination of Seymour, in 1868, has told me how, throughout, Mrs. Sprague was taken into consultation, how high were her hopes, and how constantly her father spoke of her in connection with his success or failure. When he thought success certain, as he did until the very day Seymour received the nomination, he rejoiced most of all for the joy it would give Mrs. Sprague; and when the

certainly of failure was made known to him, his first words were, 'Does Mrs. Sprague know?' When told she did, 'And how does she bear it?' he inquired. He seemed more relieved to find that the bad news did not overwhelm her. When Mrs. Sprague was told, she manifested wonderful self-control, but evidently the blow was severe. She said little, but that little, albeit it was calmly spoken, showed the violence of the shock she had received."

Affected not a little, I believe, by a conspiracy, of which, up to this time, I know not all that I could wish to know, but of which I have reason to expect to learn much more—a conspiracy to prevent the full and free performance of the trust involved in my reception of the biographic matter furnished for the use of this work—the distinguished lady more than mentioned in that extract has borne herself toward that trust, toward this work, and toward its author in a very hostile fashion. Yet there never was an instant when I wished to use this work in an unfriendly fashion toward her or hers.

On the other hand, how could we here avoid examination of such statements as those contained in that extract from the correspondence of the *Courier-Journal*?

I have heard quite curious accounts of Mrs. Sprague's relation to her father's Presidential candidature in 1868. My information on that subject is by no means meagre. Yet I do not feel required to offer a minute account of what, it is related, our hero's eldest daughter did and said, in order, as she thought, to forward his Presidential prospects.

I felt bound to give that anecdote, related by Mr. Sumner, to which attention has been drawn in Chapter XLIII. And I feel bound to say that the information I have had about her seems to tend to show quite clearly that she was, indeed, in 1868, "thoroughly ambitious," and that she very powerfully influenced her father's Presidential views and aspirations. But I do not censure her on that account. I leave the subject, not reluctantly, but gladly. It is not to me a pleasant theme; but this is chiefly on account of the opposition made by Mrs. Sprague to this endeavor to do justice to the memory of her famous father.

This telegram next asks attention:

"WASHINGTON, July 7, P. M.

'To J. P. TUCKER, 94 Fifth Avenue, New York:

"Am not prepared to say till I have seen the whole. Shall be gratified personally if friends will agree not to have my name presented to the Convention.
S. P. C."

Below is the memorandum :

"[The foregoing telegram was in answer to one from J. P. T. giving a portion of the financial plank in the Democratic platform, and asking if it was acceptable.]"

And here is an important letter :

"WASHINGTON, *July 8, 1868.*

"MY DEAR SIR: Have seen only the telegraphic abstract of the platform. It is, in the main, very good. I take it for granted, however, that it contemplates no action by the General Government for the overthrow of governments in any States from which senators and representatives are admitted to seats in Congress, and I must not be understood as expressing any opinion on questions of Constitutional law, which may come before the courts. I must add that I shall be more gratified if the choice of the Convention falls upon either of the distinguished names before it, than if it falls upon my own.

"Yours, very truly,

S. P. CHASE.

"Col. Jno. D. VAN BUREN,

"No. 11 West 9th Street."

After much reflection, I have felt obliged to use this memorandum, furnished me by the Chief Justice:

"Mr. Vallandigham called to-day (July 14, 1868), and conversed with great frankness. He said that he had determined to give Mr. Chase his support, in case a favorable opportunity should offer, in the New York Convention. He and other members of the Ohio delegation were fixed in their purpose that Mr. Hendricks should *not* be nominated. When it appeared that the vote of Hendricks had reached almost a majority, he went to see Mr. Tilden, Chairman of the New York delegation, and assured him, as he had previously done just before the vote was taken, that if the vote of the New York delegation was changed to Mr. Chase, the Ohio delegation would make no difficulty. He had no doubt himself that a considerable number of the delegates from Ohio were ready to vote for Mr. Chase, and that the whole vote would have been given rather than see Hendricks nominated. Mr. Tilden replied that they could not do otherwise than vote for Mr. Hendricks, so long as there was no falling off from him. Mr. Vallandigham then determined that the vote of Ohio must be cast for Seymour in order to prevent the nomination of Hendricks. He asked John A. Green, a New York delegate, to get Mr. Seymour out of the Convention. But Mr. Green was not willing to undertake it. Mr. Vallandigham himself went to Seymour, and asked him to go out of the Convention with him. Mr. Seymour then relinquished the chair to General Price, and went into one of the rooms of the building, and endeavored to get Mr. Seymour to withdraw from the Convention; but Mr. Seymour declined, saying it was a critical time, and that he could not go away. He then told Mr. Seymour frankly what he desired; that the Ohio delegation had determined he must accept the nomination. Mr. Seymour positively

refused; whereupon Mr. Vallandigham said he must be nominated despite his refusal, that he would make a speech calling upon the Convention to do so. Mr. Seymour said, 'You certainly will not do that; for I can not consent to it.' Mr. Vallandigham replied, 'I certainly shall;' and Governor Seymour said, 'I shall refuse in the Convention;' and thereupon they parted. Mr. Vallandigham then went again to Mr. Tilden, and urged him to nominate Mr. Chase, or at any rate hold off from voting for Mr. Hendricks. The appeal had no effect. He then returned to the delegation, and Colonel McCook made the nomination, and the result followed as detailed in the proceedings.

"Mr. Vallandigham said he had taken his place in the Ohio delegation as a friend of Mr. Pendleton, and had adhered to him in good faith; but had constantly stated, when asked, that Mr. Chase would carry Ohio, if nominated, whatever other members of the Ohio delegation might say to the contrary. He mentioned particularly his statement, to this effect, to the North Carolina delegation. This was, however, perhaps, after the nomination of Mr. Pendleton became hopeless. Mr. Vallandigham said he had not the least doubt that, if the New York delegation had refrained from voting for Mr. Hendricks, Mr. Chase would have been nominated. He believed the Convention was fully prepared for that result.

"After this relation, Mr. Vallandigham expressed a strong wish that Mr. Chase would in some way, and with such protest against particulars of the platform as he should feel bound to make, express a general preference for the Democratic party and the election of the Democratic nominees. Mr. Chase replied that there were portions of the platform to which he could no more assent, without self-contradiction, than Mr. Vallandigham could assent to a platform expressly repudiating the doctrine of State rights. The most important declaration from which he dissented was, that the reconstruction acts were utterly null and void, especially as interpreted by the nomination of General Blair, and his letter declaring that all the governments created under them must be null. Mr. Chase added, that, under the circumstances, it was impossible for him to say any thing in favor of either platform or candidates; and that it was his intention to take no further part in politics, but to confine himself absolutely and entirely to his judicial duties. He said he was a democrat in principle, and expected to remain such, but must act independently, as he has always done. He desired only to be understood as having given no pledge, either to the platform as made or the candidates as nominated.

"This is a brief abstract of a somewhat protracted conversation; but the substance of it is fairly stated."

Here is another report of interesting conversation:

"Dr. Pierce, a gentleman from Indiana (a brother-in-law of Senator Hendricks), called upon Mr. Chase, in the last days of May, with a note of introduction. After some conversation of an indifferent character, he mentioned that there was a very cordial feeling among the Democrats of Indiana for Mr. Chase, and referred particularly to a

Democratic meeting, where, his name being mentioned, it was very warmly applauded. There was, he said, a strong preference felt in Indiana for Mr. Hendricks, though, by adroit management, the friends of Mr. Pendleton had succeeded in getting instructions from the State Convention in his favor. He observed that he was going on to New York, and would ascertain the state of feeling and opinion there, and would let Mr. Chase know the result.

"Dr. Pierce to-day (July 14) called again, not having communicated with Mr. Chase since the former conversation. He said that he went to New York, as he originally proposed, and saw Colonel Payne and Mr. Tilden, with the last of whom he had some business of a private character. Mr. Tilden said to him that the Democrats of New York were ready to support Mr. Hendricks, and he had similar assurances from other quarters. He then went to Utica, to see Governor Seymour, and had a conversation with him at his own house. This was early in June. Governor Seymour seemed anxious to satisfy him that he was misunderstood in the West, on financial questions, and inquired of Dr. Pierce in relation to some prominent individuals. Dr. Pierce explained to Governor Seymour the management by which the friends of Mr. Pendleton had secured the vote of the Indiana delegation, of which Mr. Seymour expressed strong disapproval. Dr. Pierce was about coming away, intending to leave Utica by the train that night. Governor Seymour urged him to stay in town, and said that if he would, he would come in himself in the evening, and see him at the hotel. Dr. Pierce assented, and Governor Seymour came into town accordingly from his house in the country, where the first conversation had taken place. The conversation was renewed at the hotel. Governor Seymour again said a good deal upon financial topics, and assured Dr. Pierce that the New York delegation would willingly support Mr. Hendricks, and asked him particularly about Mr. Washington McLean, who had visited him a short time previously. Dr. Pierce gave his opinion of that gentleman: an 'active, energetic, able, and not very scrupulous politician; devoted to Mr. Pendleton, and faithful to his interests.' Seymour remarked, 'I suppose Mr. McLean can be depended upon for any statement or representation he makes.' To which Dr. Pierce replied that he had no doubt of it. Governor Seymour seemed to be solicitous on this point.

"Shortly afterward, Governor Seymour took his leave, and on the next morning Dr. Pierce left Utica.

"He then visited Governor Church at his residence, and was assured by him that the New York delegation would cheerfully support Mr. Hendricks. Dr. P. then went home to Indiana, calling upon several gentlemen in Ohio on his way, all of whom he found favorable to Mr. Hendricks. He remained at home until near the time of the Convention, when he proceeded to New York. There he still understood from Mr. Church, Mr. Tilden, and Governor Seymour, that the New York delegation were favorable to Mr. Hendricks, and was surprised to learn of their resolution to vote for Mr.

¹ Of course, this language is not chargeable to the composer of this work. Comparing Mr. Washington McLean with politicians generally, I do not find myself disposed to "call him out of his name."

Church. He thought little of it, however, inasmuch as after the first ballots the delegation voted for Mr. Hendricks. Just before the twenty-first or twenty-second ballot, he went to Mr. Seymour and told him that the Pennsylvania delegation would vote for Mr. Hendricks, upon which Governor Seymour told him that he must see them at once and get them to act quickly. He called upon the chairman and other members of the Pennsylvania delegation accordingly; but their action was delayed for some reason, and shortly afterward, the movement in the Ohio delegation was made for the nomination of Mr. Seymour, and was successful. Dr. Pierce expressed much dissatisfaction at the course of the New York delegation, and said that it seemed very probable that McLean had an understanding with Seymour at the time he visited him in the latter part of May or first of June. Dr. Pierce said that he had heard, on the morning of Thursday, of the resolution of the New York delegation to cast its vote for Mr. Chase, and was very much surprised by it. He was assured by Mr. Tilden, Mr. Church, and perhaps one or two others, that the delegation did not intend to vote for any other than Mr. Hendricks, so long as there was a probability of his nomination. Dr. Pierce was very confident that Mr. Hendricks would have been nominated on the last ballot had not the Ohio movement prevented it. Dr. Pierce concluded by saying that Mr. Hendricks had always declined to come into the field in the character of a candidate, though not unwilling to accept the nomination should circumstances favor it."

On the same day, July 14, the Chief Justice wrote a letter to Mr. Murat Halstead, of the Cincinnati *Commercial*, in the course of which he said:

"There is just as much truth in many of the stories set afloat about me in connection with the New York Convention, as in those connected with the impeachment trial."

The next paragraph contains the words:

"My name was brought forward spontaneously, and, so far as I know, unexpectedly, in various sections of the country, some two months ago, as that of a Democrat in principle, not in mere party connection, acceptable to great numbers outside of the Democratic party, and likely, therefore, if proposed by the Democratic Convention, to unite nearly, if not absolutely, all who, for various reasons, are opposed to, or dissatisfied with, the nomination made at Chicago."

On the same day, also, he wrote as follows to Miss Susan B. Anthony:

"DEAR MISS ANTHONY: Your opinion of the people's readiness for any political movement whatever, outside of the two great parties now arrayed against each other, does not correspond with mine. I think there is no such readiness. And I fear you and I would not

be nearly as well agreed on financial questions as we are on the question of universal suffrage.

"At all events, I have voted myself an exempt from future political contentions. I mean to limit myself to the duties of a quieter sphere of usefulness."

Here is another memorandum furnished me by the Chief Justice:

"October 12, 1868.

"This morning General Rosecrans called on me with Major W. T. Southerlin, of Danville, Virginia. Major Southerlin was a devoted adherent of the Rebellion and of Jeff. Davis, during the civil war. He is now a supporter of Seymour and Blair.

"The conversation began by an invitation from Major Southerlin to attend the Agricultural Fair for Virginia and North Carolina, to be held at Danville this week. It then turned on political subjects. A great deal was said by each of the three, but I note only the substance of what was said by Major Southerlin. He expressed his strong desire to know what would be the policy of General Grant in relation to universal amnesty and removal of disabilities, in the event of his election. He said that he himself, and many others who thought as he did, were disposed to accept universal suffrage, and to give to General Grant's administration a fair and honest support if they could be assured of the full enfranchisement of themselves by the removal of the disabilities imposed by the Fourteenth Amendment. I observed that I could only state my conclusions, founded upon a general knowledge of General Grant's character. I had no doubt that he would feel himself bound, and would in good faith give full effect to the Republican ideas on the subject of universal suffrage; but I did not believe he was animated by any vindictive, or even unkind, sentiments toward those who had been engaged in the Rebellion, and I had no doubt, therefore, that his influence in the event contemplated by Major Southerlin would be wholly in favor of the removal of disabilities, and that his views in this respect would be adopted by Congress. I then asked Major Southerlin why he and others could not, in the event of the election of Seymour, take ground in favor of universal suffrage, as the best means of securing contented and effective labor, and of the restoration, to lead in the affairs of the Southern States, of their educated and most capable citizens. He answered that the election of General Grant would be taken as a sign that the reconstruction policy of Congress was to be maintained in respect to suffrage, and that acquiescence of himself and others would be comparatively easy; whereas the election of Governor Seymour would be taken as proof that the majority of the Northern people were opposed to negro suffrage in the South, and that it would be impossible to prevent a general effort to overthrow the whole Congressional reconstruction policy. He said that he was himself opposed to negro suffrage, and was only willing to acquiesce in it because, in case of General Grant's election, it would be impossible to prevent it, and he was disposed to make the best of circumstances instead of persisting in a fruitless opposition. He said that the Democrats of the North

had been constantly urging Southern men to reject every proposition for settlement, and had held out to them the hope that they would certainly be relieved from radical oppression by Democratic ascendancy. He said: 'They tell us now that if they don't succeed this year, to hold out till 1872, when they will certainly do so; but,' he added, 'we are tired of waiting for unfulfilled promises.' I observed, 'Why, then, were you desirous of my nomination at New York; since I have myself been, as you know, decidedly in favor of universal suffrage?' He replied: 'We were willing to take you, and give up our opposition to negro suffrage, because we were certain that we should find in you a friend in all other respects, and believed that your nomination and election would do a great deal for the restoration of peace and prosperity to the Southern States. Besides, while I am opposed to negro suffrage, I believe that we could get along well enough with it if we had an administration of the General Government animated by real good-will toward us, and sincerely desirous to promote our welfare.'

"General Rosecrans seemed to agree with me in general."

The next documents to which I ask attention are three letters to Colonel William Brown, which I take from the Cincinnati *Commercial*. They read as follows:

"NARRAGANSETT, September 2, 1868.

"MY DEAR COLONEL: Your welcome letter reached me here. I thank you most heartily for your noble and generous defense of my motives and actions. The friendship and confidence of true and brave men like yourself is worth more to me than any political honors.

"I am sorry I do not see the path of political duty for myself quite as clearly as you have seen your own; and I can not help regretting your quotation of what you understood me to say of the duty of patriots in the event of reactionary ascendancy in New York.

"I have no recollection of the language used by me in our various conversations; but I dare say that I expressed the opinion that nearly all the Republicans, and many of the Conservatives who desired my nomination, would vote for General Grant, if the New York Convention should adopt a platform and make nominations indicating a purpose to overthrow, by national action, the governments and constitutions established in the South under the reconstruction acts. In this event, I believe that this great body of citizens would vote for General Grant on his own platform, 'Let us have peace,' trusting and believing in him, rather than in the party which nominated him.

"If I said any thing stronger than this, it was more than I should have said, and more than I was in the habit of saying. And if I expressed any personal feeling of my own, it must have been that, in the event referred to, I should feel myself pretty effectually separated from both political parties, and left free of mere party obligations.

"I believe and feel now as I believed and felt then. I am neither disappointed by the course you have determined on for yourself, nor dissatisfied with it. Tens of thousands, if not hundreds of thousands, who sympathized with you in the early days of July, act with you now. It is the natural and necessary result of the action at New

York. But, on the other hand, I am very sure that tens of thousands of Democrats, who sympathized with you then, and not a few Republicans, alarmed by the tendencies of their party, and desiring a change, would give their votes for Democratic electors, in the full confidence that if Governor Seymour is elected, he will give no countenance to reactionary violence, or to the subversion of the Southern governments.

"Under these circumstances, I see at present no right or useful course for me except that of abstaining wholly from political conflicts; of performing faithfully the duties of my position; of adhering steadily to my constantly avowed principles, and of doing whatever I properly can in my proper sphere to recommend them to general acceptance and practical application.

"I am sure that your speech was intended to be entirely fair toward Governor Seymour; but is it not somewhat too depreciatory in tone? I do not doubt that he was a sincere friend to the liberal side, and if he yielded to the clamor of the reactionists and others for his own nomination, let us remember how few are the men who would have declined it under the circumstances. Justice to him is a duty from us.

"One word more that may look like criticism. I regret that you printed the extract from my letter. Not that I regret the printing *per se*—I am not at all sorry for that. But it is a good rule that no private letter or extract from one should be published without the express consent of writer and receiver. I put this in only as a caution from an old man to a young man.

"The fullest copy of your speech I have seen was in the *Cincinnati Commercial*, and even that does not contain what you said of the Vice-Presidential nomination. I should like to have a complete copy. The *Evening Post* (New York) reprinted nearly the whole of the *Commercial's* report. Extracts, more or less full, have been in very many other papers. It has attracted very great attention, and has given much satisfaction, so far as I hear, to our friends, whether now supporting Grant or Seymour.

"Faithfully, your friend,

S. P. CHASE.

"Col. WILLIAM BROWN,

"Nicholasville, Ky."

"WASHINGTON, September 29, 1868.

"MY DEAR COLONEL: On my return, last night, I found your two letters of the 11th and 14th, with the letters and slips from newspapers inclosed with them, and am much obliged to you for all. But I must assure you that I needed no explanation of your motives for making the Frankfort speech. I felt that it was impossible for you to act except from motives honorable to yourself and most kind to me, and every word I write expressing thanks and gratitude for your vindication of me against Republican misrepresentation and misunderstanding comes from my heart. I regretted nothing in your speech except its tone and tenor concerning Governor Seymour. I was sure when the platform was adopted and interpreted on the vital question of the stability or forcible subversion of the accomplished work of reconstruction by the letter and nomination of

General Blair, that nearly all the Republicans and very many of the Conservatives, who are anxious to unite with the Democrats in opposition to the extreme measures of the Republican leaders, would be constrained to the support of General Grant. But it was not, and is not, my belief that Governor Seymour desired to have this issue made, or that he wished the nomination for himself. I have seen nothing in his action which makes me question the sincerity of his declared wishes for a different issue, and for another candidate. Hardly any man would have resisted the approaches made to him by a Convention which seemed to be, and perhaps was, unanimous, or nearly so, in demanding his consent to his own nomination. That he did not resist may be deplored on public grounds; but my friends should not complain. I had no claim on a Democratic Convention, representing what may be called the Old-line Democracy. The nomination was proposed only as a means of uniting in support of the ticket those in general sympathy with that Democracy on other issues that have arisen since the war, but who were as much as ever in favor of securing to the enfranchised people all the rights of men and citizens, as the best, if not the only means of restoring order and prosperity to the South. By their action, and by the Blair portion of the platform especially, the Convention refused that union. This refusal may be regretted, but it is not matter of complaint. Governor Seymour, I am confident, desired it. I blame nobody—no Democrat who thinks other issues paramount in importance to that of peace and the universal suffrage, for supporting Governor Seymour; and no Republican or Conservative, who thinks peace and reorganization on the basis of justice for all, and suffrage to secure justice, paramount to all other issues, for supporting General Grant. These last can vindicate their position, and at the same time do full justice to the abilities, statesmanship, patriotism, and pure private character of Governor Seymour. The former can maintain theirs without aspersion upon General Grant, and with full acknowledgment of the services he has rendered in his military capacity.

“Please take this as a slight expression of what I said in my former letter, and as explaining why I can not consent to have the extract from that letter which you quote published. I know that Governor Seymour and his friends, who were also my friends, feel much hurt by what you said of him, and what others of my friends have said, and are inclined to regard me as in some sort responsible for those sayings; and the publication of that extract, disconnected from what I wrote of him, would confirm that impression. So I prefer to have nothing published; and you will, therefore, treat what I have heretofore written and what I now write as strictly private.

“I hope that your expectations of good results to the people of the late Slave States, whether white or black, from the election of General Grant, will be realized. I think they will be, at least in part. Reconstruction, in the features which I approve, as well as in those which I disapprove, will probably become fixed and permanent facts under his administration. I incline to think, also, that he will favor the removal of all disabilities imposed by the Fourteenth Amendment. In other respects, my fears of the results of his election are stronger than my hopes. But it will be a great thing to have uni-

versal suffrage under the new Constitution assured, and all disabilities removed. In this way only, and in candid acceptance of this way, can the Southern States, in my judgment, look for sure prosperity.

"The results in Vermont and Maine indicate reaction from the depression to which ill-advised measures had sunk Republican prospects. I perceive no sufficient ground for thinking that this reaction is local. If not, the result is sure. General Grant will be President. Two weeks from to-day will tell the story. If the reaction brings Republican successes in Pennsylvania and Ohio, the election in November will be hardly any thing more than a form.

"I had some hope of finding you here upon my return; but I see that you will be on the stump in Kentucky until the 3d of October; then I suppose you will come East. I expect to remain here now, hard at work on law cases, until November, and shall be very glad to see you. Meantime believe me, as ever,

"Faithfully, your friend,

S. P. CHASE.

"Col. WM. BROWN."

"WASHINGTON, *October 28, 1868.*

"MY DEAR COLONEL: You may have thought me negligent in not answering your last kind letter from New York. But what could I add to what I had said? I know you honest, brave, resolute, and that, unless convinced of error, you will speak just according to your declared convictions. I am grateful, for I feel honored by your friendship and support. It is my undoubting belief that assaults on Governor Seymour do no good to any body, but are both unwise and unjust. I have never doubted that he erred in consenting to be nominated upon the platform of the New York Convention, without expressing any dissent from the dogmas on reconstruction which it put forth, and still more in accepting that nomination without any such dissent, after the revolutionary construction given to it by the nomination of Blair, fresh from the publication of his Brodhead letter. But the error was one which might easily be committed by one in Governor Seymour's position, and I do not think that it warrants the reproaches which have been directed against him.

"Judge Pierrepont has made the true issue between Seymour and Blair and Grant and Colfax. He analyzes it well when he says that it is an issue between Blair and Revolution, and Grant and Peace, leaving Seymour and Colfax almost wholly out of sight. I inclose to you with this, a copy of Judge Pierrepont's speech. You will doubtless be struck, as I was, with the account of the conversation between him and Grant, and the declaration of Grant that 'his feelings and sentiments are entirely opposed to negro suffrage.' I hope that, having made enough progress during the war to become 'glad of negro enlistment' (which I certainly could never say), he has made progress enough since, and will make enough hereafter, to see in 'the South' the whole people of the South; in 'good citizens,' all good citizens, of whatever complexion or nativity; and in securing the rights of all, by the suffrage of all, something else than giving them (*i. e.*, the white people of the South) negro suffrage.

"Sincerely, yours,

S. P. CHASE.

"Col. WM. BROWN."

And now I ask attention to the following remarkably characteristic letter :

" WASHINGTON, November 3, 1868.

" MY DEAR SIR: Some months have passed since I received your letter of May last. Many events have taken place since, and the greatest, in which the rest culminate, is taking place to-day.

" It is not my purpose to comment on them, but simply to thank you for the kind words of your letter. Your anticipations have not been realized ; and my faith in the Good Providence which has thus far presided so graciously over our country's destiny is such, that I can not doubt that it is best that they have not been.

" At the close of to-day's voting, I do not doubt that General Grant will be President elect. It is my earnest prayer and confident expectation that the country will find peace in the reconciliation of races and in the recognition and protection of the equal rights of all men.

" I find my consolation, under the annoyances to which the late use of my name has subjected me, in the thought that it represented the strong desire of many Democrats and Republicans to unite on higher and better ideas than those which, for years past and this year, have formed the staple of Democratic platforms, and has contributed something, probably, to the realization of that desire in the future.

" It will give me great pleasure to hear from you again, and meantime I remain, very sincerely, your friend, S. P. CHASE.

" Hon. R. B. WARDEN."

I have shown already that the words, " your anticipations have not been realized," indicate a misconstruction of my letter of May 5th.

Here is a pleasant letter to conclude this chapter :

" WASHINGTON, November 17, 1868.

" DEAR COLONEL: Your note is received, and I thank you. Poor judges can not vie with rich Clevelanders in horse-buying.

" Mr. Evarts bought a span in New York—good horses, for \$1,000—which confirms your view. Can't you take New York in your way here, and see what can be done there as to a single horse or pair, and a *coupé* or other carriage. I don't want to go over \$2,000 for horses and carriage.

" Short wrote me a while ago, asking my reasons for disapproving his reappointment as crier, and stating he was informed it was because of his preference for Grant. Of course I did not answer. It is true that I did not like the officious part he took in working machinery for the General's nomination ; but I blame no man for preferences or for proper corresponding action.

" No appointment lasts beyond the term, except of men continued through vacation. All I ask of you, in making up your list of assistants, is to select obliging, attentive, gentlemanly, and capable persons. I see no reason for appointing a crier at all. Why can not Reardon or Archie Lewis act?

" I suppose Julia is half German by this time. Give my love to her when you write, and to Mrs. Parsons and Richard, Jr., by word of mouth. Sincerely, yours, S. P. CHASE.

" Col. R. C. PARSONS."

CHAPTER XLIX.

A GREAT AFFLICTION—THE BEGINNING OF THE END.

AMONG the papers furnished for my biographic use by Chief Justice Chase, is one which reads as follows:

"SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES,
"WASHINGTON, *March 4, 1869.*

"MEMORANDUM FOR THE JUDGES FOR INAUGURATION.

"The judges to have six tickets of admission to the Capitol. No judge will require a ticket for his own admission.

"The Court will control absolutely its own apartments. Also, the *west* door of the Capitol, on the new Senate Terrace. The judges and their friends will enter at this door.

"No person will be allowed to enter the Capitol without a ticket from the seargent-at-arms of the Senate.

"The judges will furnish each person (number limited to six) whom they desire to allow in the Supreme Court room, a card requesting their admittance to the court-room.

"When the President-elect and the Chief Justice, with the Court, reach the platform, all the ladies in the Supreme Court room will be permitted to pass through the marshal's office to witness the inauguration.

"Ladies desirous of witnessing the proceedings in the Senate Chamber, can not, after the close of those proceedings, be admitted to the court-room.

MARSHAL."

Happy marshal! And how was it with our hero? He, too, after his own fashion, was rather fond of pomp and pride and circumstance, in public life. That was, indeed, one of his weaknesses, if I did not misjudge him greatly.

Among the same papers is one giving the form of the oath administered to President Grant. Though done with a large pen, the characters are italic, and are marked off as follows:

"I do solemnly swear | that I will faithfully execute | the office of President of the United States, | and will, to the best of my ability, | preserve, protect, and defend | the Constitution of the United States. | So help me God!"

Under that form are the words, in the handwriting of the Chief Justice himself:

"This oath, from this paper, was administered to General Grant, on the 4th of March, 1869. S. P. C."

The next day he wrote to Mrs. Grant as follows:

"DEAR MADAM: My friend, Colonel Parsons, the Marshal of the Supreme Court, will place in your hands the Bible on which your honored husband took the oath of office yesterday. His lips pressed the 121st Psalm.

"The Book will, I am sure, be to you a precious memorial of an auspicious day; destined, I trust, to be ever associated in American remembrance with the perfected restoration of peace, and with the renewal and increase of prosperity throughout our land.

"With earnest desires that the aspirations of the Psalmist may be fulfilled to you, to him, and to our whole people, I remain

"Most respectfully, yours, S. P. CHASE.

"Mrs. U. S. GRANT."

Below are the words:

"Copy of letter sent to Mrs. Grant on the morning of the 6th March, 1869—intended to be sent with the Bible on the 5th, but not sent by reason of messenger being out of the way."

May 2, 1869, the Chief Justice, in a letter to Mrs. Elizabeth Smith Miller, said:

"My old affection for your honored father, and sincere respect for yourself, requires me to reply to your note, though my time is so entirely occupied by my special duties that I can not write any thing which I should be willing to have read in public. Besides, I have an extreme repugnance to even seeming to have any further connection with political movements. I have done my share of work of that sort, and prefer to leave future events to younger folk. But you will not be mistaken if you believe me heartily desirous of all things which will really improve the condition of woman. Among such things I count the increase of facilities for moral and intellectual culture; ampler recognition and full protection to rights of property; and access to, and peaceful security in, all employments for which she is qualified by strength, capacity, and integrity. I am also so far in favor of suffrage for women that I should like to see the experiment tried in one or more of the States, and, if found to work well, extended to all. I am sufficiently confident of good results, to be willing to vote for it in the State where I reside."

Many letters written in 1869 must be reserved for use in my Edition of the Speeches and Writings of our hero. I must now go forward rapidly toward the end of the present work.

At Washington, May 24, 1870, Chief Justice Chase wrote as follows to President Grant:

"DEAR SIR: You are doubtless aware that the house formerly occupied by Jefferson Davis, at Richmond, has been occupied, since the overthrow of the rebel government, as head-quarters by the general commanding in that district. I understand that the property belongs to the city of Richmond; an intention to give it to Mr. Davis, or in some way appropriate it as an executive residence for the President of the Confederate States, having never been carried into effect. The property has never been confiscated, and the title, therefore, remains, as I suppose, unaffected by the Rebellion.

"The great calamity which has recently fallen upon Richmond, makes it necessary to provide a place for the sittings of the Court of Appeals and Chancery Courts, formerly held in the Capitol; and this house offers the best location. Nothing, I suppose, is necessary in order to its restoration to the city, except a simple military order; but of this the War Department is doubtless best informed.

"I have been requested to ask your favorable consideration of this matter; and as Virginia is within my judicial circuit, and as a very recent visit to Richmond, immediately after the recent terrible disaster, has given me a very vivid sense of the necessity in which the wish for the restoration of the property originates, I do so without delay.

"Your own feelings, I am sure, would prompt you, if it were possible, to anticipate the wishes of the citizens.

"With profound respect and true regard, I remain,

"Your obedient servant,

S. P. CHASE.

"THE PRESIDENT."

The next matter by which attention is invited is of deeply painful character. I offer here the copy of a letter, written through an amanuensis, to Hon. Richard C. Parsons, on the 26th of September, 1870. Certainly among the things which must be carefully explained in every biography of Salmon Portland Chase are the facts to which that letter draws attention.

These are the terms in which the letter dictated at that time referred to a great affliction:

"You will see, by the date of this, that I am at Mrs. Sprague's. I have been here a month with Nettie. We went, as we designed, to St. Paul and Minneapolis, and returned by the way of Niagara Falls. On the journey from the Falls to New York, which we undertook to accomplish between 2 P. M. on the 16th and 8 A. M. on the 17th of August, I was attacked, without warning, about 9 o'clock, by paralysis, until, when I reached New York,¹ my right side, from the toe to the scalp, was sensibly affected, so that I could scarcely speak intelligibly. I could, however, get up-stairs at the

¹The word "until" is in the copy I have. I have not seen the original.

Hoffman House without very great difficulty. Dr. Clark was immediately called in, and also Dr. Hammond. Dr. Clark was my regular physician, and, of course, Dr. Hammond was merely advised with as consulting. They both agreed as to the nature of the attack—that it was paralysis of the right side, but unusually moderate.

"I remained at the Hoffman House a week, arriving there Wednesday morning, and leaving Wednesday noon. Nettie was with me, and Mrs. Sprague and the Governor joined me there Wednesday evening. I could write this letter myself, but it would be a great labor, and the writing, though plainer than common, would be a great deal stiffer. How soon I shall get well, I can not say. At present, I do not expect to be able to take my place in court at the adjourned term; and I doubt very much whether I shall be able to take it at the regular term, though it is quite possible that I may. Of course, under existing circumstances, I shall want you to be here as early as possible, and am glad to know that your return is not to be postponed beyond the middle of November.

"I have not been allowed to write or dictate until within a day or two. Mr. Didier has been with me for that time. But I have been allowed, and, indeed, required, to take what exercise I could. I have walked more and more every day, until, at last, I walked about a mile without resting. I can ride, without difficulty, eight or ten miles.¹ So, too, in respect to writing; at first, I could not use my right-hand at all. I have recovered so that I write a little every day.

"I have been thus particular because you are at a distance, and may have heard incorrect accounts; besides, it is desirable that you should know the truth. I do not take the trouble to be as particular with any body else upon this side, and perhaps it will be well enough to keep what I write to yourself."

Paralysis is now attracting much attention, here and in other countries. Every body has a theory about paralysis, and some individuals have many theories about paralysis. It is paralysis here and paralysis there; yet, after all, how little do we know about the thing so named!

A few things may, however, be set down about such palsy as appeared in Salmon Portland Chase. Like every other laming² of the physical part of our humanity, the thing which we were once content to talk about under the designation palsy, more or less *lames the mind*. The body and the mind of the late Chief Justice were forever lamed, when, on the 7th day of August, 1870, he was first palsied; or, as we have recently accustomed ourselves to say, paralyzed. But lameness is not death. A lame walker walks, for all his halting.

¹ So in copy.

² The German name for paralysis is *Laehmung*.

But of that more must be said hereafter. Here I say but a few words about the sorrow that undoubtedly came to the heart of this man of two-and-sixty years when he could no longer see his own old face reflected in his looking-glass, and when he saw how others were affected by the change in his person, port, and presence.

Mr. Lloyd, who was for some time his private secretary, relates that it was with no bitterness, but with a shrewd and kindly smile, that he sometimes said, when his health was inquired about: "I'm not very well; but I'm a great deal better than some people wish I was."

I must go farther when I come to relate some of my own observations when, as is to be set forth, I was, in the interest of this work, induced to act, for a limited time, as Mr. Lloyd's successor. Often I was unutterably shocked by questions, and still more by looks of questioning significance, relating to health, addressed to "my Chief," as he rather liked to have me call him.

Had our hero studied hygiene and medicine—for I distinguish them—as every enlightened man and woman ought to study them, he might have been in tolerable health, this day. He literally put himself to death. That is the simple truth. He suffered death at his own hands; not as a suicide, but as a man whom no warning, no persuasion, nothing could induce to let nature heal him.

On the 15th of October, 1870, he dictated a letter to Miss Nettie Chase, his "darling Nettie," in which he said:

"Last night I suffered a good deal with pains in my chest, but slept, on the whole, pretty well, and am this morning much better. I have walked already in the house about twenty minutes, and breakfasted, and am going out to take a walk with William as soon as I finish this letter. It is now twenty minutes past ten.

"The children are well, and so is Katie. The baby grows in grace and beauty day by day, and I look soon to see her walking and talking. Willie improves continually.

"The Governor, as long as Katie was absent, was very constant in his attendance, coming down every night. Since he went up on Wednesday morning, he has not returned, but we expect him to-night as usual. His place is well supplied by Katie.

"I am still kept on my short diet; but I suppose it is best for me. Please bring me a bottle of cologne and a *good modern arithmetic*."

On the 19th he dictated a remarkable letter to Mr. Ball, concerning his anxiety to clear away even the smallest things in his affairs which could be a cause of self-reproach. And on the 22d he caused

to be written to Mr. Henry D. Cooke, under his dictation, a letter beginning as follows:

MY DEAR MR. COOKE: My health is quite precarious, and I feel that I ought to make some permanent disposition of my property, and I know of no one through whom I can make it so satisfactorily as through yourself. I have, therefore, taken the great liberty of using your name in a paper which I have drawn up as my last will. I hope you will not refuse your consent."

Here, surely, is an indication to which Mr. Cooke may well point with pride. It proves that, on the 22d of October, 1870, Chief Justice Chase considered him entitled to respect and confidence in a high degree. And I desire that the living interests of Mr. Cooke, as well as the memory of our hero, may be credited with this indication. It is not my wish to do injustice in this work to any man.

On the 24th, in a dictated letter to Mr. Schuckers, the Chief Justice said:

"It is a long time since I received your letter, but really I have been in no condition to reply. I am now regaining my strength slowly, having lost a good share of what I had previously gained, by imprudence."

The elsewhere mentioned implication of an article in the New York *Herald*, that I claimed, at some time, that I was, for a considerable time, our hero's private secretary, is as false as the same article's pretended criticism of my style and diction;¹ but, on the other hand, how evident it has already become, that it is very vilely false to pretend, that Mr. Schuckers was ever continuously, for any considerable time, near the person of Secretary Chase or Chief Justice Chase! The same letter, however, goes on as follows:

"I am glad to hear that your prospects of the mowing-machine are so good; and I wish it were in my power to give you the situation at Washington which you desire. But I shall certainly not be there during the adjourned term, nor will Parsons before the middle of it. I will write to him as soon as possible; but I know of no position which will be vacant, even then, unless a vacancy is made for the purpose of accommodating you."

"If my own health were good, so that we could attend to the work, I should be strongly inclined to join you in preparing the book; but I see no prospect of it."

The book in question was, no doubt, an attempt to set forth the life of our hero while Secretary of the Treasury. On such a life I

¹ Post, chapter.

have reason to believe Mr. Schuckers had made a little progress, when he laid it aside, and commenced a history of paper money in this country. Having met him, having read a certain letter of his, and having heard much of him, I could not allow myself to entertain a thought of him as competent to write a life of Salmon Portland Chase with any aid whatever. But, on the 2d of November, 1870, at Narragansett, his handwriting reappears in the books of the Chief Justice in the first draught of a letter to Colonel Dwight Bannister.

On the 26th of the preceding month, the Chief Justice wrote as follows:

"MY DEAR SCHUCKERS: Mr. Didier has resigned, to take effect on the 31st of October. Mrs. Sprague wrote you to know whether you would take the vacant place. I shall be glad to have you answer at once, and to have you, if you conclude to take it, to come at once.

"You will no doubt think this a sudden change from my letter of the 24th inst.; but Didier is responsible."

Methinks we now begin to see what notions of biography were entertained by Mrs. Sprague, whose implacable hostility to the present work and to its author, has become a fact of common notoriety. Of that, however, I must speak hereafter.

On the 24th of October, 1870, Chief Justice Chase, at Narragansett, dictated a letter which contains these words:

"Thank you for your sympathy, my old friend. I am far from thinking that when men occupying particular positions in the public mind are taken away, the world suffers any great loss. I am persuaded that they have done their work, and that other men are better fitted for the new circumstances of the world than they were. . .

"For myself, I look upon the work which I had to do as nearly done. It would have been a gratification to me to have finished the currency according to my own ideas; but very likely the ideas of others are better. I refer particularly to the restoration of specie payments, and to the declaration, as Constitutional law, that Congress has no power to make any thing else than gold and silver a legal tender in payment of debts. Whether I shall live to see this or the reverse, is for the Divine wisdom to determine. I shall not be at Washington during the adjourned term, and perhaps not during the regular term which follows, though I am slowly regaining my strength, so far as I can see. I desire to commit the future, in this respect, as in all others, to Him who has graciously cared for me.

"Yours, very truly,

S. P. CHASE.

"Hon. N. SARGENT,

"Washington, D. C."

Marked "The Democratic Movement" is a little paper book, which was among the papers furnished for my biographic use by the man I have to name so often. The first article that it contains is taken from the *Commoner* of May 20, 1871, and it bears the title, "The False Departure." The next is from the *Cincinnati Commercial* of May 19, 1871, and has the head-lines: "Another New Departure. Vallandigham Takes the Responsibility. The Constitution as it is. All Amendments acquiesced in. Strict Construction called for. An Important Movement." There are other articles; but I mention, in addition to those already mentioned, only one. That one is from the (Washington) *Daily Patriot*, May 22, 1871, and has the head-lines: "True Course of the Democracy in the Present Crisis of the Country. The Constitution as it is. A Letter from John Quincy Adams."

August 4, 1871, the Chief Justice wrote to Mr. Alexander Mitchell, President Milwaukee and St. Paul Railroad, as follows:

"MY DEAR SIR: I thank you very sincerely for your intended courtesy, and for the pass and kind offer which accompanies it. I do not know that I shall [go] any farther than this place, where I am glad to say my health seems to be steadily improving, and, if I can rely upon the assurances of my friend Colonel Dunbar, will be speedily restored. Should business call you to Waukesha, while I am here, I shall be very glad to see you.

"Yours, very sincerely."

On the same day, the Chief Justice wrote to Judge Dickson, then at Oakland, Maryland:

"MY DEAR JUDGE: I received your letter forwarded to me from St. Louis, on Saturday, and answer it on Monday, no mail going out on Sunday. I wish I could give you more definite information in regard to the springs at St. Louis. They are esteemed the best in the State, though probably the waters at Eaton Rapids and at Lansing, both of which are more accessible, are nearly, if not quite as effective. As far as I could observe, the waters at St. Louis have more control over paralytic and rheumatic affections than any other. During July and August, and probably the greater part of September, the climate is malarious, and the people are liable to attacks of fever and ague. A slight touch of that disorder induced me to leave when I did. I came here, where the climate is much better, and the waters, so far as troubles of the kidneys and liver are concerned, are more effective. I do not regret that I came, and hope for the best results.

"I most sincerely sympathize with you in your troubles. I am afraid you work too hard and pay too little attention to your stomach. This, as I have learned, can not be done with impunity. My impression is, that you would derive more benefit from a visit to this place,

than from any of the Michigan springs. You might, if so inclined, however, visit Lansing or Eaton Rapids, and if not satisfied with them, come here. You will be almost in the direct line by railroad to Grand Haven, and by boat from thence to Milwaukee, from which this place is distant by railroad about twenty-three miles. You will find the boat from Grand Haven to Milwaukee very pleasant, and you can take the cars from Milwaukee here at 7.15 or 10 A. M.

"Very sincerely, your friend, S. P. CHASE."

Five days afterwards, he wrote to Colonel Parsons:

"MY DEAR COLONEL: Your letter from London was duly received, though it had to be forwarded from Washington to St. Louis in Michigan, where I then was, at the Magnetic Springs. I was glad to learn that your wife and children were in good health. It would give me much pleasure to see them all again, and I suppose that you will be at home with them some time next month.

"I spent several weeks at St. Louis, and enjoyed the baths there very much. The waters equal those of the most celebrated springs in Europe, but the climate is not good in the months of July, August, and perhaps September. I had a touch of fever and ague, which induced me to depart rather sooner than I intended at first. I am thankful that it was only a touch. I had but two serious chills, with fever following, and since have had none. With these exceptions my improvement has been steady, though not rapid since January. Every body says, and I agree, that I have not been so nearly well as I am now, since I was taken sick. I begin to gain in flesh somewhat, having run down to 145. Just before leaving St. Louis, I weighed 146; here, eight days later, I weighed 153, and hope that I shall continue to gain; so that, by the time you return, I may make quite a respectable appearance.

"I am delightfully situated here at Waukesha. The waters work wonders in cases of prostration from disorders from the liver and kidneys, and bid fair to become quite celebrated. Such men as Dr. Willard Parker, of New York, Dr. Smith, of Columbus, and Dr. Wolcott, of Milwaukee—all of whom I suppose you know—give the springs, in these respects, their unqualified indorsement. My own troubles, as you are aware, proceed, in great part, from disorders of these organs. But I must not run on about myself in this way.

"Mrs. Sprague is at Narragansett, with a house full of company. Mrs. Hoyt, at the date of her last letter, was in Munich. This was about a month ago. Where she is now, I do not know; but she will probably return with her husband in October.

"Give my love to Mrs. Parsons, and to Julia and Richie. I suppose Julia is a young lady, and Richie a young gentleman, by this time.

Yours, faithfully,

S. P. CHASE."

The next day, the Chief Justice wrote as follows:

"MY DEAR DOCTOR: I am steadily improving in health. Sometimes, indeed, I feel quite well, until I undertake to walk, or otherwise exercise. Then I find myself weak. I walk, however, without any

great effort, about two miles. Probably, I shall take my seat in October, at the adjourned session, though I may not before the regular session, in December. I am very regular in my meals; breakfasting at half-past seven, dining at one, and taking my tea at half-past six. I observe that you advise the last meal at an hour not later than five o'clock. Would not this leave too little time between the dinner and tea?"

One of the worst things about our hero's relation to medicine was, his old way of taking advice, and then going his own way. But medicine and medical treatment, after some fashion, he would have, it seems. Indeed, every body seemed disposed to suggest some new remedy, some new experiment in treatment. He received numerous letters, even from mere strangers, on this subject, and he was disposed to pay a necessarily confused attention to all that was said to him, orally or in writing, touching hygiene and medicine.

He had not read, and I tried in vain to have him take time to read, before it should be too late, the admirably scientific little book by Sir John Forbes, *Of Nature and Art in the Cure of Disease*. The reading of that single work, with due attention to its warnings, might have saved his life till now.

He went on as follows, in the last cited letter:

"My digestion has been pretty good. No day has passed, except perhaps one, without an evacuation. The cold weather affected me injuriously at St. Louis, in consequence of my imprudence in wearing too thin clothes. I had a touch of chills and fever there, and left, in consequence, for this place. The waters here have a great and increasing reputation in disorders of the liver, and, I think, have been useful to me.

"As we are only five hours from Chicago, and about twelve from Detroit, may I not hope to see you when you come West?

"Truly, your friend,

S. P. CHASE.

"Dr. D. W. BLISS, Washington."

August 19, he wrote to his old friend, Mr. Plumley:

"MY DEAR FRIEND: I was glad to get your letter, and to learn that you were in good health. It would give me a great deal of pleasure to visit you at your son's; but I fear it will not be in my power. I will take your advice as to taking care of myself, and in avoiding the 'teasing of politicians.' For my improved health, some credit is doubtless due to the waters I have visited, both at St. Louis and at this place, but more, perhaps, to fresh air, simple diet, and exercise. With God's blessing, I think I may hope for as perfect restoration as is compatible with my years."

To General Ashley, also at Waukesha, on the 5th of September, he wrote:

"DEAR GENERAL: Thanks for your kind note. I pay no attention to politics, except to form my own opinions and give my own votes. I am a democratic Democrat, as you know, and have never asked of the Democratic party any thing except fidelity to democratic principles.

"My health is much improved; better, indeed, than for a year prior to my attack, a year ago. But I think the correspondent you refer to saw my case too much in rose-color."

On the 23d of October, 1871, a gentleman I shall not name, wrote a long letter to Chief Justice Chase. At one time I felt that the performance of my biographic duty could not be complete without the presentation of that letter, and of others, emanating from the same pen. But, on applying to the writer of those letters for the purpose of ascertaining how he would regard their publication, I received from him a most earnest protest against their use herein. On reflection, my decision was, that it was not essential to present them fully to the readers of this volume. But I must refer to some of their contents.

For example, one of those letters (that of October 23) says that Mr. Groesbeck, unlike Mr. Pendleton, is an honest, confiding, open-hearted, outspoken man, who conceals nothing from his friends, but speaks frankly his convictions on all subjects, not even excepting the Presidency. In the same letter the Chief Justice is informed that Mr. Groesbeck's conviction is, that neither himself, nor any one else fully identified with the Democratic party, can succeed as against Grant, and that the Chief Justice is the only man who can defeat Grant's re-election, provided the Chief Justice's health and physical constitution will admit of his being a candidate.

But the same letter has another intimation, which must not be overlooked. It is expressed as follows:

"Should you succeed, that which Mr. Groesbeck would desire, under your administration, would be to go abroad, remain out of the country for a time, and return home to take his chances in 1876."

Et tu, Groesbeck! Then we have the words:

"The result of the recent elections in this State and Pennsylvania has added greatly to your prospects for the nomination, and the delegation from this State to the next National Convention—unlike that of 1868, pledged in advance, and prejudiced against you—will, unless I greatly mistake the signs of the times, be in your favor."

Was that letter answered? I have reason to believe it was, but I find no copy of an answer to it; nor have I found answers to the others written by the same pen in relation to the same absurd design.

Mere justice to the memory of Salmon Portland Chase, however, with a due regard to public interests of great concern to the whole people, ordered me, I judged, to offer the foregoing extracts to the readers of this work. That judgment may have been erroneous, as many others of my judgments in the course of the present work may have been; but the only fear that I have had, the only fear I can have, is the fear of failing to perform the fearfully difficult and indescribably delicate trust, accepted when I undertook to make proper use of the biographic matter furnished by the hero of these pages. That, indeed, has been a great fear from the first; and it must try my heart even to the end. God knows how deeply I have felt it as this work has progressed.

March 26, 1872, Chief Justice Chase wrote as follows to Judge M. C. C. Church, about a paper prepared by the latter:

"Its first sentence seems to place me in the position of a man desiring a nomination for the Presidency. I do not desire it. There has been a time when I did. I say this frankly, and say just as frankly that I have no such desire. If those who agree with me in principle think that my nomination will promote the interests of the country, I shall not refuse the use of my name. But I shall not seek a nomination, nor am I willing to seem to seek it. I said this to you when you did me the honor to call upon me.

"I doubt the expediency of the remark in regard to the tendency of the Liberal Republican movement. Nothing that I have seen seems to warrant a doubt of the patriotism of its promoters.

"Nor am I willing to be put in the attitude of rivaling Judge Davis. He is my friend, and I hold him in the highest esteem as a man of honor and ability. I differ from him on some important points of principle, but do not question the integrity of his convictions; nor, I think, does he question mine.

"And, finally, I doubt the expediency of suggesting any name for the second office. Let this be left to the Convention. Many will agree with you as to your first choice who will not agree with you as to your second.

"I inclose a draft, which will show more clearly my views.

"I have just been to New York; or, rather, to my daughter's, in Astoria. My visit was entirely to her, but three gentlemen found their way out to see me. Two of these were Republicans, and one was a Democrat. The Republicans were very much of your mind, and seemed sanguine that their convictions were general. I learned from one of them that a call recommending attendance at the Cincinnati Convention was in preparation, and already signed by some of the Republican electors at the last Presidential election."

On the 8th of April, he wrote thus to Mr. Ball :

"MY DEAR MR. BALL : I was delighted to receive your letter, and to have your assurance that you are well again. My convictions are the same as yours, that sickness, rightly improved, is among the greatest blessings our Heavenly Father vouchsafes to us. It reclaims us from sin, and stimulates to duty. I gratefully thank God for sickness. . . .

"My views as to the proposed Cincinnati Convention, which you ask for, are not very clear. My impression is, that they ought to indicate their preferences, at least—perhaps to nominate. They should act so as to insure Democratic co-operation.

"You ask whether, under any circumstances, I would accept a nomination. I answer that I should not decline, but I do not seek it. If the nomination is thought, by those entitled to judge, the best means of uniting the friends of reform and amnesty, whether Republicans or Democrats, I shall have no right to decline it. If not, I do not want it.

"Faithfully, your friend,

S. P. CHASE.

"FLAMEN BALL, Esq."

I watched that Convention very closely. I plead guilty to having worked somewhat in favor of the cause I once expected it to represent. But it is with heart-sickness that I remember the effect of the inner knowledge that I gained of the movement, which finally assembled the members of that "Liberal Republican Convention."

I have mentioned, passingly, the speech I felt obliged to make at Covington, on finding, most unexpectedly, that quite singularly, as it seemed to me, my name had been placed on the list of delegates to the Louisville Convention, itself destined to nominate delegates to the National Convention of the so-called "Regular Republicans." I am not vain enough to wish to set forth here the body of that perfectly extemporaneous and undeniably most imperfect speech. But it is proper, I conceive, to draw, as follows, a few extracts from a report given in the Cincinnati *Commercial*. Here is one of the extracts it seems proper to present to readers of these pages :

"Now you have done me the honor, totally unexpected, of placing my name upon the list of your delegates : whether I should act upon it or not, is another question."

Then I proceeded to respond to a very fulsome eulogy of the President, which had just been pronounced by Hon. John F. Fisk. In the course of my remarks, which—being, as already intimated, wholly off-hand—were quite too numerous, I said :

"Fellow-citizens, let us remember that we *are* citizens and *fellow*-citizens, and that we owe it to each other to speak plainly about this matter, and all matters of its class."

I also felt constrained to say, with special reference to the assaults that had been made on Hon. Stanley Matthews, Hon. Jacob Dolson Cox, Hon. George Hoadly, Hon. John B. Stallo, and others by "Little Mack," of the St. Louis *Democrat*:

"All the power of the press may be used in favor of that way of characterizing opposition to the continuance in power of the present Administration; and if any man knows what the power of the press is, I believe I have learned the lesson. But I have this to say, that, until the last spark of self-respect expires in the bosom of any true man, he will not be intimidated by the example of libels, such as this to which I have referred, when the question is whether or not he shall vote for continuing in power one whose title for continuance is even doubtful in his regard."

Now, let us go to the Convention, soon after held at Louisville. I forget the exact date, but I am not likely soon to forget the fact.

In that mob-like, at least eminently unstatesmanlike, Convention, Hon. W. C. Goodloe, of Fayette, offered the following resolution:

"Whereas, this Convention was called for the purpose of nominating delegates to the National Republican Convention, to be held in Philadelphia, to present candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That all delegates taking part in the deliberations of this Convention will give a full and zealous support to the nominees of said Philadelphia Convention, and none others are entitled to have a seat or voice on this floor."

The telegraphic report of the Cincinnati *Commercial*, having shown this resolution, states as follows:

"R. B. Warden, of Kenton, claimed that it was not competent for this Convention to thus disqualify any member. He claimed that it was out of order."

From further report, it appears that

"Mr. Warden denied the right of any party to whip him into a slavish devotion. He had resolved before God that he would pledge himself to no such slavery, and he had so declared himself to his constituents, and they had overwhelmingly ratified that declaration. He would not betray the trust that had placed him on that floor. He was not present to discuss the merits of General Grant. The Philadelphia Convention was the place for that."

The point of order being overruled,

"Mr. Warden spoke again, warning the majority to judge not lest they should be judged. He challenged comparison of service to the party. The question now was whether the pernicious rule which

was the bane of the Democratic party, and ruined it, should now prevail in the Republican party, to its ruin also. He hoped the Philadelphia Convention would make a platform that he could approve and vote for. There was but one *Church* that claimed infallibility, and here was a *party* claiming this attribute.

"*Voice*. Will you vote for Grant if he is nominated.

"*Warden* (with a slap of his hands). I will not!

"Great uproar."¹

The Goodloe resolution was adopted, and the Kenton delegation left the Convention, in good order.

Next I have to call attention to the so-called "Liberal Movement." For a while that movement seemed to me of patriotic inspiration and of patriotic promise. It was I who wrote the two circulars representing that phenomenon in Kentucky. But I found out that I was quite mistaken, as the time for the meeting of the Convention at Cincinnati approached, and the stuff of which that body was to be composed became foreshadowed. I retired from the movement altogether, and took part in the "Reform and Reunion" organization.

Let me now invite attention to the address of Hon. Stanley Matthews in the May Convention:

"He said: It is no affectation on my part when I say to you that it is impossible to express the deep sensibility with which I have received this unexpected and most distinguished mark of your consideration. The honor of temporarily discharging the duties of the Chair in the preliminary organization of a body which, I believe and trust, is to be memorable in the history of party and politics in this country, is altogether undeserved, and I am altogether unprepared, by the suddenness of the invitation, to assume those duties properly, or to preface them with remarks which, under other circumstances, might be considered in proper conformity to the usual custom; nevertheless the occasion, the circumstances, this admirable and wonderful presence, inspire a thought or two which perhaps I will not be trespassing too much upon your attention and your time, if I venture to suggest." [Applause.]

Among the thoughts so "inspired," and thereupon "suggested," one found this expression, which I heard and took to heart, in spite of a distrust of the distinguished speaker which had come to be habitual:

"And now, gentlemen, one of the deep and earnest convictions which has spread universally almost through the hearts of the American people, and out of which this movement originates, is

¹*Commercial*, Thursday, March 14, 1872.

this, that the War of the Rebellion is ended, and that peace has come [applause], and that, as the war has ended, so ought military rule and military principles. [Cries of Good, Good, and loud cheers.]"

Another thought, or another part of the same thought, was expressed as follows:

"We have the example of so-called civil governments bankrupting the communities they affect to represent—power usurped by strangers, and not conferred by the voice of the people; and not for the purpose of restoring the prosperity of those battle-grazed fields, but for corruptly enriching the men who think that power and office belong to them as property, and not as a trust; and so, gentlemen, in every department of the Government, the slow poison of corruption, only not sufficiently slow, seems to have pervaded the whole civil and political administration of the country, from the head to the foot. [Applause.]"

But soon I read, in the same journal, these remarkably suggestive paragraphs:

"The following private letter from Judge Matthews to a friend in Washington, appears in the newspapers:

"CINCINNATI, *May 6, 1872.*

"MY DEAR SIR: Nothing connected with the recent disgraced and disgraceful Convention at this place has given me so much pain as your note, calling my attention to a statement, taken from a speech of mine, pointed with the interpretation you evidently put upon it. Allow me, in the first place, to say that I was put forward as temporary chairman of that Convention without an hour's notice, and that, consequently, what I said was totally unpremeditated; and, in the next place, that the extract you make, and which, if I had intended to be taken in its literal sense, would be justly a matter of regret that it had been uttered, does not represent the truth of my sentiments. On the contrary, I have no reason to believe, and never have believed, that, personally, the present Administration were guilty of corrupt conduct or motives; and I ought to have expressed myself so as to have avoided any such charge. What I was striving to say had reference to the general corruption of our political life, pervading every department, whereby personal and party ends seemed to be substituted for public good, and the latest and best illustration of which, I am free to say, is now to be found in the action of the very Convention, in the presence of which this declaration was made. I am greatly chagrined at the whole matter, my own participation in it included; and have concluded, perhaps not sufficiently soon, that, as a politician and a President-maker, I am not a success. I greatly regret that I have given offense to you, and to many other personal friends, whose integrity I may have seemed to have questioned, but which, I can assure you, was farthest from my thought. I hope you will be able to regard it as though it had never been said.

"Very respectfully, your friend,

"STANLEY MATTHEWS."

Much might have been relevantly said, in this work, of that "disgraced and disgraceful" May Convention, and of the public course and character of its temporary chairman, who was once a trusted friend of Salmon Portland Chase. But I have thought proper to say little of Judge Matthews, and almost as little of the body, which, in spite of his remarkable admiration of it on one day, and his equally remarkable denunciation of it on another day, quickly following on the heels of the first, appears to me to have been quite as worthy of respect and confidence as the man who, having made that speech, could write that letter.

Nor have I a word to say in admiration or in praise of the Grantites whose Convention nominated Grant. It seems to me that the only Convention held that year which deserves to be remembered with respect, was the Cincinnati Convention, representing the too early fated Reform and Reunion movement.

It is possible that the ill-regulated mind of Horace Greeley had begun to feel the touch of madness before a foolish body nominated him as a candidate for the Chief Magistracy. I would speak as mildly as I may of that strange nominee; but of the nomination I must ever speak without respect.

The evil done by Horace Greeley, by example, to the journalism of this country, is incalculable. It is at least entirely certain that he was an eminently reckless journalist; and an eminently reckless journalist could not have been well trusted with the Presidency of the United States.

On the 10th of May, 1872, our hero wrote as follows:

"MY DEAR JUDGE: It would be unpardonable if I should neglect to thank you for the interest you manifested in my behalf, on a recent occasion. It does not diminish at all my sense of obligation that I know you were influenced in your action more by public than by private considerations. Confidence in my personal character, and appreciation of my public services, formed the basis of your belief that the greatest number of Liberal Republicans and earnest Democrats would unite in my support; and for this confidence and this appreciation I can never be sufficiently grateful.

"It does not at all surprise me that a majority of the Convention did not agree with you. I shall be glad if the necessary union can be secured by the nominations actually made. *I am, as you are aware, a Democrat, separated in nothing from the Democrats of the Jackson and Benton school, except by my convictions on the slavery question, in times past; and now, by nothing.*¹ But, especially since we

¹ The emphasis is put on the words by the author.

came together in support of Mr. Lincoln, Mr. Greeley has given me a strong and generous support. He advocated my nomination as Secretary of the Treasury, and sustained my financial measures. After I retired from the Cabinet, he urged my appointment as Chief Justice. He agrees with me now on the questions of finance and amnesty—more important, as I verily believe, than any now before the country. Why should I not, then, though a Democrat, and certainly not much of a Protectionist, give him the support which I believe he would have given me, had I received the nomination?

"And why should you not support him? Why should not all Democrats support him? They will be sure of agreement upon the great questions of amnesty and currency, and may rely with confidence, from just consideration, upon the impulses of gratitude, for generous support given to an old antagonist. Division is defeat.

"Are you coming to Washington? I need not say how much pleasure it will give me to receive you at Edgewood.

"I am in very good condition now, and, as I hope, constantly improving.

"Remember me very kindly to Judge Jackson and Mrs. Jackson, and believe me cordially, yours,

S. P. CHASE.

"Hon. M. E. CHURCH."

I must not fail to add, that in a letter to Murat Halstead, Esq., of the Cincinnati *Commercial*, the Chief Justice, on the 20th of May, expressed himself as follows:

"I wish the Democrats could be persuaded to elect Greeley. Doubtless, your ticket of Adams and Trumbull would have been best for the country, but it would have been less popular than Greeley and Brown; and the Democrats don't seem likely to accept that with unanimity sufficient to induce the Convention to nominate it, or to recommend its support."

CHAPTER L.

PROPHETIC JOURNALISM—CHASE AND HALSTEAD—TABLE-TALK WITH THE CHIEF JUSTICE.

ON the 30th of May, the Chief Justice felt induced to write as follows :

"MY DEAR MR. HALSTEAD: Your telegraphic correspondent is 'at it again' in the *Commercial* of the 18th inst., and I beg you to insert the inclosed, or its equivalent."

The inclosed reads as follows :

"We are authorized to say, in reference to so much of our special Washington telegram of the 17th instant as relates to Chief Justice Chase, that he has no recollection of any conversation with any senator or representative about the bill authorizing the President to accept the resignations of United States Judges, by reason of disability. He certainly has expressed no intention of resigning on the passage of such bill.

"It is true that, nearly two years ago, when suffering from severe and protracted illness, he desired the passage of a bill of that character, concerning the Judges of the Supreme Court; but, having so far regained his health as to resume his seat upon the bench last October, and attend daily, during laborious and protracted terms, performing a reasonable share of judicial duty, not only without loss, but with steady improvement of his health, he has ceased to take any personal interest in such legislation."

On the 7th of November, 1872, the Chief Justice, at Washington, dictated and signed this touching letter :

"DEAR MR. HALSTEAD: The *Commercial* has the repute of generally supplying its readers with the earliest news. Its Washington correspondent, Mr. Ramsdell, however, seems to have the gift of prophecy, as well as a genius for *manufacturing* intelligence out of his own fancies; how inspired or motivated, I can not say. I inclose a specimen clipped from the issue of the 5th, and also a paragraph from your editorial columns, which I fancy would not have been written had you not been misled by a letter from the same person, which was printed a few days ago.

"Last spring the same writer, as I suppose, made the *Commercial* the vehicle of the same sort of news concerning me, only he was kind enough then to omit his prediction of my approaching death. I

wrote you on the subject at that time; and I have noticed nothing on the subject of my illness since, till recently. You will not blame me, I hope, if I express some surprise that you have not more guarded the *Commercial* against the introduction of such paragraphs. No other paper has had the news—at least, I have noticed it in no other. I am sure it must have been printed in yours through inadvertence. I have ever felt grateful for your friendship, and never doubted its reality. I am sure that mine for you has been real and steadfast.

"As to my work in court last winter and spring, the 13th volume of Wallace's Reports speaks for itself. At this adjourned term I have been absent but one day, attending then the wedding of a friend's son, in Baltimore. My health is, indeed, not fully restored—perhaps will never be; but I am thankful that I can say that it is better than it was last winter, and my friends and brother judges congratulate me on my improvement. Certainly, I had no intention of taking a trip to California nor to any other coast. Nor do I believe that my 'nearest associates' have made any such representations as are ascribed to them.

"Seriously, is it not a shame that I should be pursued with such statements? I hope I am not immodest; but I think that I have rendered some service to my country, and that it ought to protect me from them.

"Sincerely, your friend,
"MURAT HALSTEAD, Esq."

S. P. CHASE.

Mr. Halstead's answer to the last quoted letter is as follows:

"DEAR JUDGE: I am pained to know that you have cause to feel that the *Commercial* has been the medium for conveying to the country representations that are without warrant. And I am glad to know that you are improved; for I had been myself deceived, owing to reports that were spread abroad while you were at Narragansett. I do have the highest estimation of your public service, and the keenest appreciation of your friendly regard, and of the fact that you are entitled to the best consideration at the hands of your countrymen. I am sure that you will not be again annoyed in the matter of the publication of unfounded reports in this quarter; and I hope to record many years yet of your strength and usefulness.

"Very respectfully,
M. HALSTEAD."

Generally speaking, I have not felt free to use the letters written to the hero of this work. In mere adherence to that general rule, I might have failed to give that note from Mr. Halstead. But the very fact that it tends somewhat to mitigate the sentence he can not escape, induces me, in spite of his vile behavior toward the composer of this work, and, above all, toward the work itself, to lay before the readers of these pages the response in question.

I shall not compromise my self-respect, I shall not fail to do justice even to the meanest of the enemies that I have made by my

endeavors to perform what has appeared to be my proper part in public service. But it is of decided interest to us to know what was the real state of the Chief Justice when he wrote that touching letter to a ruthless man. I must anticipate a little at this point.

It is from the Washington correspondence of the *New York Herald* that I clip this paragraph :

“ WASHINGTON, *May 7, 1873.*

“ Mr. Justice Field, who is still in the city, was deeply moved by the tidings, being wholly unprepared for such news. He states that at the last conference of the Court, the faculties of the Chief Justice were as clear and unimpaired as ever, and that he parted with him in the enjoyment of his usual health since the first attack, and with promise of continued improvement. He had, however, retained his cheerful disposition, and in his family and official relations there was no change. There were no traces of that disappointed ambition which many have assigned as the cause of his decay. On the contrary, he has pursued the even tenor of his way, with all the application and labor which could be expected of one in broken health, and has seemed just as much interested in the ultimate settlement of the vexed questions of government which have arisen in consequence of the war, by the adjudications of the Court, as when in the vigor of life.”

And the same journalist reports Mr. Cushing thus :

“ WASHINGTON, *May 7, 1873.*

“ Mr. Cushing, whose long knowledge of Mr. Chase in public life gives weight to his opinion in this respect, said to your correspondent, in announcing to him the news of Mr. Chase's death, that he deeply and sincerely regretted the death of the Chief Justice. Although it was an event that might have been expected at any time, it came now as a painful surprise. In losing him, we lose one of the most eminent men of our country. His high rank as a lawyer, his legislative experience in the Senate of the United States, his administrative experience as Governor of Ohio and Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, his high intellectual qualities and accomplished education, rendered him particularly fit for the office of Chief Justice, which he filled with great dignity, and had the respect and confidence of the bar. Although his failing health had been apparent in his wasted frame, and especially in the enfeeblement of his voice, there has been no trace of infirmity in his judicial opinions, which have been conceived and written with superior merited vigor and elegance of language, and have been, in all respects, worthy of his elevated position as head of the Supreme Court of the United States.”

From the Washington correspondence of the *New York World* I cut the following :

“ Judge Chase's last interview with any leading statesman in Washington was with Senator Sumner, of Massachusetts. Mr.

Sumner is himself an invalid, and unable to make calls; but, learning that the Chief Justice was about to leave the city, he made an extra effort, and called upon him Friday afternoon. The interview was brief, continuing for about half an hour. Mr. Sumner says it was exceedingly pleasant, and the Chief Justice discussed public affairs with his accustomed clearness and ability. There was nothing to indicate any impaired condition of the mental faculties. 'You know,' said Mr. Sumner to-day, in relating the circumstances of the interview, 'Judge Chase and I were always warm friends; I had a great respect for him, not more on account of his abilities as a statesman than because of his patriotism. We sat together in the Senate in the days when the principles of the Republican party were not as popular as they are now, and I always found him faithful.' Mr. Sumner says they talked over the old times, and then reverted to current topics, among others the condition of affairs in Louisiana. The Chief Justice was of opinion that Congress committed a great blunder in failing to act upon that question when it was presented to them. Such scenes as are being enacted in Louisiana were calculated, he thought, to destroy the faith of the people in a republican form of government. His criticisms of public men were free and candid; but, of course, those were not intended for the public. When he heard of the death of the Chief Justice to-day, Mr. Sumner was much affected. He expressed great gratification that he had the pleasure of meeting him so recently."

The 7th of December, 1872, is for me an ever-memorable day.

It was a day to be remembered, even if it had not been marked by a casual meeting with Chief Justice Chase, with whom I had not talked for several years. Too warm for winter and too cold for summer, it was yet neither like a spring day, nor just like a day of autumn. It was not a day of Indian summer. In a word, it was itself alone.

It was beyond description lustrous. The observations of a walk, extending from the residence of Colonel Donn Piatt, at the corner of F and Eighteenth Streets, to the Capitol, *via* Pennsylvania Avenue, constantly reminded me of Lyell's comparison of the atmosphere at New York with the atmosphere at Naples, in point of luminous clearness. Every object that could ever wear a noble aspect seemed as if transfigured in that morning sunshine. All the shapes and hues of landscape, all the forms and colors of the moving objects then and there revealed to observation, seemed invested with new invitations to the sense of vision.

Not an object, fixed or moving, from the statues to the living human shapes encountered in that walk, seemed finer than had been the presence of Chief Justice Chase.

It abundantly appears, indeed, that there was a time when the

exterior of our hero was not prepossessing.¹ Then, it seems, he had the person, port, and presence of ungainliness and awkwardness. Mr. Trowbridge, following an autobiographic letter addressed to him by Secretary Chase, relates that the latter for some time walked with "ungainly stoop, his hat carelessly slouched, his neck stretched forward, and his eyes on the ground." But the same writer, informed in the same manner, also relates that his hero "had grown up a tall, lean, consumptive-looking young man, when, as he was, one morning, going through with an exercise designed to bring his shoulders in and his chest out, he suddenly felt something give way in his side. A faintness came over him, and he became alarmed; but from that day he began to grow erect and strong." Mr. Trowbridge adds: "Those who knew him in later years, when he was more than six feet tall, and large in proportion, straight as a pillar—one of the noblest figures, in short, that ever stood in the halls of our National Congress—could not easily believe that this magnificent man was ever a bent, consumptive boy."

Nothing could be truer. My own remembrance as to Mr. Chase's personal appearance goes back more than five-and-thirty years; and I remember well how he reminded me, when I first saw his tall, shapely figure, and his proud erectness, of the man whom I had been led by conversation, reading, and reflection to consider as the type of physical and psychical perfection in America; of course I can mean none other than George Washington.

In the days of our hero's highest health, every body spoke of his tall, stately form, his noble face and head, his imposing presence. It was only such observers as the growling Gurowski who could speak of him as the "pompous and passive Chase." Why did we say so much, thinking even more than we said, about the fine *physique* of the man whose name occurs so often in this work?

Not every great man is great corporeally as well as incorporeally. But when we see a man whose inward greatness has an outward expression, such as the *physique* of Chase presented to admiration, he who does not wonder, and almost worship, in the presence of that harmony of faculty and function, is in a bad mood, or of abnormal constitution. Yet who can inform us just how much we ought to think of physical perfection?

¹ Ante, Chapter XV

Port and person seem to constitute what we call presence. Neither port, nor air, nor demeanor, seems to me an equivalent expression.

Port is bearing, carriage, mien. Perhaps it is the thing intended by the word station, in these words of Shakespeare:

"See, what a grace was seated on this brow!
Hyperion's curls; the front of Jove himself;
An eye like Mars, to threaten and command;
A station like the herald Mercury,
New-lighted on a heaven-kissing hill!"

The power of mere presence has not yet been accurately measured. It is like hope, if, indeed, it is well said of hope, that

"Kings it makes gods, and meaner creatures kings."

What was the color of our hero's eyes? About the color of men's eyes their nearest friends are often not agreed. I have interrogated several acquaintances of Mr. Chase about the color of his eyes. Some had forgotten, some had never noticed. Others told me, without hesitation, that his eyes were blue; and so, as I remember now, they were.

At Cincinnati, at Columbus, and at Washington, I often had, and used, fine opportunities of eyeing him "right in the eyes." On one occasion he addressed me for at least three hours, *sans* intermission. Many were the other opportunities I had of noticing the color of his eyes. That they were not dark, is very certain; and I find that I most frequently remember them as of a steel-blue color; but my memory is often puzzled in endeavoring to fix their color. I could read their *language*; but I can not be quite certain, even now, about their color.

"As are the lips, so is the character," according to Lavater. And we learn from the same teacher that "a lipless mouth, resembling a single line, denotes coldness, industry, a lover of order, precision, housewifery; and if it be drawn upward at the two ends, affectation, pretension, vanity; and which may even be the production of cool vanity, malice."

Is the reader laughing? Mark: it is Lavater, not the author of this volume, who is giving this instruction.

Nearly every body, however, seems disposed to say with that great luminary of the science he calls Physiognomony: "Firm lips, firm character; weak lips, . . . weak and wavering character."

The lips of Mr. Chase, in his best days, were far from weak.

I know not what the physiognomists would have said, or what the craniologists, about his tendency to be religious. What I know is, that he was remarkably religious.

His clear gaze but seldom spoke of humor. Yet he laughed, from time to time, and he loved the laughter of his friends when it had taste and sense and delicacy in its cachinations. Mr. Lloyd¹ appears to me mistaken in supposing that "humor was a little developed characteristic with him." He who could so sorrow could not be remarkably insensible to the comic, in the scenery and characters of the life in which his observation and experience were so various. Mr. Lloyd is also quite in error when he says that "it was never an easy matter to make him laugh;" but he is right in saying that, "at the same time, his enjoyment of broad humor was often hearty and genuine."

Was not "Joe Geiger," of Ohio, one of his most intimate acquaintances? Who could be intimate with Joe without loving laughter?

Mr. Lloyd still farther errs, I think, in saying that Mr. Chase "seldom told a story without spoiling it." He seldom told a story without making those who listened wonder that he did not oftener indulge in Mr. Lincoln's favorite diversion.

Yet the truth remains that tragedy was apt to interest him more than comedy. And, between the comic and the tragic, he preferred the grave to the gay, the sublime to the lively, the demure to its opposite.

I have been writing of him as he was before that visitation of paralysis. How was it with him after that? After that, he was a venerable ruin in the body; but, as we have seen, his intellectual condition furnished a new illustration of the vitally important truth, that mind is mightier than matter.

Yet I fairly shuddered the first time I saw him, after he had been so ruined in the body. That was when, for the first time, I saw him take his place in court.

I did not even wish to meet him privately. I had been urged, indeed, to write his history, with much of which I had had intimate acquaintance; and I thought of doing as advised in that behalf; but I fairly dreaded talking with him and comparing his present state with my remembrance of his state in other years.

On that to me forever-memorable seventh of December, the Chief

¹ *Home Life of Salmon Portland Chase*, in *Atlantic Monthly*.

Justice, ascending Capitol Hill, on his way to the Saturday conference of the Supreme Court, or rather of its judges, paused with a companion—not to rest, but to point out some features of the view which could be enjoyed at that halting-place. He was accompanied by Mr. Parish, of Ohio, one of his old friends and clients. As he resumed his upward way, I had almost overtaken him. As he began to move, I reached him, and, of course, accosted him with salutation.

It appeared to me at first that he did not remember me. But he did, it seems. He knew my voice, he said, at once, though at first he did not recognize my face, which, he said, was more bearded than it was when he last met me. That was true; and I breathed more freely when I heard him say so, since it tended to prove that his memory had not been much affected, if at all.

I had been reading about him, in the library of Colonel Piatt. I had read, in *Men of the Time, A Dictionary of Eminent Living Characters*, edited and given to the world at London, this account:

“Chase, Samuel P., an American statesman, was born in the year 1808, at Washington, in Ohio. He received his early education at Cincinnati College, of which his uncle, Bishop Chase, was president. Chase left that institution to proceed to New Hampshire, where his mother's family was settled, and he finished his studies at Dartmouth College. Having passed his examination in 1821, he removed to Washington, where he studied the law under the auspices of William Wirt, then Attorney-General of the United States. He practiced at the bar in Cincinnati, and afterward became a senator of the United States. He twice had the honor of being elected Governor of Ohio. In 1861, he was nominated Finance Minister (Secretary of the Treasury), in the Cabinet of President Lincoln.”

I had also just read, in the same library, the brief biography of Salmon Portland Chase in Vapereau's *Dictionnaire Universel des Contemporains*. Of these biographic sketches I spoke to the Chief Justice. He laughed lightly, and seemed not a whit annoyed, remarking that the sketches were, no doubt, about as accurate as our American accounts of public characters were apt to be. I did not quite agree with him. It occurred to me that we Americans take more pains to inform ourselves about European men and measures than Europeans take to make themselves acquainted with the men and measures of this country. And I could, and in other circumstances, no doubt, would, have assigned other reasons for my judgment in that respect. Europe and Europeans are revealed to us better than

we reveal ourselves to Europe and the Europeans. But there was no time for discussion. He was on his way to the customary Saturday morning conference of the judges, and I had professional engagements to fulfill. But he said to me, in his old manner:

"Judge, can't you dine with me this afternoon? I would very much like to have you do so, so that we may have a talk about old times in Ohio."

There were difficulties in the way of accepting that most cordial invitation. We had dined together more than once, but never at his table or at my own board. He had never crossed my threshold; I had been with him but once at his hearth-stone. In a word, his way of life had been most different from mine. "Society," which he had somehow come to love, had long appeared to me no better than a cultivated savagism. But, on that 7th of December, it occurred to me that if I dined with him I might do him real service. I had known him intimately, and in circumstances very favorable to a correct conception of his intellectual and moral traits and tendencies. I could compare him with himself. If he appeared to me as broken as he had been represented, I could manage somehow to make him read or listen to the counsel to lay down his office. This I thought, with confidence. I knew that he had allowed me to say much to him that he would not allow many other persons even to suggest. In short, in spite of my defects and imperfections, he had shown a very great regard for me and for my straightforward way of saying, on occasion, things that it is hard to utter. On the other hand, able as I was to compare him with himself, if I found that he had been misrepresented; if he seemed to me as much himself as I could wish to find him, my relation to the Washington correspondents of a widely circulated journal of high character¹ might enable me to get before the public a true account of his physical and psychical condition.

Therefore I accepted that invitation of the Chief Justice to dine with him, although I saw that my momentary hesitation had not been unmarked by him.

I need not say that the engagement so formed was punctually kept. At 601 E Street, Washington City, at 5 o'clock P. M., I was received by the Chief Justice in the house of his

¹I refer to my nephew, Mr. Clifford Warden, of the *Boston Post*, and to my brother, Mr. Wallace Warden.

daughter, Mrs. Sprague, and there dined with him, according to his invitation.

It is, I trust, with real delicacy that I add the explanation that there were two ladies present—both relatives of the Chief Justice. One of them was Mrs. Carrie Chase Moulton, and the other Miss Amy Auld. Mrs. Sprague was not then in Washington.

It is not my purpose to make full report, in any place, of all that the Chief Justice said to me before dinner, or in table-talk, or after dinner, on that to me forever-memorable evening. Part of the time, on that occasion, my illustrious host appeared to talk simply as a bird sings; though not so freely, I need hardly say. He never was a fluent talker. He could never chat as can some men and women of fine intellectual endowments and fine culture. What the French call *causerie* was quite impossible to him. At least, the thing called *badinage* not often marked his conversation.

There was a considerable wait before dinner, and, therefore, there was considerable preprandial talk. I managed to direct this talk so as to draw out my distinguished entertainer on test topics, and I was pleased beyond expression to find him so clear, so strong, so like his own old self.

In the course of the conversation, I referred to certain things in the action of the Cincinnatians, whom I supposed to be his political friends; especially to some things I had observed in the action of Messrs. Halstead, of the *Commercial*, and Hassaurek, of the *Volksblatt*.

Both these journalists had seemed to me to take pains to prevent the happening of any thing that might tend to bring him before the public as a Presidential candidate, in 1872. One thing I spoke of was the suppression of a passage of my Covington speech, mentioned in a foregoing chapter. In that speech, I had paid what the *Commercial* called (if I remember rightly) a glowing tribute to Chief Justice Chase. In point of fact, that "glowing tribute" was a simple statement of certain facts, which have elsewhere been presented to the readers of this work.¹ But I had said to the colored portion of my hearers—and they had applauded me quite loudly for saying—that when they forgot their special obligations to Chief Justice Chase, if, indeed, they knew them, I would tell them that their hearts were blacker than their faces.

¹ I refer to conversations in 1857, 1858, 1859.

The *Commercial* was too delicate, perhaps, to publish this. However, the Chief Justice spoke most kindly—as, indeed, he continued while he lived to speak—of Mr. Halstead. He said nothing of Mr. Hassaurek, except in saying very calmly, and in an eminently patient tone, that the things that I had mentioned touching those two journalists, were, no doubt, to be ascribed to the judgment they had formed as to his health of body and of mind.

And then he sweetly, patiently, and philosophically talked about his physical condition. He explained that he did not know what was the matter with him, but that to himself he seemed less broken than, apparently, he seemed to others. But he said those who thought that he was in May, 1872, too much out of health to be a Presidential candidate, had been, perhaps, right in so considering. There was, he explained, no doubt in his own mind that he could no longer labor so continuously as he could before the attack of paralysis in 1870.

Nothing could have been calmer, milder, or more patient than the tone in which he spoke about that political matter and about his health. I felt unutterably touched by the manner in which he spoke of a theme so trying.

The talk at table also took a hygienic turn. In other words, it took such a turn, that hygiene and medicine became subjects not exactly of discussion, but of conversation.

Many years before, I had closely attended to a trial in which medical experts were examined as to the differences between homeopathy and the school of medicine that, perhaps justly, claims to have, if I may so express myself, a kind of apostolical succession. I was not of counsel in the case; but I took great interest in it. It was between Stephen Woodruff and Dr. Joseph H. Pulte, and was tried at Cincinnati, many years ago. Woodruff was a master-builder, and had built for Pulte a row of houses, while Pulte “doctored” Woodruff’s family. They “fell out,” and Pulte complained of Woodruff’s building, Woodruff of Pulte’s doctoring. A jury had to be called to settle the controversy between them. Before this jury, Woodruff’s counsel set up that homeopathy was a deceit, which Pulte must have *known* to be a false pretense; for Pulte was a regularly educated “old-school doctor” when he was converted to the school, and became a follower, of Hahnemann. The medical experts already mentioned were called in to deliver lectures, under oath, for or against that theory of Woodruff’s counsel, who was a type of man

fast disappearing from the country. He was what is called a self-made man, and self-made men were not then deemed so ill-made as it is at present the fashion to consider them. Then it was at least the Western fashion to attribute to a self-made character a practicalness, a solidity, a shrewdness, greater than "collegians" were thought apt to bring to the professions. Certainly, the lawyer Woodruff chose had been remarkably successful. His docket was a massive thing. He had been a tailor, then a student of medicine, teaching school while preparing himself to be a "doctor;" then he went back to the bench on which he had before attended to suits; but, after all, he turned to the law with characteristic energy. Among his peculiarities was the pronunciation of the word prodigious, as though spelled *prodidious*; with reference to which, a medical wag of the neighborhood from which he went to the reading of Blackstone, rhymed as follows:

"You've heard of late of Dr. Strait,
Who's growing quite fastidious;
From gallipot to tailor-shop
He made a hop *prodidious*."

At the bar, as already intimated, he was quite successful; and perhaps there were few men more formidable than he was in his best days. I think he became quite a reader, and he always was a shrewd, energetic, thoughtful man. His prejudices, however, remained strong, and his client, Woodruff, had the benefit of those prejudices in the contest with Dr. Pulte. On the other hand, the lawyer chosen to defend homeopathy and Dr. Pulte was a very different type. His name was Daniel Van Matre. He, too, had been successful in his way; and it was said that, in a slander case, his very aspect made him irresistible. But his legal studies had been narrow, and he knew next to nothing of medicine. I need not say that, of the parties, Pulte only could be supposed to know the difference between the theory of homeopathy and that of allopathy. But witnesses were to be called, on the one hand, to show that homeopathy was not legitimate; on the other hand, to prove that it was a great betterment of the healing art. I heard those witnesses testify. For Woodruff, some of the most eminent physicians of the place appeared as witnesses, and, under oath, told the jury—also under oath—that homeopathy was wholly fallacious, and that the true school of medicine, the only one deserving public confidence,

was that which Hahnemann had vainly attempted to overthrow. Some of the witnesses produced by Woodruff went much farther. One of them, Dr. J. P. Harrison, ridiculed the homeopathic theory beyond measure. Any one who heard and saw him while he so put in his testimony in the form of an ornamented and remarkably effective lecture, must have understood him to deny the possibility that any *sana mens in corpore sano* could be found accepting homeopathy, after competent examination of its tenets and its tendencies. Indeed, the tone of all the witnesses on that side was at least as contemptuous toward homeopathy as is the following language of a medical writer :

"HOMEOPATHY, *Homœopathia, Ars Homœopathica, Homeopathy*—from *ὅμοιος* 'like,' and *πάθος*, 'affection.' A fanciful doctrine, which maintains that disordered actions in the human body are to be cured by inducing other disordered actions of the same kind, and this to be accomplished by infinitesimally small doses, often of apparently inert agents. The decillionth part of a grain of charcoal, for example, is an authorized dose."¹

The Chief Justice listened with interest to my account of that trial; the result of which was insignificant, indeed, for reasons I need not explain; but the course of which I had remembered, on account of the views advanced by some of the expert witnesses. He put some questions which led to my referring to the already mentioned admirable little book, entitled, "*Of Nature and Art in the Cure of Disease*, by Sir John Forbes, M. D., D. C. L., (Oxon,) F. R. S., Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, Physician to the Queen's Household," etc.; for I feared that he was having rather too much cure from art—more medicine than medicinal benefit; and having, as already intimated, studied hygiene and medicine, not as a mere *dilettante*, but with method, perseverance, and determination to arrive, if possible, at certainty respecting the divisions of the schools of medicine, I had found in the little book just named what seemed to me rich treasure.

Then the conversation turned on fruit. That led to some account of a trip to the wine islands of Lake Erie, in 1866, and of the acquaintance I there formed with one of the wine-growers, who was also a surveyor—Captain John Brown, Jr., son of him whose name will always be connected with the name of Harper's Ferry. I

¹ Dunglison, *Med. Dic.*, art. "Homeopathy."

described four pictures which were shown to me in the house of Mr. Jay Cooke, at Gibraltar, by Captain Brown, the new acquaintance just referred to—one of the pictures being that of John Brown, Sr., and another that of the Chief Justice himself. This brought out my host as I desired. His talk about "old times in Ohio" showed me clearly that his will, his memory, his understanding, had not suffered, as I had heard; that they were merely altered, not impaired.

After dinner, while taking tea in the parlor, my illustrious entertainer and myself compared opinions touching principles and parties. I disclosed the fact that I had not voted at all at the late election. He explained his preference for Greeley; for whom, had I voted at all, my ballot, I avow, would have been cast, most doubtfully. Then he said, in substance:

"I am like you in still adhering to the Jeffersonian Democracy, in principle; but I confess that I don't know just where to find the Democrats who are such in principle. I think they are divided between the Democratic party and the Republican party, and I hardly know in which party to look for the greatest number of them."

I own this seemed to me a vitally important explanation. Not till I had heard it, did I distinctly form the purpose to make known to the Chief Justice my conditional willingness to undertake a work devoted to his life and times.

What did he then know of me? I have reason to believe that he had knowledge of me when, in boyhood, I edited, as well as printed, at Cincinnati, a boy's paper. That was in 1839. Of the paper edited by Donn Piatt and published by me, in 1840, in Logan County, Ohio, he may have known little; but he must have known, at least, a little of that paper, otherwise than through the rather fanciful accounts of it long afterward given by Colonel Piatt, first in the *Mac-a-cheek Press*, and then in the *Washington Capital*. But from the time that I began to study law, in 1840, at Cincinnati, down to the very last day of his life, he had more or less intercourse with me. Perhaps he knew as much as any person other than myself has ever been allowed to know of my avowed and unavowed contributions to the public press. A book of mine drew us together far more closely than we had ever been drawn before. That book was, in one sense, a failure. It was most imperfectly presented to the public; though it was, as to printing and binding, unexceptionable. It was, however, very highly praised in very many truly

critical reviews of its contents, East as well as West ; and it had, perhaps, no more interested or appreciative reader than it found in Salmon Portland Chase. A like statement as to his interest in my brief biography of Stephen Arnold Douglas might be justified. In 1863, he read passages of a work of mine, entitled *Ernest and the Flag he Followed*.¹ We have seen how he characterized an article of mine in 1861.² In other places, indications have appeared of occasions that he had to make himself acquainted with my character and my abilities, if I had any.

In pretended criticism of pretended advance pages of this work, a writer—or, perhaps, a pair of writers—in the *New York Herald* of March 16, 1874, elegantly said :

“Even before Mr. Chase’s death, it was a question who should become his biographer. Immediately upon the death of the Chief Justice, it became a very grave question ; for it was then discovered that Mr. Chase’s diaries were in the possession of one R. B. Warden, a man who practised the profession of the law in many Ohio towns, and, while still very young, had sat upon the Supreme Bench of the State.”

Now, of the whole public life of this “one R. B. Warden” Salmon Portland Chase had perfect knowledge. If it was a crime to commission a man so young as a judge—perhaps it was a folly—Salmon Portland Chase never seemed to discern that folly or that crime.

But that pretended criticism thus continues :

“Judge Warden had never given evidence of great literary talent, or comprehensive statesmanship, and it was a surprise when it was announced that he was Chase’s chosen biographer. Still Judge Warden apparently had qualifications for the task which could not be easily gainsaid ; at least, in advance of the publication of his book. He put himself forward as private secretary to the Chief Justice, as well as Mr. Chase’s old-time personal friend, and thus seemed, in some important respects, the very person for the undertaking.”

I refer to this tissue of absurdity and falsehood, solely as assisting me to make what seems to me a necessary explanation. I do not deny that “Judge Warden had never given evidence of great literary talent.” I do not deny that Judge Warden had never given evidence of “comprehensive statesmanship.” I do deny that

¹ Ante, p. 531. ² Ante, p. 389.

"it was a surprise when it was announced that he was Chase's chosen biographer." I do deny that it was after the death of our hero that it was "discovered that Mr. Chase's diaries were in the possession of one R. B. Warden." What the truth was as to the matters touching which I make denials, as just indicated, shall be shown as we go forward. But I wish to say at once that it was never my opinion—that it is not now my judgment—that having been private secretary to the Chief Justice fitted me, or could have fitted any other man, to write his life.

The same absurd, but wicked, false pretense of criticism states, I know not on what information or suggestion :

"Mr. Chase's more intimate friends knew, however, that during the most important epoch of his life—while he was Secretary of the Treasury under Mr. Lincoln—that another person had officiated in the double capacity¹ which Judge Warden claimed; and that the personal relations between the Chief Justice and his former private secretary were not broken off till Mr. Chase's death."

Now, let it be distinctly understood that I do not claim that I ever "officiated" as the old-time friend of Salmon Portland Chase; and that though I did, for a short time, reluctantly "officiate" as his private secretary, that officiation was occasioned by my having become his biographer. How that happened is elsewhere sufficiently set forth.² I deeply regret that it ever happened at all. And now let me say a word about my old-time friendship for our hero.

In a letter to Mrs. Sprague, dated March 28th, I told that lady—eldest daughter to our hero—how it happened that I was advised to write at least a biographic sketch of her illustrious father. I did not pretend that he and I had ever been close friends. I never have pretended that our friendship was at any time like that of Damon and Pythias. I explained that alternate conflict and

¹ Will it be believed that the writer of this wretched stuff has had the cheek to criticise my style and diction? Of my style he, she, or they, declare that it is "gawky and obscure;" and that "the imagery is abundant, but it has the same relation to literary art that the Cardiff Giant bears to Phidian sculpture." Then we are told that "Judge Warden mistakes a liberal use of the dictionary for the splendors of diction, and he prefers the sunflowers to the flowers of rhetoric. He can neither paint a portrait with distinctness of outline, nor state a fact with clearness of expression." I am more than willing to allow the readers of this work to have that false pretense of criticism to assist fair judgment of my style and diction.

² Chapter LI.

co-operation with her father had made me acquainted with his life and character.

My judgment is, that neither a familiar friend nor a relative is to be expected to produce a faithful and impartial life of the man who is the object of that near and dear regard.

As for Mr. Schuckers, notwithstanding his too great weakness for that trunk of mine,¹ I can almost find it in my heart to pity him. We have seen that it was as long ago as 1864 that he somehow "felt to" fancy that he could compose a life of Secretary Chase, or some part of a life of that distinguished financier.² I will not here set forth the funny stories I have heard about the final failure of that biographic enterprise of the aspiring Schuckers—Phœbus! what a name for a biographer! It is enough to state that the Chief Justice asked me to assist Mr. Schuckers in collecting matter for a work about the issues of paper money in the early days of the Republic; and that I not only engaged to do so, but performed my promise. Neither Mr. Schuckers himself, nor Mrs. Sprague, nor the Chief Justice, nor any other person, hinted to me that Mr. Schuckers was going on with his biography. Had any such hint been given to me on the 7th of December by Chief Justice Chase, I would have said at once, "I shall not interfere with Mr. Schuckers." Not to say a word about Mr. Schuckers at that time, had the fact been as now pretended, would have been, on the part of the Chief Justice, a mean fraud on Mr. Schuckers as well as on the author of this work. Yet that wretched, false pretense of criticism thus proceeds:

"It was known, besides, that Judge Warden had not lived in Washington more than six months previous to that event. It was no wonder, then, that some surprise should be expressed that Warden was Chase's chosen biographer; but it was to be hoped that the Chief Justice's choice was a good one, though it was known he had different views until within a few weeks of his demise."

How false that is, must be shown as we go forward. But we have this farther statement in the same pretended criticism:

"It must be remembered in this connection that, during his lifetime, Mr. Chase spoke freely on the subject of his future biographer, and it is said that, a year or two previous to his decease, he declared to his family that, while he did not know what Mr. Schuckers's

¹ Ante.

² Ante, p. 722.

literary qualifications would be, Mr. Schuckers was, of all men, best fitted for the task."

If the Chief Justice said that, he was an ass. But he was not an ass: ergo, he never could have said a thing so asinine. The notion that he had not opportunity to learn Mr. Schuckers's fitness or unfitness, in point of literary skill, is as absurd as the statement I am now about to offer is untrue.

"Mr. Schuckers is the man who occupied the relations toward Mr. Chase which Judge Warden claimed."

I never claimed any such position as that hinted in that wretched violation of the truth. I would have preferred any form of toil whatever to such a "position." But the truth is, Mr. Chase had many private secretaries. Mr. Plantz made the entries in the "locked diary." Mr. Didier was private secretary for some time. So was Mr. Lloyd.

But enough of this. Let me now declare that, on the 7th of December, 1872, I had little reason to expect the writing of a work devoted to the life and times of Salmon Portland Chase to prove a profitable use of time, in a pecuniary sense.

The public, at that time, regarded the Chief Justice far from favorably. I was moved to undertake this work as much by sympathy as by admiration. And I felt indignant in remembering how he had been treated, even in such papers as the *Commercial*.¹

I desired to do him justice. I desired to do justice to some of his contemporaries. I did *not* desire to glorify myself, or otherwise to make the contemplated work subservient to selfish objects.

Then I had no notion of the wealth of matter that was soon to be placed at my command.

But the meanest thing in that pretended criticism of this work appears in the following sentence:

"As a matter of course, the scope of the purposed work would have to be as artfully presented as the other encroachments upon the enfeebled intellect of this enfeebled giant."

There it is, at last! A ghoul would seem a very angel of light in comparison with the writer or with the inspirer of that hideously false suggestion.

¹ Ante, p. 785.

Will the reader please turn back to the evidence I have presented touching the condition of our hero's intellect during the last months of his life?¹ But I must quit a subject so repugnant.

Let me say, then, simply, that if, on the 7th of December, 1872, I understood at all, and if I now remember, in the least, the nature of the willingness I then felt to undertake a work of this description, there was little egotism, little selfishness of any kind, in that feeling. There was nothing eager, nothing anxious in that willingness, if I did not deceive myself more grossly than I ever had, up to that time, been self-deceived.

There was, then, no reason to expect what it is now, perhaps, but reasonable to anticipate about the public interest in a work devoted to the life and times of the Chief Justice. And it is but right to repeat that I had a most imperfect notion of the riches in the way of material that were in store for these pages.

On the other hand, there was no excitement on the part of the Chief Justice when he learned that I had been advised to write his life. He appeared, indeed, not in the least surprised that I was conditionally willing to undertake the work that had been suggested to me; and, though he was evidently pleased that I had thought of such an undertaking, it was very calmly, though quite promptly, that he promised to assist that undertaking as much as his official occupations and his health should permit.

On that evening he was to hear Professor Tyndall, at Lincoln Hall. He asked me to go with him. I could not, then, have listened to the finest lecturer that ever faced an audience. I declined the invitation, but walked with him on the way to the place where the lecture was to be delivered. Ere we left the house, I had begun to sound him on the subject of my undertaking such a work as the present.

I began by asking him whether he remembered what it was that Lord Brougham was reported to have said on learning that his life was to be added to Lord Campbell's *Lives of the Lord Chancellors*? He said he did not. I had to acknowledge that I did not, distinctly; that I did not remember whether Brougham was reported to have said, "If he writes my life, I'll take his," or whether the reported utterance of his, on that occasion, sounded, "If he *writes* my life, he'll *take* it." Then I went on to make known that, though

¹ *Ante*, p. 736.

I had no designs against the life of the Chief Justice, I had been induced to think that it might be well for me to write his life, if he would only aid me to his utmost in the matter.

He had not the slightest hesitation in engaging to assist me as desired, if I thought fit to undertake a work which, he thought, might prove to be so thankless. He began to make this known to me by saying, as I now remember, in words quoted in the Introduction :

"I can only say to you what was said to me by Mr. Wirt on a similar occasion, 'If it is to be done at all, I should prefer to have it done by such a friend as you.'"

Before we parted—he to go to Lincoln Hall, where Professor Tyndall was to lecture, I to keep an engagement elsewhere—I explained to him that the book referred to in two of his letters to me had finally appeared to me too full of a feeling which the public could not be expected to participate, to warrant me in publishing its contents. But I said that I "was not ashamed of that feeling."

"You ought not to feel ashamed of it," said the Chief Justice. "On the contrary, you ought rather to be proud of it; though I confess there was a time when I feared that it might destroy your usefulness."

He added a few words which I must not repeat. I had not heard such words from him before. While I remember them, I must dispose myself to judge him favorably, even in the presence of most formidable difficulties, raised by facts apparently tending to make out a case against his memory.

I have been greatly tried by difficulties of that nature, even since I wrote the Introduction and the earlier chapters of this work. But my remembrance of the 7th of December, 1872, still bids me presume in favor of our hero's rectitude of purpose.

Certain other explanations were made before we reached the point where we must separate. They were received with sympathetic interest, and the Chief Justice even tenderly commented on them, in a few fit words, in his best manner.

So we parted, for the time; and very soon I left Washington, not to return for about a month. But the work I had engaged to write began at once to seek its method and to gather its material. No time was to be lost; and none was wasted. Such a work demanded all that any man not more gifted than myself was able to

devote to it, in time, in labor, or in skill. My chief regret was, that my pen was not more capable of its great enterprise ; for I felt very certain that I would not fail to give to it the necessary time and toil.

It was, I think, about the 10th of January, 1873, that I next saw Chief Justice Chase, at Washington. My brother Wallace and I called on him that evening, and had a very pleasant interview, the conversation being chiefly between him and my brother, and on topics more interesting to them than to me.

Again I paid close attention to the mental state of the Chief Justice. He was in good spirits, and he conversed with freedom and with force. I remember particularly the clearness and strength with which he explained to my brother certain facts connected with the Louisiana *imbroglio*, as it then was, or seemed to him to be.

No communication of any kind had taken place between the Chief Justice and myself since the 7th of the preceding December ; but before we parted I reported progress in the composition of this work, and said, in substance :

“So you see that I must now hold you to your promise to assist me all you can in gathering material.”

To which he answered, as I now remember, in substance :

“You know I always keep my promises. But you must bear in mind that the Court is still in session. I don’t know that I can do much for you until the Court shall have finally adjourned.”

CHAPTER LI.

A BIRTHDAY OFFERING—THE ANSWER.

A CONSIDERABLE part of an intended introduction to this work was thrown into epistolary form on the 12th day of January, 1873, the package that contained the necessarily long letter being marked: "To be opened January 13, 1873, in memory of January 13, 1808." In the actual Introduction¹ to the present work is given an extract from that birthday offering. Here I offer the remainder, first remarking, however, that the method indicated in that letter has not been observed, for reasons which are to be stated.

Part of that, perhaps, too hurriedly composed epistle reads as follows:

"WASHINGTON, *January 13, 1873.*

"DEAR SIR: Allow me to salute you on occasion of your birthday anniversary. Allow me to congratulate your family, your country, and your times, that you have this day to mark with recollections of a life so busy, so distinguished, and so useful. Five-and-sixty years of a life like that can not be without a rich possession of delightful memories, however much of sad remembrance it may have to blend with gladness, in making up the panorama of its wonderfully various experience and observation.

"In some versions of the Book so venerated throughout the most interesting regions of this globe of ours, with its investing 'circumambient air,' this life is not described as in the sadly musing utterances of the man that so moralized on meeting a 'rare fool, a motley fool, i' the forest,' who discoursed philosophy. According to the melancholy Jaques, 'all the world's a stage, and all the men and women merely players.' In those versions of the Bible, life is pictured as a battle.

"How is it in the version you prefer? Some curious idiomatic variations may be studied in a comparison of different translations.

"I have not at hand the books, used by some English, French, and German studies, which amused, as well as taught, a portion of the leisure hours, devoted, some years ago, to home-teaching in my house. But, assuredly, without forgetting how this day should be

¹ Ante, p. 11.

observed—not *mal à propos*—I can invite your attention to two French, two German and two English idiomatic expressions of another life-thought of the Bible—a conception well deserving to be deeply studied, but too often utterly unknown, and seldom well considered.

“Find below the work of three Protestant translators and the work of three Catholic translators, rendering verse eleventh of Ecclesiastes, chapter ninth:

“Protestant and Catholic English.

“I returned, and saw under the sun, that the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong, neither yet bread to the wise, nor yet riches to men of understanding, nor yet favor to men of skill; but time and chance happeneth to them all.’

“I turned me to another thing; and I saw that under the sun the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong, nor bread to the wise, nor riches to the learned, nor favor to the skillful, but time and chance in all.’

“Protestant and Catholic German.

“‘Ich wandte mich und sahe, wie es unter der Sonne zugehet, dass zum Laufen nicht hilft schnell sein, zum Streit hilft nicht stark sein, zur Nahrung hilft nicht geschickt sein, zum Reichthum hilft nicht klug sein; dass Einer angenehm sei, hilft nicht, dass er ein Ding wohl könne; sondern Alles liegt es an der Zeit und Glück.’

“‘Ich habe mich zu andern Gegenständen gewendet, und sah unter der Sonne, dass zum Laufen nicht genug sei, schnell zu sein; noch zum Kriege, wenn man tapfer ist; noch zum Gewinne des Lebensunterhaltes, wenn man weise ist; noch zum Sammeln der Reichthümer wenn man gelehrt ist; noch zum Erlangen der Gunst, wenn man ein Künstler ist; sondern dass die Zeit und das Glück in Allem gilt.’

“Protestant and Catholic French.

“‘Je me suis tourné ailleurs, et j’ai vu sous le soleil que la course n’est point aux légers, ni aux forts la bataille, ni aux sages le pain, ni aux prudens les richesses, ni la grâce aux sçavans; mais que le temps et l’occasion décident de ce qui arrive à tous.’

“‘Je me suis tourné ailleurs, et j’ai vu sous le soleil que le prix de la course n’est pas aux plus vites, la victoire aux forts, le pain aux sages, les richesses aux doctes, la faveur aux habiles; mais en toutes choses le temps et le hasard font tout.’

“I have at home a Latin version. I regret that I can not put it beside the foregoing.

“Do you read Hebrew? I do not. Once, I read *at it*, ‘as it were,’ a little, in a course of such linguistics as appeared to me appropriate to a legist’s culture, not for pleasure only, but for daily use; but, were the original of the just-cited versions now at hand, I could not compare them with it, as I would desire to do, in order, if possible, to make demonstration perfect, touching my reading of the life-philosophy now under notice.

“Demonstration only less than perfect is, however, effected by the quoted versions.

“In the version *you* prefer, we have the expression, ‘Time and chance happeneth to all.’ In the translation *I* prefer, we have just, ‘Time and chance in all.’ The German, ‘*Alles liegt es an der Zeit und Glück*,’ may be freely Englished, ‘All depends on time and lucky chance;’ and the German, ‘*Die Zeit und das Glück in Allem gilt*,’ may be

translated, 'Time and chance counts in (or runs through) all.' Every French-English scholar knows that one may render '*Le temps et l'occasion décident de ce qui arrive à tous*' with 'Time and occasion decide of that (or determine that) which happeneth to all;' and that the French, '*Le temps et le hasard font tout*,' may be literally Englished, 'Time and hazard (chance) make (or do) all.'

"This little lingual lesson may not seem to call upon you, my dear sir, on this, your birthday, to lay to your soul a flattering unction; and, indeed, I know not how to flatter. But have patience—I will pay you all. You shall not fail to find that I remember that, to me, indeed, forever-memorable letter,¹ which you wrote to a freshly broken heart, almost ten years ago, when you were at your busiest in the financial service of the country, in the Cabinet of Lincoln. You shall see, moreover that if I refuse to glorify you on account of any mere *success* of your past life, or on account of the high office you so honor and adorn by the manner in which you discharge its duties, I know how to prize your merit, while I even solemnly remind you that success can never be a *test* of merit.

"A disputable assumption of the seemingly essential *power* called for by a given action, is, indeed, raised by the seemingly or really successful performance of that action. This presumption is, of course, exalted or lowered by apparent or supposed ascertainment of the measure in which action was made difficult or rendered easy by the circumstances and conditions in which it took place, the aid extended to it, or the opposition it encountered.

"Need I say that such considerations had much influence on my determination to prepare for possible publication some account of the studies I have made of your past life, in its relation to your country and your times?

"I have begun to give a portion of my leisure labors to the work designed by that determination. The divisions of the book may be here specified. They are as follows:

"PART FIRST.—*The Life of SALMON PORTLAND CHASE, in its Relation to his Country and his Times.*

"PART SECOND.—*The Student, the Teacher, and the Writer.*

"PART THIRD.—*The Lawyer, the Political Speaker, and the Senator.*

"PART FOURTH.—*The Governor and the Cabinet Officer.*

"PART FIFTH.—*The Chief Justice.*"

When I caused to be printed, for private circulation, the matter which the already noticed pretended criticism of the *New York Herald*² affected to treat as advance sheets of the present work, I still felt bound to observe the just indicated method. But, on full consideration, I considered that that method was no longer necessary, and that it would prove decidedly inconvenient. It was designed with reference to the seeming necessity of demonstrating, in the first division of the volume, the propriety of paying the

¹ Ante.

² Ante, Chapter L.

intended biographic honors to a living man, in very high position—the Chief Justice of a Court in which it was my expectation to appear at bar for clients.

In that birthday offering were also the paragraphs:

“May I have the happiness of offering a copy of the printed book, next year, on occasion of an auspicious repetition of this interesting anniversary, and may that birthday offering prove worthy of acceptance! May you have many other returns of occasion to remember the beginning of your days, and may your country long enjoy the benefit of your example and your counsels!

“In view of the presumptions I have mentioned, and the true laws of success and failure, what a monument the bare statement of the parts into which the volume that this letter introduces is divided, necessarily creates, for all who know what difficulties and resistance you have met and overcome! Here is no fancy sketch; the story told by that ungilded statement is no fiction; it is not a eulogy. No panegyric ever equaled it in brevity or in simplicity, yet no encomium ever surpassed it in reality and truth.

“Were the pen that has just composed it without effort, were that little instrument the pencil of a master-painter, or the chisel of a master-sculptor, it might make a very different work of art. Were it the pencil of a great painter, it might offer to the country an elaborately formed and colored ‘counterfeit presentment’ of your face and figure, and demand that that production of its genius be associated, in the Capitol, with the likenesses of other worthies, never to be forgotten while this nation has a ‘local habitation and a name.’ Were it the chisel of a noble sculptor, it might shape your image in the best that it could do in marble, and present that masterpiece for fit association with the statues now exposed to admiration or to criticism in the same basilica-like building, the grand temple which at once commands and gives character to all the views of landscape visible at the Capital of the Republic. After all, however, the painting might be, like the likenesses of Sir Joshua Reynolds, too ideal to be faithful; or the statue might, like many other products of the sculptor’s cunning, be a flattered image.

“The division of this book into parts is, also, in a certain sense, a work of art; but it is rather one of art and science, each and both. It tells, at least allusively, the story of the many public services that you have rendered; and it is, at least in outline, a brief history of the public honors paid you by your fellow-citizens.

“As faithful in design, and as accurate, I trust, in execution, shall be at least the great body of the book, whose general intentions and anticipations, that bare statement must enable you and other readers to discern. There may be weak places here and there; but I engage that the totality shall be entirely free from aught resembling sycophancy, or the disposition to idealize a real and a living man.

“Allow me to return a little to the subject of success and failure as no test of merit.

“One-and-thirty years and more have passed, since a shop-window offered to my passing curiosity a little book, with others. Yielding,

partly, to the '*tolle lege!*' of that presentation, I became the buyer of that little book, went home without delay, and read my new purchase, which proved to be as lively as a book of Dickens, as didactic as a dictionary, as methodic as the multiplication-table.

"About nine-and-twenty years had elapsed after that reading, when I yielded to a like appeal made by a book-stall, bought a little volume, took it home, and made myself acquainted with its contents, as one reads a splendid poem, and yet found in it the very depths of a profound philosophy.

"Both the books were, as we say, translations, though, *selon moi*, complete translation of a whole book of any magnitude—nay, of even a score or so of pages in a book—would be a very miracle. The first was a fine Englishing of Cicero's immortal work, *De Oratore*; in the second was a not less admirable Frenching of Plato's *Republic* (or *The State*).

"I need not say to you that the former is entirely worthy of the genius whose embracing studies comprehended jurisprudence and philosophy and arms, as well as oratory. Without prescribing *universality* of study to an intending orator, it demonstrates the necessity of a wide range and an almost appalling variety of learning to a legist-orator. No American law student ought to fail to study it, and to avail himself of its remarkably suggestive contents, while determining the necessary method and extent of his own reading, thinking, and acting; the first, without the two others, being rather worse than worthless.

"But let no intending legist, no intending statesman, no intending orator of any order, read that book of Cicero with the assurance that the method it proposes, modified in any manner, or that any other method, can enable study, in association even with the best behavior, to command success. Remember Cicero's own story, so eventful; finally so tragic.

"The French book, to which allusion has been made, bears on its title-page these words: '*L'État ou la République de Platon, traduction de Grou; revue et corrigée sur le texte grec d'Emm. Bekker.*' Turning to the '*Avis de l'Éditeur*,' we discover that the '*Introduction*' is derived from an interesting work, crowned by the French Academy, and having for its elevated subject, '*L'Éducation des mères de famille, ou la Civilisation du genre humain par les femmes*,' the author being M. Aimé-Martin. This Introduction is among the most animated and effective pieces of didactic morals I have ever met—I, who ought, perhaps, to be ashamed of having read so much and learned so little; and among the passages of it which most deserve to be singled out for special recognition is that in which remark is made on something like a foreshadowing of the tragedy on Calvary.

"Let us attempt a free translation of that passage:

"'At that epoch it was a wide-spread doctrine, that nothing is more onerous and cumbersome than wisdom, and nothing is more useful than injustice. Seeing virtue feeble and indigent, men judged it to be unhappy; seeing crime rich and powerful, men judged it to be happy; and from this double spectacle (which does not afflict

republics only) they had deduced this principle, that injustice is more favorable to happiness than virtue.

"Far from weakening this picture, Plato consecrates it in creating an imaginary just man and an imaginary bad man, whom he places in the highest degrees of crime and wisdom. His just man shall not only be subjected to misery; he shall be subjected to infamy and the torture. *He shall be calumniated, whipped, cursed, loaded with irons, drawn in ignominy, then delivered to the executioner, and nailed to the cross.*¹

"We have here as a presentiment, as a revelation, of the life and of the death of the Christ.

"His bad man' shall not be merely a devotee of ambition, without shame; he shall be a hypocrite, the hideous type to which Molière shall go for his Tartuffe; happy in his riches, powerful through his alliances, drawing from all things advantage, because no crime affrights him; conciliating by simulation of virtue the good-will of the people, and by his sacrifices the protection of the gods. Consummate villain, whom fortune crowns, and whom men honor!

"Well! it is in presence of this suffering and of these prosperities, it is in contradiction to the general voice of the nations, that Plato, in the second book of the *Republic*, solemnly proclaims the just man happy because he is just, the bad man unhappy because he is bad. Admirable revelation of the conscience of Socrates!

"Assuredly, success is not a test of merit! Not alone have 'time and chance' to be considered, but some things of deeper mystery, of darker dye.

"Where Ecclesiastes teaches that the battle is not to the strong, it can not mean that the strong are always beaten by the weak, or the good by the wicked. Where it teaches that the race is not to the swift, it can not mean that the slow are always first at the goal. The lesson really intended must be, that a good, strong man must not expect, in spite of 'time and chance,' to win the battle, just because he is so strong; and that the swiftest feet must not expect to win the race because of their velocity, in spite of circumstances—that, 'under the sun,' things are so ordered that what we call accident, and what, perhaps, we may allow ourselves to call interfering causes—not to speak of what men often call 'mysterious providence'—must be largely taken into view in trying to forecast success.

"Whoever has not read Mill's *Logic of the Moral Sciences*, particularly where he turns attention on what he proposes to denominate *Ethology*—the science, namely, of the formation of character—should now peruse that part of his great work on *Logic* at large. The doctrine of tendencies is there finely explicated. Such or such a course of conduct, such or such a bearing, may be said to *tend* to make a man successful, popular, renowned; but, while what we call accident—while what may be well designated interfering causes—while what, in religion, bears the name of Providence—must be

¹"Il sera calomnié, fouetté, maudit, chargé de fers, traîné dans l'ignominie, puis livré au bourreau et cloué sur le croix."

²So I translate "son méchant."

considered in all sober calculations, we ought not to teach our children that success of any kind can be commanded or secured by any way of life whatever."

Now and then, as I have found some new difficulty in the way of recognizing Salmon Portland Chase as one of the true worthies of the world, my heart has almost died with apprehension that, after all, I would be forced, by love of truth, to own my judgment that he was a trickster and a trimmer. But I have, without known violation of veracity, been able to proclaim, throughout, my confidence in the general rectitude of the man to whom I made that birthday offering. .

I scorn to answer the miserable intimation in the *New York Herald*, that that letter was an artful blending of flattery with fairness. During the month and more that had elapsed between the day when I began to write this work and the day when I composed that birthday letter, I had studied deeply what I could then ascertain about the life of the Chief Justice, with what I had long known of him. Indignant at the treatment he had received in the *Cincinnati Commercial* and in other papers, and affected not a little also by what I had heard about alleged sayings of the Attorney-General,¹ I had perhaps been led to idealize the life and character of the Chief Justice. We shall see, however, after all, that what I said in praise of him, in that birthday offering, needs little qualification, in the presence of all due considerations.

But of this, more must be said hereafter. Let me now invite attention to this farther extract from the same birthday offering:

"In a biographic sketch of Volney, whom the sketcher curiously paints as few would think that somber soul could be portrayed, notice is taken of the far from philosophic notion that the life of a man of letters may be found complete in the productions of his pen. Rejecting that idea, the not very genial biographer of Volney falls into an error at the opposite extreme. According to him, the life of a man of letters ought to be an *histoire raisonnée* of the contradictions between his avowed principles and his actual behavior. Instances, Rousseau coldly exposing his own offspring, while his *pen* so tenderly provides for the nurture and education of the little ones in general; Lord Bacon,

'Wiseat, brightest, meanest of mankind,'

¹The matter here alluded to was information given to me by my nephew, Mr. Clifford Warden, as to information he had received from Mr. Knowlton, telegraphic correspondent of the *Commercial* and other papers, on the 7th of December, 1872.

perfecting a philosophy and selling justice; and a few others, hardly less remarkable, are given, not precisely as here stated, but not very differently; while the sketcher finds in Volney's pen a true reflection of his inmost soul.

"Poetic as the prose of Volney is—inspired with all the bigotry of unbelief, so frequently more fearful than the bigotry of the most superstitious faith—it may be simply a reflection of the average condition and characteristic tone and temper of its composer. But, in my opinion, much the greater number of good books must be much better than their authors.

"Are they, therefore, merely sentimental, or affected, or half-hypocritical? Not at all. One's *life* is tempted by itself, and by all that is within it and without; one's *book* is not so tempted. When one ceases to write at night, how knows he that he has not put on paper his last words of real or pretended aspiration? Even if that thought be absent, or, being present, be but little attended to, what a brief space of time is to elapse before one's time to sink into the tomb must come; and, if his pen-work is to live beyond his little span of life, how soon it must be as a voice from the realm of spiritual shades!

"Even so, the book may be at once as gay and soaring as a skylark at the choicest hour of that bird's musical delight. The very thought of speaking, after death, to loving hearts, may have in it a very rapture of enchantment; but that rapture ought to be as conscientious as if it were soberest sadness.

"He who does not wish to make his book much better than its author, is unfit to be an author.

"Certainly, as I began this letter, I was clearly conscious of a wish that almost ventured to express itself as invocation. That my book about your life, your country, and your times, may more or less idealize itself, as well as him whose speaking, writing, and other modes of public service, it endeavors to set forth in their true shapes and colors, can not greatly trouble me, if only I can satisfy myself that my present work observes, with energy and earnestness, the law just recognized; the law, namely, which requires a book to be better than its author.

"That a writing of this nature *may* be better than the life of which it is a labor, is not difficult to show.

"What is a book? Is it a pure *creation*, or a mere *production*? Does it issue from a single brain, or is it always what might be distinguished as a guiltless plagiarism? M. de Tocqueville, and some other censors of our manners, have accused us of an overfondness for quotation—us Americans, I mean, of the description sometimes designated Stock-Americans. If these observers had been more familiar with the *English* people, and with the productions of the *English* press, for a century or so past, they would not, perhaps, find our proclivity to quote so notable. But, be that as it may, whether one's book formally quotes, or carefully transforms all that it consciously derives from other works, it represents, in greater measure or in less, not *one* man's thoughts and feelings only, but the thoughts and feelings of unnumbered books and men, the predecessors and precursors of itself and of its author.

"May this book be *infinitely* better than its author! May it seem to *him* so infinitely better than its author, that, acknowledging his fallibility, and feeling that he may attribute to the life his volume is subjecting to a free and fair examination, an ideal interest, or, on the other hand, deny to it the elevation really belonging to it, he may yet feel that the absolute requirements of his book forbid him to indulge in any childish vanity about the views of other persons."

That excitement marks this language, is not to be denied. I *was* excited—I do not conceal it—when those words were written. I had just discerned new illustration of the truth that, at the best, this life must be a battle. I did not foresee the fearful battle that this work would have to deliver to all manner of desperate opposition; but I did foresee that the then designed account of our hero's life and times would be obliged to face innumerable prejudices.

I adhere to those excited words, however. They were warmly written; they were very earnest. After all, however, it appears to me, their only inspiration was an unaffected love of truth and justice.

I am told that one of the maligners of this work—one of its prophetic censors (Mr. Halstead, namely)—dissented from the pretended judgment of another (Mr. Whitelaw Reid), who had stooped so low as to describe me to the public as a blackguard. Mr. Halstead, I am told, has pronounced that I am not a blackguard, but only a fanatic. I thank Heaven for the fanaticism that has made this book so faithful, so veracious, so determined—at all hazards, and in spite of every form of at least attempted persecution—to perform its holy office, without fear or favor!

In the Introduction is an extract from that birthday letter, indicating, at once, my desire of autobiographic contributions and my purpose to preserve, throughout, due biographic independence. The conclusion of the letter reads as follows:

"At present, let me say a word or two, by way of farther salutation.

"Five-and-sixty years ago, this day, began the life to which my book is to devote its chief attention. If one open with that life a double-entry system of Debit and Credit, moral, intellectual, and physical, one must put down on the Debit side a certain harmony of machine and of mechanics, of faculty and function, of corporeal and incorporeal possibilities and capabilities. Such was the trust that you received from nature, and the trust was much increased by education.

"How is it with the *Credit* side of that account? Success, again I

say, is not a test of merit. I do honor to no man on account of his position or of his successes. Have not I, myself, with all my foibles, and in spite of my mistakes, held places of high trust, and delicate, as well as great and various, responsibility? Assuredly, I have no morbid feeling on the subject of success and failure. Yet, sir, if I very highly honor and felicitate you, as you know I do, this day, it is not on account of your position, or of any of your past distinctions and successes.

"Truly meritorious and very various use of your original endowment and acquired ability, has made the Credit side of that account a crowd of items you may well regard, on this interesting anniversary, with grateful eyes, and all the pride that may become self-contemplation.

"As for your successes, one may say that some of them are simply wonderful, in view of the relation to them of the people, the great mass of voters, with their leaders; many of the latter, faithless demagogues.

"Five and-thirty years, I think, have passed since the writer of this letter began to see, without hearing, him to whom it is addressed. And the lapse of nearly three-and-thirty years lies between the present writing and the time when I began to hear as well as to see you, and commenced to *study* your characteristic traits and tendencies, as I supposed that I discerned them. But, in common with vast numbers of the dwellers in the Cincinnati valley, on both sides of the river, I was made, by unconscious prejudices, quite incapable of justly judging your ideas and your disposition.

"You were then represented as an Abolitionist. In common with so many of my fellow-citizens, I looked on an Abolitionist as either of disordered intellect or morbid morals.

"Were you, really, an Abolitionist at any time? To answer now, would be an ill-advised anticipation, and would be impossible, without a very careful definition I am not disposed to undertake at present.¹ Let the answer be reserved. However that may turn out, the entirely certain facts are, that you were denounced and hated as an Abolitionist, and that the great body of the people, at the period referred to, hated and denounced all real or imagined Abolitionists. About these facts there ought to be no question.

"Yet you are, this day, and have been, for more than eight years, Chief Justice, and you would have been Chief Magistrate, more than eight years ago, had you been less in earnest, less devoted to your principles, less proud, and vainer.

"This distinction between pride and vanity must be explained with some care. It is not the distinction made by Montesquieu and other writers; but I feel quite ready to defend it, as I shall define it, as well taken and substantial.

"Let me hold the contemplated explanation for the letter in which I propose to indicate the sources and the claims of my desire to have you make some autobiographic contributions to the volume which this open letter, aided by one or two others, is designed to introduce to other readers; in short, to the public."

¹ Post.

January 18, I received this answer :

"WASHINGTON, January 17, 1873.

"MY DEAR JUDGE: I was surprised and gratified by your letter, on the occasion of my birthday. Should you pursue the purpose you indicate, I shall be happy to afford you all the aid—not much—in my power.

"You are right in repeating that success does not argue merit. *It has pleased Divine Providence to make [me] instrumental in the promotion of two great Reforms, both political—one social, and the other financial.* But I claim no merit in either.

"The difficulty I find in writing, must be my excuse for brevity. But I shall always be glad to see you.

"Meanwhile, I am, gratefully and faithfully, yours,

"S. P. CHASE.

"Hon. R. B. WARDEN."

Did the writer of that letter comprehend his true relation to his country and his times? Could he behold himself as he was seen by others? Did he know himself?

The sentence on which special stress has just been laid, points out, I think, the chief relations of the life we study to the country and the times. But, in my judgment, precedence in point of glory, as in time, belongs to the work done in promotion of the social reform, though I have endeavored, in order, to display a due appreciation of the work done in promotion of a real or supposed financial reform.

CHAPTER LII.

SUPPLY OF MATTER FOR THIS WORK—NEW RELATIONS.

MY views of the necessities of biographic composition, in the month of January, 1873, did not induce me to call frequently on the Chief Justice. I did not desire again to meet him at his table, or in the society of his near relatives, whose way of life so differed from my own, whose taste appeared to me to have been cultivated to excess, and who, it seemed to me, could not assist me greatly in the gathering of matter for a work of the description then in contemplation. But, one morning in the month just named, I had occasion to see the Chief Justice for an instant, at the conference-room, as the clerk supposed I might. But the Chief Justice sent me word that he could not see me then, but that he would be happy to meet me that afternoon at Mrs. Sprague's reception.

Thus I had to face a difficulty I had, so far, carefully avoided. I addressed a note to the Chief Justice, most respectfully declining his kind invitation, and explaining my intention not to go into "society" that winter. In reply, he wrote to me as follows:

"WASHINGTON, *January 31, 1873.*

"601 E STREET.

"DEAR SIR: At the moment you called, I was actually engaged in my duties as presiding judge. The clerk was not much mistaken, though it is seldom, on conference days, that I have even five minutes' leisure.

"I wish you would call on me freely. Whether you care to be presented to the ladies or not, may be a subject of after consideration.

"Yours, cordially,

S. P. CHASE.

"To the Honorable ROBERT B. WARDEN."

Even after receiving that answer, I could not bring myself to call on the Chief Justice freely; but, on the evening of the 7th of February following, he sent me, on one of his visiting-cards, the request:

"DEAR JUDGE: Can you call this evening, before 9. If you can conveniently, you will oblige me by doing so.

"Yours, truly,

S. P. C., 601 E Street.

"Hon. R. B. WARDEN."

What was wanted was, it seemed, the copying of an opinion! But that was, evidently, a mere pretext. So, indeed, I learned, afterward, from the Chief Justice himself.

I confess, I felt somewhat affronted on learning what I had been sent for, though I was told that Mr. Lloyd, the private secretary, had gone to New York, and that the opinion was to be used next morning. The Chief Justice saw how I felt; and said what he could to explain so strange an application. I consented to do the required copying. Afterward, I conjectured that he had wished to see what I could do, when I tried, in the way of legible handwriting; and that what he had in view was nothing less than to propose to me so far to "waive rank," as he expressed it, as to take the place of Mr. Lloyd for a short time,—first, in order that the Chief Justice might feel freer to make a contemplated summer trip; and, second, that my biographic undertaking might, as he conceived, be much facilitated.

But I have anticipated. On the 8th of February, in the morning, he received from me the copy I had made at his request. He did not thank me; but began at once to question me about my family, about my purposes and prospects at Washington, and about a report that he had heard that I had become the correspondent of a certain paper. I explained to him that I had no connection whatever with any paper; but that I was very strongly tempted to abandon the profession of the law, though I knew that I could never cease to take great interest in legal letters. And I owned that I would willingly become again, in a special sense, a follower of Franklin, whose works, as admirably rendered into French by Laboulaye, I had been reading, not for the first time, that winter.

Will the reader please remember what winter that was? It was the darkest moral winter we have had at Washington. It was the *Credit Mobilier* winter. Never had I felt so tempted to be ashamed of being an American. At that time, Washington appeared to me a very hell on earth. In studying the aspects of the public life there within reach of observation, I had stood aghast. It seemed to me, in my depression and dismay, that every department of our public life at the seat of Government was poisoned; and the practice of the law at Washington then seemed entirely uninviting.

On the morning of the 8th of February, I received the first supply of biographic matter from Chief Justice Chase; and learned from him that he intended soon to visit Edgewood, with his private

secretary, for the purpose of enabling himself to supply me in full, according to his promise and my expectation. But I told him I was not impatient, and that he could take his time; that I was studying the Wirt family, and especially the head of it, with special reference to the relation of that family to part of his career.

He knew that I had contributed to the *Capital* a piece entitled *Agnes Wirt, a Story*. He had indeed communicated to me that Mr. Lloyd had erroneously informed me that he, the Chief Justice, had been engaged to Agnes Wirt.

"I was," he said, "too poor, at that time, to look so high."

If I remember rightly, I did not again see him till about the 1st of March. Then it was that he opened to me his wish to have me take what he called a "clerkship in bankruptcy," which, as he explained, would place me daily near his person while he remained in Washington, and, during his intended trip to Colorado, would enable me to act for him as already indicated, in recommending registers for appointment. He made known, at the same time, that acting as his private secretary was, by usage, incident to the holding of the place proposed; and he asked me to "waive rank" for a time, by taking the proposed position. He considered that to do so would not only greatly relieve him, but much promote my biographic undertaking.

I confess, I felt again affronted. That offer seemed to me, at first, an offer equally unworthy of Chief Justice Chase and of the man to whom it was proposed. I was not, indeed, ashamed to toil in any honorable way for daily bread; but to be private secretary—even to Chief Justice Chase—was a thing which, at first, I could not look upon as other than a degradation.

On reflection, I considered that this feeling was a weak one, and that nothing inconsistent with the respect and kindness I had been accustomed to receive from the Chief Justice was in contemplation in that offer; yet the offer seemed to me an ill-considered one, and I was inclined to say at once that I would not accept it. But I only said that, while it seemed to have much in its favor, I could not at once determine how to treat it. He explained that he must know before the 21st of March, because at that time Mr. Lloyd expected to vacate his post. I told him I could let him know within a few days my determination. So we parted, for the time.

After consultation, I regret to say, my judgment yielded to advice and counsel, and I told our hero that, limiting the time of service

from the day proposed by him—March 21—as the day of beginning, to December 1, I would perform the duties he proposed.

That that was a great error, no one can discern more clearly than do I. But my motives were, at least, entirely proper. Much of the evil that has followed that great error was then almost wholly beyond the reach of apprehension.

On the 20th of March, 1872, a large supply of biographic matter was delivered to me. At first I used it in the library at Senator Sprague's; but, early in April, it was taken, by the servants of our hero, under his direction, without my presence and without my aid, to the house in which the body of this work has been composed.

But soon I saw that all was not well as to the manner in which my new relations to Chief Justice Chase affected Mrs. Sprague and the Senator. Their bearing toward me caused me to address the former, very courteously and kindly, in relation to this work and in relation to some other matters proper to be touched in such a note.

That note was dated and delivered March 28—about forty days before the death of the Chief Justice. It commenced as follows :

" WASHINGTON, *March 28, 1873.*

"MADAM: It is proper, I conceive, that you should not misapprehend the circumstances which have made me, with the sanction of your father, his biographer."

Then followed a brief account of those circumstances, with some other intimations which I deemed important; and my note went on as follows :

" Out of my entertainment of the idea so suggested grew, not like a mushroom, the idea explained in a letter to your father, dated January 13, 1873, which, foreshadowing as it does the scope and spirit of the book I am composing about 'The Life and Times of Chief Justice Chase,' I am quite willing to submit to your examination at any time."

Had that offer been accepted, Mrs. Sprague, our hero's gifted and accomplished eldest daughter, would have read, among other things, the words quoted in the Introduction, touching my determination not to suffer any person—not, above all, to suffer the hero of the work—to supervise or to dictate its contents. But she would have found no indication that I was unwilling to receive either information or suggestions from her.

I was not in the least inclined to disregard any well-considered views of hers. She seemed to me, I own, *too* tasteful—for excessive taste is possible—but I was willing, nay desirous, to be aided by her, and to pay due respect to all her reasonable wishes. Was it, then, ridiculous to offer to submit my birthday letter to examination, as the letter just quoted indicated I was willing to do? Almost every thing has an aspect in which it may be ridiculed; but the letter just quoted was, at least, well considered and well intended.

It was answered—not quite promptly, but with characteristic taste—in person, by the lady to whom it was written. She assured me that she was much gratified by the explanation made in my communication, and desired me to feel quite at home beneath her roof while my duties called me there. What more she said I do not feel required, and am not disposed, to set forth at present; but it was in terms, at least, quite interesting and agreeable.

There was no word then about any other biographer. The lady who has, since her father's death, felt free to insult and to attempt to persecute the man so honored and so trusted by her father, did not mention Mr. Schuckers. And I ought to state at once that when, months after the death of the Chief Justice, the indiscretion of Mr. Maunsell B. Field, in conversation with a friend of mine, allowed me to learn that Mr. Schuckers, more than countenanced by our hero's daughters and their husbands, was at work on a *Life of Chase*, the representation was that that work was only a "Memorial Life," whatever that may have been thought to signify.

But on the 28th of March, 1873, and while our hero remained in life—indeed, until I saw the first indications of a desperate conspiracy against my biographic enterprise—I would have been glad to receive information about him from any source whatever. On the other hand, I intended at all times to preserve with care the necessary freedom and the necessary independence of a conscientious biographer, in spite of every man and every woman in the world.

When I began to see the nature of the matter furnished for my biographic use, I was almost confounded. I had not before had the slightest conception of the vastness and variety of the matter I would have to handle. The responsibility thus cast upon me weighed upon my heart and disturbed my health.

The Chief Justice had taken ample time to consider what he

ought to furnish. I had kept away from him until he almost found fault with me for so doing. Knowing me as we have seen he must have known me, he determined for himself how much he would confide in me; and he confided all.

Among the documents he furnished me was a locked register, or diary. I did not have the key of it at first. He waited till I jocularly owned my curiosity about it, and referred to the plot of Bluebeard; then he told me that I was to have the key, but that it was at Edgewood. He would get it for me when we next went out to that country-seat of his.

By this time we had had more than one conversation as to the intended biographic and historic work. It had become apparent that he wished me to pay more attention than I had originally contemplated giving to his private life.

As I have learned more and more about his public life, I have been more and more enabled to appreciate that wish of his. *Without the studies I have made of his private life, I would be quite in danger of discerning little in his public life, after 1845, to praise or even to excuse.* His public life would not in general seem laudable to me without the light afforded by his private life.

But when I obtained the key of that locked diary, and compared its contents with the contents of other diaries or registers, I was almost prostrated by the sense of the responsibility that he had put upon me, by acquainting me with the revelations which those documents were capable of making.

Once, in spite of my intention to preserve due biographic independence, I attempted to submit to him a question touching the propriety of using some of the revelations here referred to. He declined to aid my judgment, saying that he was an interested person, that he had referred all that to my judgment and my sense of justice, and that I must do just what my judgment and my sense of justice should, after due reflection, seem to order. He would only say that, where there was a doubt, perhaps the proper way would be to resolve that doubt against suppression. All the contents of those diaries were at least true; and the truth was very seldom really injurious to any interest.

I have at hand a work, entitled *Lincoln and Seward*, . . . by Gideon Welles, *Ex-Secretary of the Navy*. What I find in that book, what I found contributed by its author to the *Galaxy*, what I found in Mr. Field's already more than once noticed *Memories*

of *Many Men and of Some Women*, what I have reason to expect to find in Mr. Schuckers's book about our hero,—these and other things might be mentioned as affecting my final conclusion as to the propriety of using all the matter offered by preceding pages of the present work. Even on putting the manuscript into the hands of the publishers, I reserved the right of striking out some portions, if, on full consideration, they should seem to me improper. After what appears to me sufficient study of the subject, I have judged as indicated by preceding paragraphs and chapters. I am sensible that I may have erred in this conclusion; but my conscience is entirely satisfied with it, and I have no apology to make for it whatever.

Possibly, the judgment of fair-minded and enlightened critics may condemn our hero for recording certain portions of the matter here in question. I am far from clear that he did well in that behalf. But had I taken the responsibility of not presenting the matter here referred to, I could not have felt that I had thoroughly performed my biographic duty.

Let me now invite attention to another fallacy and falsehood in that *Herald* article. That article, having said that Mr. Chase "kept full notes of the conversations had with him by public men during his services in the Treasury," proceeds, in its fine English, to subjoin:

"It is not the purpose, we believe, to print them; Mr. Schuckers, in whose possession they are, only using them to guide him in his work."

No statement could be falser. Even supposing that this fine critic means, not the conversations, but the notes of them, those notes are now in *my* possession. Mr. Schuckers tried, no doubt, to get them when he visited my trunk, as elsewhere stated; but I had removed them, in anticipation of some outrage of that kind, after I learned of the frauds that had been practiced on this work. But the article just quoted also says:

"Their substance is in the biography, wherein they illustrate Mr. Chase's views, but freed from the explosive force that Judge Warden promises from the diaries; for it is well understood that he is to publish them."

And this in the same wretched libel which accuses me of a design to mutilate these diaries! I grant, however, that no explosive

force, nor any other force, is likely to distinguish the biography so much preferred to that presented in these pages. But the sentence just partly quoted ends by stating that my "friends have already taken pleasure in informing the world that many things which Mr. Chase said of himself and his family will prove very distasteful to his daughters." Now, no friend of mine has made any such intimation. If the daughters of our hero find the revelations of this work distasteful, they must vindicate their taste. My work requires, in that behalf, no vindication.

Never have I found, or fancied that I found, or hinted that I had discovered, aught that ought to be distasteful to either of our hero's daughters. Nor, reviewing what this volume shows about the three marriages of Salmon Portland Chase, do I find a sentence which should be offensive to those ladies, or to any other person.

That study of Wirt's life and character appeared to me a proper part of preparation for the final composition of the present work, has been already intimated. Well! one day I was looking in Allibone's *Dictionary of Authors* for the article "Wirt," when, to my astonishment, I found a little article entitled, "Warden, Robert B." I had had reason to suppose myself, and I had up to that time actually supposed myself, to be unnoticed in that work. I had tried to keep out of it, indeed, for reasons I have not here space to indicate. The article I found, at my expense, was most delusively defective. Thereupon, alarmed as to what might happen to the present work, if a publisher, applied to to make publication of it, should turn to that provoking article, I wrote to Mr. Whitelaw Reid a letter containing a card I wished him to publish in the *Tribune*, in the course of which card my relation to Chief Justice Chase as his biographer was most distinctly indicated. Mr. Reid replied, in patronizing tone, as an "old editor," impertinently offering unasked advice. His letter bears date April 7th. Yet this man has since either written for the *Tribune*, or permitted the *Tribune* to contain, without correction, a coarse editorial, implying total ignorance of the fact just mentioned.

Whether wisely or unwisely, my policy was to give extensive notice of my biographic undertaking, so that I might draw out matter which, otherwise, might not come out at all. The *National Republican*, at Washington, contained two letters from me on the subject, and the *Ohio State Journal* three, all published during our hero's life-time. He took no exception to that course, and I know

that he read at least one of the letters referred to; for he mentioned and commented on that one.

Just here I may relate an anecdote that may appear decidedly significant.

A short time before I became Chief Justice Chase's private secretary, I visited him one morning. I found with him Governor Lawrence and Mr. R. C. Parsons. He took out of my hands Kennedy's *Life of Wirt* and Bigelow's edition of Franklin's *Autobiography*, works belonging to my own collection. That occasioned talk about books. I felicitated Governor Lawrence on a French book I had read, of which he was the author. Thereupon "dear Parsons" felt inspired to talk about a book of mine, which he said my publishers had sent to him to review. Good Heavens! what a notion! But he said my book had proved too deep for him, entirely. I expressed my conviction that he told the truth. He said that he was serious. I assured him again that I did not doubt it. Then he tried another form of making that assurance clear; and I again assured him that I had no doubt of his assurance. By that time the Chief Justice had begun to be markedly amused. "Dear Parsons," even then, could not persuade himself to quit the subject. I assured him gravely that I had no doubt at all that my book had proved too deep for him, though it had not proved too deep for Mr. Rice, his townsman, or for the *North American Review*, or for the *Independent*, or for the *New Englander*, or for —; but I will not continue the list.

"Dear Parsons" evidently had an object. I supposed that I divined his object; but I knew what he did not, as to the estimation of that former work of mine by the Chief Justice. And I have no doubt at all that that little failure of "dear Parsons" to make game of me, was one of the things that tended to increase the attachment between the hero of this volume and its author.

But the incident was one to be remembered. And I did remember it when I saw the relation of "dear Parsons" to the already indicated plot against this book.

CHAPTER LIII.

TALKS AND WALKS WITH THE CHIEF JUSTICE—GRANT AND CHASE.

THE author of this work had many walks and many deeply interesting talks with its hero.

We talked more than once about the President, and this at my special instance. It was evident that I could not use the material with which he had furnished me without saying more or less about Ulysses Grant—a man of whom my first impression had been eminently favorable, but whom I had afterward come to regard unfavorably.

I may here avail myself of a letter, written to the President last summer, in these words:

“WASHINGTON, *June 19, 1873.*

“SIR: I shall take the liberty of sending to your Excellency some printed pages, indicating the plans, the motives, and the contemplated scope of a work, in which much must be said of your apparent tendencies and past demeanor.

“That I am not prejudiced, as I have reason to believe I was, for some years, against your Excellency, is very largely, though not wholly, due to some uncommonly careful conversations with the late Chief Justice.

“I explained to him my ardent desire to do you entire justice in the work referred to, telling him that your apparent magnanimity in the Runkle case, in which I was of counsel for accused—a conversation I had had with Mr. Justice Swayne—and some other talks—of which some were with my brother, Colonel Warden—had strongly tended to convince me that I had been, for some time, at fault, respecting your true characteristics and your real conduct; but that I was very anxious to be well advised as possible on a subject so important to my biographic and historic undertaking.

“He conversed with me quite freely, in the interest of that anxiety, on more than one occasion; and always manifested high appreciation of your military merits and your general rectitude of purpose, while he quite severely censured the Congress, and decidedly condemned some things which you were understood to sanction.

“He ascribed to you exalted love of country, and acknowledged that he had misjudged you, years ago, especially in 1868.

“To set out here more than the general effect of what he said about your Excellency, would be to make a very voluminous commu-

nication of this letter. But, mindful of the uncertainty of human life, and taking into view that my work aforesaid may not fully go before the public for some time to come, I take this means of doing simple justice to the dead as well as to the living.

"I put at your Excellency's free disposal the foregoing statement; and I take great pleasure in acknowledging that, though I never spoke or wrote a word about you, which did not, at the time, appear to me well warranted, I am now entirely satisfied that I have unintentionally done injustice, publicly as well as privately, to your intentions and your actions both.

"With great respect,
"THE PRESIDENT."

R. B. WARDEN.

That letter remained unanswered up to the 7th of February, 1874. On that day I again addressed the President, saying, in substance, simply, that I had, while he was at Long Branch, in 1873, addressed to him a perfectly courteous letter, on a subject of supposed interest to him; and that whether he had received it or not, still remained unknown to me. Thereupon I received this note:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION,
"WASHINGTON, *February 11, 1874.*

"SIR: The President directs me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 7th inst., and say that he did receive your letter last summer, and supposed it was acknowledged at the time. He wishes me to assure you of his thanks for the kindness which dictated it, and his regrets that he should have seemed to neglect it.

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

LEVI P. LUCKEY, *Secretary.*

"MR. R. B. WARDEN, Washington, D. C."

The Chief Justice needed little more than a hint to make him understand my deep desire to have this work as free as possible from aught resembling injustice to the President of the United States.

He had read the report of a speech in which his biographer had freely criticised the course of citizens whom he called Grantites. He knew that it must always be impossible for me to see in any man a hero, to be worshiped as the citizens referred to were, or pretended to be, disposed to worship Grant in 1872. But he could readily understand that his biographer would naturally wish to learn as much as possible about the President, and to set aside every prejudice against that eminent citizen which self-examination could detect, or which conversation with well informed acquaintances of Grant could have the effect of exposing.

He was evidently pleased to find me so disposed. He talked

with me about the Congress and the President. Of the former he did not speak praises; of the latter he spoke kindly and appreciatively. He seemed to think more highly of the President than of his party, to which, on the whole, he evidently preferred the Democratic party.

I did not agree with him in that preference; which, nevertheless, I could not consider as the less entitling him to my regard.

Among the things he said to me about Grant, I now proceed to mention one. He said, in substance:

"I am free to confess, I was mistaken about Grant, in 1868. He had never been a Republican. He had never been opposed to slavery, as far as I could learn, before the insurrection of the South. I had no evidence that he would be disposed, if elected President, to do any better for the South—any more to bring the South to the required relation to the Union and the Constitution—than had been done by President Johnson. I feared that, if elected President, he would be even more in the way of a right reconstruction than Johnson had been; that he would out-Johnson Johnson. I thought that, if elected, he would not carry out the ideas which had organized the Republican party in the first instance. I confess, if I had not thought so, I would not have allowed my name to be used as a candidate for the Presidency in 1868; and I must acknowledge that I now think I did Grant unintentional injustice in so supposing. It seems to me that, though he was not well prepared for the Presidency, he has paid more respect than he might have been expected to pay to the ideas of the party which supported him. He has done or sanctioned many things which I can not approve, and he has left undone many things which I think he could have done, and should have done; but he seems to me, on the whole, a man of good intentions, with a really exalted love of country."

That is nearly all this volume feels required, or even free, to say about Ulysses Grant. I never yet have spoken to the President. I never heard him say one word. I was not even present when our hero, for the second time, administered to him the Presidential oath, though I was in Washington and passed the grand inaugural pageant as I went my way westward from the Capitol. This volume is not written by a hero-worshiper. But I sincerely trust that the good opinion of Ulysses Grant, expressed by Salmon Portland Chase, may appear to have been fully warranted.

We have seen how our hero, for some time, could write about the

Blairs. Allow me, next, to call attention to this extract from a pleasant little note from Hon. Montgomery Blair to me:

"For a time, as you intimate, he may have had some resentment toward some of the Blairs. He certainly had reason to feel resentment, and would have been something more or less than a man if he had (not) felt it. But he was too great and good a man to harbor such feelings long toward persons who, though too earnest in controversy, do not themselves cherish malice, and who, after the political divergence had passed away, which alone led to any personal estrangement, were ready to have supported him for the highest position in the nation.

"And accordingly you see, by the manner in which he closes his last brief note to me, that if there ever was any other than a kindly feeling toward me, arising out of my opposition to his views, our old friendly relations had been resumed before his career was closed on earth. He had not only pardoned any wrong I had done him before he went hence, but he was my 'sincere friend.'

"I certainly tried to be his friend. I remonstrated with him very earnestly against continuing to discharge his duties on the bench, telling him that men in his situation ought to allow their friends to counsel them, that he had earned the right to a leave of absence, that he was not giving himself a fair chance, etc.

"Yours, truly,

M. BLAIR.

"WASHINGTON, May 12, 1873."

In the same note, Judge Blair furnished me with the copy of the note addressed to him, as follows, by our hero:

"601 E STREET, MONDAY MORNING,

"28th April, 1873.

"MY DEAR MR. BLAIR: I have not read Mr. Adams's oration. There is no reason, I think, to apprehend any damage to Mr. Lincoln's memory from the exaggeration of Mr. Seward's merits. But, if my health permitted, I should have no objection to comparing views with yourself and Mr. Welles, and letting the results be made public.

Sincerely, your friend,

"S. P. CHASE."

Nine days after so writing, the Chief Justice ceased to live. That little note appears to me a very precious document.

The present work may well serve, in part, to correct some of the statements in the already mentioned work of Hon. Gideon Welles, entitled *Lincoln and Seward*. In that work, as I conceive, Mr. Lincoln is not a little damaged by his indiscreet defender's disposition to disparage Seward.

Every scrap of paper in which I find a word addressed to me by the Chief Justice, now appears to me most precious. At hand is

this undated scrap of writing, on an also undated note addressed by me to the Chief Justice :

"Will you come to breakfast to-morrow, at 9? Professor Pierce will be here. S. P. CHASE."

The breakfast, to which I was thus invited, was a thing to be remembered, though it is to me less tenderly memorable than the breakfast of the 3d of May, the last I had with "my Chief," as he was not displeased to have me call him. I remember also, with peculiar interest, the breakfast with him on the day when he started on his last visit to Richmond. But the day on which Professor Pierce was entertained at breakfast, is a day marked in my remembrance by a talk about the Ernest Institute and Popular Nomology. The chief objects of that still but embryonic Institute had been explained to the Chief Justice. Proper popularization of the popularizable parts of jurisprudence and State science was a thing in which he could not fail to take some interest; but he agreed with me that it seemed almost impossible to convince our *savants* that nomology can be considered as belonging to the order of true sciences. Indeed, I dare not say that he himself was ever a deep student of nomology.

Yet I would not be understood to underrate his legal learning. I have already intimated that I thought he did injustice to himself as to his legal learning and ability.

In this connection, quite as well as in another, I may offer all that I propose to add to what I have elsewhere advanced, about his power and his learning as a legist.

In endeavoring to aid the readers of these pages to appreciate the legal lore and other learning taken by the hero of this volume into the Chief Justiceship of the United States, perhaps the author is in danger of appearing quite too "Western," and therefore too narrow, in his notions.¹ Let the reader bear in mind the maxim, "Strike, but hear!"

¹ Among the far from creditable attempts which were made to disparage, in advance, this volume, may be mentioned an announcement in the *Publishers' Weekly*, of three lives of Chase as in progress. Two of them were said to be under very happy auspices. Of this work was said with brevity, if not with the true soul of wit, that the author was "a Western gentleman, Judge Worden." Such is fame! And such are some men's manners. *Eh bien!* I trust I prove myself, at least, a gentleman, although a "Western" one.

I am neither a native nor a resident of Ohio; but it has long seemed to me that there is something wonderfully typical in the whole tract of territory comprehended in the Cincinnati valley and its environs, and that Ohio is, in many aspects, the most representative of all the States. Ohio notably represents the land, which, though its ample boundaries inclose much less than half of the new continent, is generally called America. New York and California are also very typical. They represent, however, not so much the country as some districts of the country. So it is with the "Palmetto State," and with Louisiana. But Ohio, never equaling, in some respects, the States named with her, much surpasses each of them in typicalness. You behold no "Golden Gate," no stately Hudson, no great spread of waters, where Ohio built her most characteristic city. California has mountains, and the Empire State has mountainous expanses; a "new Switzerland" delights the tourist in New Hampshire; through the Keystone State, the Old Dominion, the two Carolinas, Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee, Kentucky, pass the Alleghanies or their cognate elevations; in Missouri, there appear forerunners of the Rocky Mountains; in the heights last named are aspirations and depressions, illustrating the majestic force of contrast in the mountains,—while the territory of Ohio, generally level, is but hilly even where it borders the two terraces of Cincinnati. Once, the Cincinnati could anticipate the flourishing of a new *Rheingau* in the lands about these terraces; but California has surpassed Ohio as the Vineyard of America. Then, in important points, New England is more representative than any other portion of the country; and a like remark is applicable to the South. But, on the whole, Ohio, in her land, her people, and her polity and jurisprudence, is more representative than any of her sisters, wayward or demure.

While Salmon Portland Chase yet lived, I wrote, and the *Ohio State Journal* published, three letters; one of which, I know, was sent to him, as I expected that it would be. I have reason to believe he did not read it; though he would have done so had he lived a little longer, and been somewhat more at leisure. He and I conversed about those letters, and I told him that I wished him, at his leisure, to peruse them carefully. One of them (the second) reads, in part, as follows:

"It is worth more than a passing thought, that the Chief Justice set out, as observed in my preceding letter, as a so-called literary

lawyer. He composed, for publication, verse as well as prose. Yet he was early chosen as a bank attorney, and was destined to become renowned as Secretary of the Treasury.

"Bank-notes and the notes of music seem not very near akin. A poetic genius is not considered likely to apply itself to financiering. Did a true poetic genius manifest itself in the verse-making of Chief Justice Chase? A turn for making metrical and rhymed expression of poetic thought and feeling is not seldom seen where no poetic genius is to be discerned. For instance, Warren Hastings, who was certainly no very gifted bard, made verses which admirers could call poetry.

"The legal teacher of Chief Justice Chase, the tuneful Wirt, not only wrote poetic prose; he versified with ease and grace. Perhaps his poetic compositions never equaled those of his illustrious pupil; but only a mere eulogist would venture to maintain that either teacher or pupil came into the world to give splendid illustration to the truth, '*poeta nascitur*.'

"It is far more the taste for poetry than the ability to write it, that displays itself in these two eminent legists. But the fact that each of them indulged and cultivated love of poetry, and, decidedly, had truly poetic fancy and imagination, as well as the emotional characteristics which appear in the souls born to court the muses with success, is not to be forgotten in comparing and contrasting their distinctions.

"Wirt was a musician. Chase could never either sing or play. But no ungenial man could have composed the verses which the pen of the Chief Justice offered to the public when he was a legal youngster.

"I have had the privilege of reading his diaries as well as a good number of his letters. If I were now ready to communicate to readers all the revelations of those diaries and letters, no peruser of these paragraphs could fail to see that the hand by which those diaries and letters were composed was guided by a truly genial heart.

"The sad, sweet story of the earlier sorrows of that heart I must not now relate.

"Wirt died of grief, they say—of grief for the loss of a young, bright daughter. I have lately told elsewhere the story of that undying, killing sorrow; and I must again relate it in another place. Chase grieved, perhaps, as deeply, during years of his young manhood; but his nature was endowed with greater strength than had been given to the nature of his amiable, admirable legal teacher.

"Something half poetic runs through the whole legal life of Chase, except where the prosaic only could be manifest. The conclusion of his argument in the celebrated Vanzandt case reminded me of the poetic prose of Milton.

"Wirt was a good lawyer. Chase is a great legist.

"He is not so learned in so-called 'case-law' as his brother, Wayne, or as Senator Thurman; he is not so eloquent as many lawyers one could name; but, take him for all in all, he has no superior within my knowledge as a jurist; and his argument of legal questions, whether at the bar or on the bench, has always been felicitous in thought as well as in expression.

"In Ohio, much attention has been given to the limitations of the

local vigor of the English common law, affected by constitutional provisions, by legislative enactment, and by the customs, modes of life, and ideas of the people of that State. The maxim, *cessante ratione cessat lex*, has there been deeply studied. To discern those limitations, and to comprehend the application of that maxim, is to be a statesman.

"This was evidently very clear to Salmon Portland Chase, when he had finished his laborious and faithful compilation of the Statutes of Ohio. It is not so evident as it ought to be to many lawyers, who have massive dockets and rich clients. Many lawyers are apparently of the opinion that the law is an unnecessary study to the legist. Mr. Chase was never of that ilk. He was, in all things, thorough, patient, practical, and therefore, in the best sense, philosophical.

"Therefore it was that his agitation as a legist against slavery was so effective. What inspired it, how it came to be an earnest and determined agitation, and how it fairly forced the agitator into candidature, I will not, in this communication, undertake to intimate."

It seems to me entirely safe to stand for that entirely unpretending judgment, save in one particular. My subsequent studies of the legal learning and ability of William Wirt have tended to make me question whether it is right to rank him below our hero as a legist.

Wirt, we have observed, was what is called a "literary lawyer." Now, your literary lawyer's legal learning, and even his ability as a mere advocate, the whole body of mere lawyers will be always found disparaging. But Wirt was really, all things considered, one of the best lawyers of this country.¹

¹In an article on *The Supreme Court*, in the *Cincinnati American*, our hero, then a young lawyer, wrote as follows:

"Leaving the bench, and descending to the bar, the names of Webster and Wirt immediately occur to the mind. The action of Mr. Webster's mind seems to be peculiar. His distinguishing attributes are clearness and force. His views are always lucid, and are presented with great power. They appear to be the result of deep reflection, rather than of study, and seem to indicate a preference of the enlarged reason of that universal justice, which Cicero styles 'the wisdom of command and prohibition,' to the more artificial methods of the common law. He is remarkable for strength rather than for acuteness; for the herculean vigor with which he grapples with his adversary, than for the dexterity with which he subverts his positions. He seldom attempts the sublime; but when he does soar, his flight is upon no middle wing, and for no ignoble purpose. His enunciation is clear and distinct. His voice is deep and sonorous; his language plain and intelligible, yet chaste and elegant. Sometimes his phraseology is peculiarly striking and expressive. His manner, though somewhat deficient in ease and grace, is dignified and impressive. Such is a meagre description of Daniel Webster as a lawyer.

Hon. Reverdy Johnson, who presided at a meeting of the members of the bar of the Supreme Court of the United States, held in the court-room of that tribunal in the Capitol, October 13, 1873, said, in the course of his opening statement:

"As our late loss was that of the presiding judge, it is sufficient to pay a passing tribute to the memory of those who preceded him as well as to that of the late chief. It may with truth be said that no nation in the world has produced abler and purer judges than Jay and Ellsworth, Marshall, Taney, and Chase. The labors of Marshall and Taney, covering so many years of service, do, more and more, as time rolls on, command the admiration of the profession, and of the country. Chief Justice Chase's term was so brief that the lawyer readily remembers the few judgments which he pronounced.

"The ability of these judgments, the full knowledge which they display, and the admirable judicial style in which they were rendered, filled the professional mind not only with admiration, but with wonder. For many years he had ceased to practice the profession, devoting himself almost exclusively to the political contests of the day. His immediate labors before his elevation to the bench were, it is true, excessively arduous, and evinced the greatest ability, but they bore little or no analogy to the subjects which he had to treat when he became the head of the tribunal. It was surprising, therefore, that, at the very threshold of his duties, he exhibited a knowledge entirely adequate to their able and satisfactory discharge.

"Mr. Wirt is the great rival of Mr. Webster at the bar. To say that he is worthy to be so, is a high, yet far from a just tribute to his merit. The character of his mind is not generally understood. There is a general impression that he is distinguished for brilliancy rather than strength, that he is endowed with a fertile fancy and splendid imagination, but is deficient in the power of deep thought and logical investigation. Never was opinion more groundless. True it is that he can paint in the most glowing colors of fancy, and true that he is master of all the graces of eloquence. But these are but auxiliary, subordinate powers. They are but a light drapery, which he can put on and off at will. The higher powers are equally his, and are far more frequently exhibited in actual exercise. His investigations are remarkably profound. There is no principle, however slightly connected with the case, which he does not examine in all its bearings. His argumentation is close, severe, and logical; of course, exceedingly powerful.

"His mind is thoroughly imbued with legal learning, and that system of reason which is peculiar to the law. He grasps at once the whole subject in all its extension; and, at the same time, inspects the detail in all its minuteness. His power of sarcasm is tremendous, and woe to the unlucky wight who provokes its exercise! His generalship in the conduct of a cause is admirable. Every strong post is fortified with assiduous care, and the intervening spaces are not left unguarded. Few of his positions can be assaulted with hope of success, and few are the contests in which he is obliged to yield to superior strength. In fine, it may be justly said of him, while as an orator he is acknowledged to equal any, in strength of mind, depth of thought, power of argument, and splendor of genius he is surpassed by none."

The occasion will not permit me to refer particularly to any of his opinions; but I know you will not think me going too far when I say that, judging him by those opinions, he proved himself in all respects the equal of the great men who preceded him; and that his uniform kindness and courtesy to all the members of the profession commanded their esteem and regard."

I beg pardon; but it seems to me that was not said with full knowledge of the facts. Whoever knew the legal life of Chase at Cincinnati, knew him not only as a legal genius, but as a man of thorough legal learning. He was not distinguished as a "jury lawyer;" he was not, addressing a jury, happy as were other advocates that I could name; but his addresses to the court were very models. Then, one thought not of his troubled utterance. His lofty reasoning, so fitly worded, then made one forget his elocution, the defects of which were wholly natural, and pay to his ideas that attention which is never given to an ordinary thinker, whether he address us with the voice or with the pen.

Yet we are told that he went to the Supreme Court without appreciating that tribunal! So a writer in the *Bench and Bar* would have us understand; and so would others have us concede.

But the truth is, *once a lawyer, always a lawyer*. Nothing ever made the man whose life we study inattentive to those parts of legal learning which are of the greatest interest to the judicial mind. And never did he cease to reverence the great tribunal in which he succeeded Taney.

As for Taney, what should here be said of him? Somewhat more than a passing word I feel obliged, though most reluctantly, to say about that legal luminary.

That I can not bring myself to praise him, results in great part from my comparison of his life at the bar with his life on the bench.

At the bar, he argued Jacob Gruber's case. If he told the truth, as we must believe he did, what he there said in favor of the cause of freedom—what he uttered there against the darling and peculiar institution of the South—was not merely the language of an advocate. It was the studied utterance of a mature mind, and a heart carefully instructed. As just intimated, he was not then young. He had arrived at middle age. He was not, like Chase, a man born in a free State. Born in a slave State, he had lived nearly all his life within the borders of that State.

To reconcile the spirit of his utterances at that time with the

spirit of his *dicta* in the Dred Scott case, must be the task of a fool, a madman, or a knave.

But how was it with his perceptions? Mr. Vansantvoord, in his biographic sketch of Taney,¹ yields this information :

"Mr. Wirt, though in general chary of his compliments, did not hesitate to do ample justice to the great abilities of his rival. On one occasion, . . . he alluded to Taney . . . as 'the man of moonlight mind. I mean,' he added, 'the moonlight of the Arctic, where you have all the light of day without its glare.'"

Neither the light nor the glare of a fine intellectual day can I discern in the mind of Roger Brooke Taney, as reflected in his utterances as a judge. The best argument that could be made in mitigation of the sentence history must certainly pronounce against him, would, it seems to me, make much of Wirt's conception of his character as a "man of moonlight mind"—a character of mind too often seen in legal luminaries, I conceive.

And how was it with Marshall? Marshall, like the hero, one of whose biographers he was, has been almost apotheosized. It is almost as perilous to speak of him with simple truthfulness as it would be to write a simply true biography of Washington. But some things I must venture to submit about the most illustrious of our hero's predecessors on the bench of our supreme tribunal.

Marshall was a soldier and a politician before he was commissioned as Chief Justice. He was not profound in statesmanship, though he had rendered diplomatic service. When he was commissioned as the highest judge of our highest court, he had but little legal learning. As an advocate, he never could have equaled Salmon Portland Chase. And, certainly, he took with him on the bench far less of legal learning and ability than our hero had in December, 1864.

Yet he achieved, by extraordinary merit, aided by the force of time and chance, a splendid reputation as a judge.

That reputation would, indeed, be less, if it were well remembered that he did some very unbecoming things as Chief Justice—things done in the interest of party spirit. For example, let me mention the celebrated case of *Marbury v. Madison*.²

Mr. Randall not only says, but clearly proves, that "toward Mr. Jefferson, politically and personally," Marshall "entertained the deepest aversion;" and he well adds, "And it is but justice to say

¹ *Lives of the Chief Justices*, 478. ² 1 Cranch, 138.

that these feelings were heartily reciprocated by the latter."¹ Yet it seems but proper to concede that Marshall, though a warm Adams man, and though known as a "moderate Federalist"—was at least, in general, almost a no-party man. And I would say that there was more of the Adams man than of the Federalist, that there was more of personal and political aversion toward Jefferson than of devotion to the Federal party, in his action in *Marbury v. Madison*.

That case is not of interest to legists only. Every enlightened citizen should be familiar with it. But I must confine myself to one or two remarks about its indications as to Marshall's feeling for his office.

He decides, distinctly, that the court has no jurisdiction of the subject-matter; and then, as if to foreshadow Taney's misbehavior in the Dred Scott case, goes off into mere *obiter*. He unbecomingly expresses an opinion as to the case that *might* have called for an examination; and all this, that he may impertinently censure the Chief Magistrate of the United States—a personage he hates.

These are the hard, historical facts of the case. I grieve to have to own that they are undeniable.

It must not be inferred, however, that Salmon Portland Chase did not reverence John Marshall,² or that the composer of this

¹ *Life of Jefferson*, ii, 86.

² In the already cited article, contributed to the Cincinnati *American* by our hero as a young man, appear also the sentences:

"The Chief Justice has long been venerable for the blameless purity, the conscientious fidelity, and the extraordinary ability with which he has exercised his high functions. His mind is equally remarkable for the reach of comprehension, by which it takes in the remotest relations and consequences of things, and the wonderful power of discrimination, by which it reaches at once the precise question in every controversy, and tears from it every folding which enwraps it—to the eye of his mind, facts are naked, and to his understanding a few principles are the condensed expression of the law. 'He has the rare faculty,' said a friend who knows him intimately, and is capable, if any man is, of estimating his mental character, 'he has the rare faculty of looking at a subject with a simple directness and intensity, that resolves it into its elements.' With an intellect so singularly endowed, and with learning various and extensive as the requisitions made upon it, and with an integrity that suspicion has never questioned, it is obvious that he is eminently qualified for his exalted and responsible station. Happy is our country, that in the youth of our national existence, one has been found to preside in her highest court of judicature, whose decisions upon the delicate and important questions, at this period perpetually arising, by their wisdom, their justice, and their explicitness, commend themselves equally to the understanding, the conscience, and the heart of all her citizens."

work would raise a question as to the ultimate title of John Marshall's memory to high regard.

I think, indeed, that Chase idealized the character of Marshall. But John Marshall, like George Washington, was but a man. Like Salmon Portland Chase, he was a far from faultless person. He had foibles and grave faults, as had George Washington.

And here allow me to submit a farther word, in simple justice to the method and the spirit of this book. That method guides us to just judgment of our hero. Such a method in a life of Marshall, such a method in a life of Washington, might seem iconoclastic. After all, however, Washington, the real man, was nobler than the myth. He was a real worthy, if a real worthy ever lived beneath the heavens. Marshall, also, far from faultless as he was, was a true worthy. And it is with confidence that I expect a favorable final judgment of the hero of this work by every fair-minded reader, though I have, from time to time, throughout the work, exposed what seems to me the naked truth about the errors and misconduct of the man whose life we study.

Such is the true spirit of this work. Such was its real spirit, always. The prophetic criticisms of it—some of which were simply savage—were as foolish as ferocious.

CHAPTER LIV.

CHASE AND THE THEATER—HIS RELIGION, HIS AFFECTIONS, AND HIS
MANNERS—ALTERED HEALTH.

DANIEL DOUGHERTY, Esq., of Philadelphia, is a lawyer. But sometimes he goes lecturing about Orators and Oratory, and about Actors and Acting. He allows himself, indeed, to be described, in show-bill-like hand-bills, as the greatest living orator. In truth, it seems to me, he is not an orator at all. He is, I grant a tolerable actor, *for an amateur*, in spite of the trick in his walk, and the trick in his talk, and his nasal cadencies, and his bad pronunciation of the first letter of the alphabet of his mother-tongue. In short, as a performer he is rather entertaining. Having heard him about Orators and Oratory, I, quite ignorant that he was an acquaintance of Chief Justice Chase, advised the latter to go, see, and hear aforesaid Daniel Dougherty perform, in a so-called lecture on Actors and Acting.

Greatly entertained was the chief justice, of whom many evidently thought, while Mr. Dougherty repeated the words put by Shakespeare into Wolsey's mouth as follows :

“Cromwell, I did not think to shed a tear
In all my miseries; but thou hast forced me,
Out of thy honest truth, to play the woman.
Let's dry our eyes: and thus far hear me, Cromwell;
And—when I am forgotten, as I shall be,
And sleep in dull, cold marble, where no mention
Of me more must be heard of—say, I taught thee—
Say, Wolsey—that once trod the ways of glory,
And sounded all the depths and shoals of honor—
Found thee a way, out of his wreck, to rise in—
A safe and sure one, though thy master missed it.
Mark but my fall and that that ruined me.
Cromwell, I charge thee, fling away ambition;
By that sin fell the angels; how can man, then,
The image of his Maker, hope to win by 't?
Love thyself last: cherish those hearts that hate thee:
Corruption wins not more than honesty.

Still in thy right hand carry gentle peace,
To silence envious tongues. Be just and fear not;
Let all the ends thou aim'st at be thy country's,
Thy God's, and truth's; then if thou fall'st, O Cromwell,
Thou fall'st a blessed martyr."

Much the best part of the "lecture" was the rather too stagy reading of these words; and those by which they are immediately followed were also rendered very fairly. To say that every eye in the audience was turned toward the chief justice would be to disparage the attention given to the "lecturer;" but one felt that every one else was thinking, then, of the man whose high career and character now occupy the thinking of my gentle reader.

Daniel Dougherty, Esq., was certainly as happy, at that moment, as he could have been had he been, indeed, the "greatest living orator." He was applauded to the very echo. And Chief Justice Chase applauded him as heartily as did the others.

The next morning, I was called upon by the chief justice for an opinion of the "lecture" aforesaid. I objected to the lecturer's apparent failure to appreciate the golden opportunity he then had, and, before that time, had more than once had, to show, if he was able to show, the higher, deeper, broader interest of the drama to religion and to morals as well as to high art.

"My chief" agreed with me in that behalf. We had, indeed, talked of the stage before; and he had half regretted that he had so seldom visited the theater.

That was to me a wholesome indication. As already mentioned, I had never met him in the theater at Cincinnati, where I had often met some of the best men I have ever intimately known. And now, speaking for myself alone, I have no hesitation in expressing the opinion, that he would have been more wholesomely religious had he visited the theater more frequently, and devoted more attention to the plays of Shakspeare, which might almost be described as a second Bible.

But, for all that, his religiousness was eminently creditable to him. Whatever it may have been at one period, it was, toward the last, neither bigoted nor superficial. It was very like his love of country, which was cosmopolitan and philanthropic.

Was he, after all, a genial man—a man to love as well as to admire?

No inordinately ambitious man was ever truly amiable. But, I

trust, I have already shown that Salmon Portland Chase was really quite moderate in his ambition.

He was fairly worried into presidential candidature. Perfect demonstration of that fact I can not make, indeed ; but I have at least offered evidence that very strongly tends to prove, that what I have just said is but the truth, respecting the connection of our hero's name, and even his occasional desires and aspirations, with the presidency.¹

I have not attempted to conceal his faults. But is it not of great significance that this man so freely opened to me all the secrets of his life ?

He did not hide that Barney debt. I found among the papers which he furnished for my biographic use two copies of the letter, showing his indebtedness—his most unwise, his weak indebtedness—to Hiram Barney, while the latter was Collector at New York and he, himself, was Secretary of the Treasury. He hid nothing. He directed me to open all his letters when he should be absent, saying that he had no secrets, thenceforth, from his biographer. Is not a *mens conscia recti* here apparent ?

He was well acquainted with my weaknesses. but he also knew that my love of truth, as I discerned it, was a very passionate attachment. He did not expect me, he did not desire me, to deny or to conceal the truth about him.

Great is my reliance on this indication. Great is my reliance also on the indications of our conversations touching love of country and our talks about religion.

And now I wish to call attention to the Psalm that seems to have been his favorite. It is the 119th ; and, according to the version he used, concludes as follows :

“TAU.

“Let my cry come near before thee, O Lord ! give me understanding according to thy word.

“Let my supplication come before thee : deliver me according to thy word.

“My lips shall utter praise, when thou hast taught me thy statutes.

¹ In Chapter L. I omitted to state, as to Mr. Hassaurek, that I understood that distinguished journalist to base his opposition to Chase, in 1872, chiefly on the ground that no Judge of the Supreme Court ought to allow himself to be a Presidential candidate.

"My tongue shall speak of thy word: for all thy commandments are righteousness.

"Let thine hand help me; for I have chosen thy precepts.

"I have longed for thy salvation, O Lord! and thy law is my delight.

"Let my soul live, and it shall praise thee; and let thy judgments help me.

"I have gone astray like a lost sheep; seek thy servant; for I do not forget thy commandments."

Feeling deeply my unworthiness to speak at large of holy themes, I still presume to repeat, that the supreme distinction of the life we have been studying is deep, though it may be somewhat dark, religiousness.

To whom should that be an indifferent consideration? When life seems full of joy or glory, we may care but little for religion; but when some great grief descends upon us, even if it fall not like the thunderbolt, but rather like

"The gentle rain from heaven
Upon the place beneath,"

how is it with us then?

Ah! then, at least, we feel there is no God but God.

According to that strange John Ruskin, grief must be classed as a noble passion. Truly, that is not ill said. The works of sorrow, as already hinted, are more beautiful than all the works of joy.

Have we not seen how wonderfully sorrow wrought in the heart and through the lips and pen of Salmon Portland Chase? The well-nigh tragic death of his first wife—have we not seen how it inspired and guided him for years, during the very strength of his noble manhood?

Possibly, that sorrow made his piety almost too sombre. So, at least, most German readers will be apt to think.

Yet is it easy to misunderstand the joyous views of the German. Few Americans would be ready to distinguish German tendencies and tones of thought and feeling in the terms, in which William Schlegel describes the difference between the ideal of Christian or Romantic Art, including poetry, and the Art called Classic.

A foot-note¹ enables readers of the German to appreciate the man-

¹ The passage referred to is in the lectures on Dramatic Art and Literature. Part of it is as follows:

"Die Anschauung des Unendlichen hat das Endliche vernichtet; das Leben ist

ner as well as the matter of the fine comparison referred to. But I am not at liberty to assume that every reader understands the very words of the very interesting extract contained in that foot-note. The substance of their meaning is that, in the ideal of Christian or romantic art, which Schlegel is comparing with classic art, the contemplation of the Infinite has annihilated the Finite; life has become a world of shadows and night; and not until we pass the boundary between this life and the life beyond the grave, rises the endless day of our real existence. Such a religion, says this eminently German thinker, must waken into distinct consciousness the suspicion, slumbering in each feeling heart, that we are longing for a bliss, here unattainable, that no outward object can ever quite fill our souls, and that all enjoyment is a fleeting illusion.

No discerning reader understands that I consider Schlegel a perfectly representative German—as typical, for example, as Goethe, or the two Grimmas, or the two Humboldts. Nor will any reader suppose that those words of Schlegel are presented as describing the ideal of felicity which every good German contemplates with aspiration. But it seemed proper to present those ideas of a German, lecturing in Vienna, on dramatic art and literature, and to say, that, contrary to the notion of so many non-Germans in this country, very many beer-drinking, wine-glorifying Germans, fully accept the theory of Christian joy and sorrow, intimated by that lecturer.

I acknowledge that the true characteristics of the German often appear to me precisely opposite to the traits attributed to him by English and New-English prejudices.

Chase did not read deeply the German literature. He might have been more wholesomely religious had he been able to read appreciatively such verse as the *Frau Schnips* of Buerger, for example, or as the just cited lectures of William Schlegel on dramatic art and literature.

We conversed, on more than one occasion, about what appeared to both of us the fearful error which the Roman Catholics committed in declaring that the Pope is, in certain utterances, to be deemed in-

zur Schattenwelt und zur Nacht geworden, und erst jenseits geht der ewige Tag des wesentlichen Daseins auf. Eine solche Religion musz die Ahnung, die in allen goefühlvollen Herzen schlummert, zum deutlichen Bewusstsein wecken, dass wir nach einer hier unnerreichbaren Glückseligkeit trachten, dass kien äusserer Gegenstand jemals unsere Seele ganz wird erfüllen können, dass aller Genuss eine flüchtige Täuschung ist."

fallible. I took some trouble to define my understanding of that declaration. But I did not hide from him how strong my feeling for that church remained. He sympathized with me in that behalf, and spoke most kindly and appreciatively of Roman Catholics and Roman Catholicity.

He did not like the men whom I called bigots of unbelief—such, for example, as Henry Thomas Buckle, and such lesser lights as Moncure D. Conway. When I asked him once how he could read such and such works without doubting as to revelation, he explained by saying, shortly :

“I do n't read 'em.”

I do not ascribe to him the proper interest in the relations between faith and science. Nor do I ask leave to vindicate or even to indicate my own religious views. My object is to indicate the tone and turn of religious feeling in the hero of this work.

As already intimated, we had delightful walks and talks, a full account of which would fill a volume of considerable size. But I must hasten toward the conclusion of this work. I have not room to say much more about the intercourse referred to, nor can I consider that it would be well to add much to the revelations I have made already.

I must not, however, omit to relate this anecdote : One day, we traversed a place where he had lately had a heavy fall. I told him what Captain Burritt, of the *Washington Herald*, had related to me of that accident. He said :

“Oh! that's nothing.”

For a moment I felt silenced. Then I said, with some emotion :

“It may seem nothing to you ; but every thing that affects your welfare is of interest to me. I am not a good flatterer, but I believe I am a good friend.”

He answered, turning his full gaze upon me, and in a tone of deep feeling :

“I believe *you* are!”

And so we dropped the subject, and walked on.

From that time till we parted finally, our intercourse grew more

and affectionately intimate. One morning, when I was reading, he came and leaned over me, putting his arm around my neck, and reading with me. The work so read was Kennedy's *Life of Wirt*.

I often read to him Wirt's letters, in which he apparently found much to interest him deeply.

I have not intended that it should be understood that before the intimacy here referred to, I had ever been extremely intimate with the chief justice. But we came to love each other dearly.

Now and then, indeed, his old imperiousness made his bearing very trying; and I had to let him know that if he could not better bear himself toward me, it would not be possible for our relations to continue. Once, I wrote him a note to that effect. He was going to Richmond, and I sent my note so that he would find it there. But then I repented, and, in another note, which, at his request, I read to him at the breakfast table, requested him to send me back the other note, unopened. In the second note, I indicated my intention to bear all I could, in view of his greater age and his ill-health.

That explanation was most pleasantly received, and it made us better friends than we had ever been before. The first note was returned, unread, as I desired.

One day, his little grandson, Willie Sprague, had disturbed his papers and mine also. He spoke to me on the subject, saying: "I suppose Willie sometimes puts you to some trouble." I responded, "Oh! no matter. I love children." He replied: "Dear little fellow! he may live to thank you, some day, for what you are now doing for his grandfather."

How affectionate the tone of that expression was, I have no power to intimate. The remembrance of that tone, those words, must dwell in my heart forever.

Here is a paragraph I find afloat in the press:

"An old friend of the late Chief Justice tells us an anecdote showing Mr. Chase's cleverness at repartee. While on a visit to the Southern States, after the war, Mr. Chase was introduced to a very beautiful woman, who prided herself on her devotion to the 'lost cause.' Anxious that the chief justice should know her real sentiments, she remarked as she gave him her hand: 'Mr. Chase, you see before you a rebel who has not been reconstructed.' 'Madam,' replied he, with a profound bow, 'you are so perfectly constructed that any reconstruction is altogether impossible.'"

Chase could say such things, and he could say them happily, in

manner as in matter, when his mood allowed. But he was very moody. I can well appreciate these words of Judge Hoadly, spoken in the elsewhere-mentioned public meeting, held on the occasion of the death of the Chief Justice :

"I have heard men call him cold and selfish. How little those knew him. When I first made his acquaintance he was reserved and taciturn, at the time a bereaved and disliked man, whose manners repelled rather than encouraged intimacy.

"But to his children he was the most loving father, and to his partners and his friends, to Gamaliel Bailey, and a little company of younger political sympathizers, he was then what, in after years, in sunnier days of his life, all men came to know him—the most genial, companionable, and agreeable of friends. I served him as student, as clerk, as partner, and as friend, and in the years of our intimate intercourse never missed the smile, the warm grasp, the encouraging and stimulating word, nor the more valuable aid of substantial service."

True, I could not say that the late chief justice ever was "the most genial, companionable, and agreeable of friends."

In an article contributed by Mr. Trowbridge to the magazine, *Our Young Folks*, is the following account of our hero's temper :

"He was a man of moods, and often appeared cold and stern to his nearest friends. To subordinates his manner was sometimes very imperious. He himself was not aware of this until, on one occasion, he noticed that his private secretary, to whom he was giving instructions in some unpleasant matter, appeared to lose all his wit and self-possession.

"'Are you sick?' Mr. Chase inquired.

"'No, sir,' was the reply; 'but you frighten me so that I don't know what I am about.'

"Mr. Chase at once saw his fault, and, with characteristic frankness and justice, thanked the young man for showing it to him, and promised to correct it. But sternness of temper was one of the strong traits in the Chase family, and it is not to be supposed that the late chief justice ever entirely succeeded in overcoming it."

An anecdote related to me by our hero himself bears some likeness to the anecdote so told by Mr. Trowbridge. But that Chase was not aware of his occasionally offensive manner toward subordinates, until that young man was so frightened into the confession that he did not know what he was about, is certainly a mistake. On the contrary, he told me that he had been long aware of the fault in question, and had greatly labored to correct it; that it seemed to be almost incorrigible; that it had given him great trouble and done

him great harm, and that he often astonished those who rebuked him for it by his meekness under their reproaches.

On page 69 of a diary, kept by our hero (date April 10, 1830), I find this note:

"Wirt, the attorney-general, when young, wrote a play, in which the most eminent practitioners at the Virginia bar are introduced. Among others, James Barbour, the late Minister to England, who was then remarkable for large, swelling, and ¹ — expressions, is represented as engaged in the conduct of a cause in the County Court. He has occasion to request the clerk to call some one into court, and thus addresses him:

" 'Mr. Jones, have the benignity to vociferate Peter Jolley into court.'

"Upon which, the clerk bawls out: 'Vociferate P. Jolley! come into court.'

"The court is convulsed with laughter, but one kindly informs the clerk that he has misapprehended Mr. Barbour's meaning, and the error is corrected. On the same occasion, he is represented as examining a loquacious female witness. At last, he loses all patience and exclaims:

" 'This woman ought to be deposited into taciturnity!'

"The woman, in a violent rage, retorts: 'You may go to Tass Eternity yourself, but I reckon you'll have none of my company, Mr. Barbour.'

"I mentioned this story to Mr. Wirt, and asked him if he plead guilty.

"He replied: 'I plead youth to it.' "

It would be difficult to plead youth to any error of our hero. In reviewing his whole life, it almost seems to me that he was young in boyhood only—that he passed at once from boyhood to the full maturity of manhood as to manners and ideas.

Here is a suggestive letter:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., *May* 24th 1864.

"DEAR SIR: I can not leave the department this afternoon without expressing my regret for what occurred this morning. You were warm and so was I. Provoking incidents, before you came in, had made me more excitable than common; and probably the case was the same with you. But I am sincerely your friend, because I believe you earnest, manly, and honest, and because you have given me, in my difficult position, a generous support, for which my heart thanks you; and I hate to have the shadow of unkindness between us.

Yours truly,

"Hon. John Conness.

S. P. CHASE."

¹ A word illegible.

While I acted as our hero's private secretary, I wrote many letters for him, generally but not always, under his dictation.

Many letters in relation to the fabled Chase estate had to be answered. At least, they were answered, whenever they inclosed a three cent postage stamp. And many letters asking very foolish questions were most courteously responded to.

Among the letters he dictated, may be mentioned one to the Lord Chancellor and one to the Chief Justice of England. That to the Lord Chaucellor ran thus:

"MY LORD: Will you honor me by the acceptance of a work in which we Americans take, as we think, a just pride? Edward Livingston was among our most illustrious jurists, and his works on criminal law and prison discipline, republished by the National Prison Association of the United States, are his most important contributions to the thought of the world on the great subject to which they relate. I offer them to your acceptance in the hope that they will prove not uninteresting to you, who have so largely contributed to jurisprudence. I learn from my brother, Swayne, that you have some thought of visiting the United States, and I beg leave to add my assurances to his of the great pleasure which it will afford to the members of the Supreme Court, and to the profession in general, to welcome you here. With profound respect,

"Yours, very truly,

"S. P. CHASE."

The letter to Chief Justice Cockburn reads, in part, as follows:

"MY LORD: Will you, whose devotion to the law has been so conspicuously manifested, accept from me a copy of the works of Edward Livingston on criminal law and prison discipline? These works are republished by the National Prison Discipline Association of the United States. They are the most important writings of their author on the subject to which they direct attention. They are the work of one of our most distinguished jurists; and we Americans take great pride in them.

"I can almost fancy I know you from the reports of my friend Mr. Evarts, than which no one could desire better."

To John Bright, the Chief Justice, on the 24th of March, dictated a note of introduction in these terms:

"MY DEAR MR. BRIGHT: I beg leave to introduce to you the Hon. Mr. Arnold, of Chicago, who desires very much to know you, and shares, with all of us Americans, our common admiration and esteem for you.

"He was an intimate and trusted friend of Mr. Lincoln, and I am sure you will be gratified by knowing him.

"I am very glad to hear of your recovered health, and wish that

my own was good. Unfortunately, for some years, it has not been what I could desire.

"With great respect and esteem, very truly yours,
"S. P. CHASE."

Many other letters I would like to offer here I have not space to present. But here is one I must not fail to lay before my readers:

"MY DEAR SIR: I thank you for sending me the proof-sheets in McConologue's case. The decision of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts was, in my judgment, unquestionably sound law.

"I am sorry to read the last sentence of your note to the case, that 'the practice in this commonwealth has since conformed to the decision in Tarble's case, 13 Wallace, 379.'

"My health did not permit me to give my views in that case as fully as I should otherwise have felt it my duty to do, nor to participate at all in the discussion in conference, of which, indeed, there was little or none before the opinion was written.

"Yours, truly,
"A. G. Browne, Jr., Esq. S. P. CHASE."

On the 24th of April, the Chief Justice received from Prof. Brown-Séguard what seems to me a very remarkable letter, dated on the 23d. It reads as follows:

"DEAR SIR: The amount of work I have at this moment on hand prevents my sending you the full information I had intended to convey as regards your mode of living and treatment. I have to leave New York to-day to go to Boston to deliver lectures at the Lowell Institute. On my return, next week, I will write you again; but, as I consider that it is essential that you should begin to be treated at once, I send you a prescription for a medicine which I hope will have a great power in diminishing one (and the principal) of the morbid states of your brain. Any great looseness of the bowels would be, or rather might be, increased by this medicine, so that if any cause acted upon you to produce a disorder of the bowels, you should stop the use of the remedy I prescribe. But you should resume it as soon as the bowels have become normal again.

"Believe me, with great respect,

"Yours, very truly,
"Hon. Salmon P. Chase. C. G. BROWN-SÉQUARD."

On Sunday, the 26th, the Chief Justice had been taking that remedy—I know not what it was—for two days. At that time, some "cause acted" upon him "to produce a disorder of the bowels." But, alas! he did not "stop the use of the remedy" so remarkably prescribed. I did not see him that day, though I generally passed some part of Sunday with him. On Monday morning, he told me of that disorder of the bowels, and I asked him if he had observed

the direction as to stopping the use of the medicine prescribed by Dr. Brown-Séquard. Somewhat excited, he said that he had not; and asked me if I had preserved the note. I answered that I had, and, getting it, read it over carefully to him. He seemed quite concerned, and said that he had entirely forgotten that direction.

From that time until he left Washington forever, he was very weak and notably disordered. He appeared more and more depressed from day to day, though he strove to be cheerful.

Then, he more and more revealed his amiable traits. Day after day, I grew more and more attached to him—I, who have been libelled all over the land as one disposed to trifle with his memory, to mortify his children, to take a morbid pleasure in exposing or acknowledging his foibles or his graver faults.

My only apprehension is, that the discerning may accuse me of too favorably judging the enigma in the life and character we have been viewing.

It was hard to see this man sinking, sinking, sinking, and to think the thoughts I could not avoid as to the medical treatment to which he had been subjected by Prof. Brown-Séquard. Think of it, discerning reader! Here is a great man in a most critical condition, prescribed for at a distance, and left to forget or to remember a direction, the importance of which it seems difficult to exaggerate.

Prof. Brown-Séquard may have been blameless in all this. His judgment may have been right—his practice right—but I can not rid myself of the thought, that, had our hero fairly trusted nature and let medicine alone, he might have been alive and tolerably well, this day.

His life had come again to be so beautiful, so noble, so entirely amiable and admirable, that I can not remember his last days without a sorrow, full of reverence.

He was at heart a real worthy. He idealized too many men, and he idealized some measures also; but in much the greatest number of his years, he labored nobly for the good, the true, the beautiful, as he discerned them.

I can not excuse some things he did, some letters that he wrote. His correspondence in relation to the Presidency is by no means creditable to his memory. But still I cling to the conviction, that he was a real worthy, if intention is the true and only test of worthiness.

On Thursday night, May 3, he dictated and I wrote as follows to his old friend, William Davis Gallagher :

"MY DEAR GALLAGHER: I received your letter, and would call upon Mr. Richardson, if I were well. I have written to him in the strongest terms, and inclosed your letter, which tells what might be done, and why, better than any verbal communication.

"We adjourned to-day, and I intend to leave, if well enough, for New York, day after to-morrow morning.

"Pardon my brevity. I am not well.

"Faithfully your friend,

"S. P. CHASE."

On speaking the words, "I am not well," the Chief Justice seemed completely overcome with an emotion that appeared to me self-pity, if I may use that expression. He did not at once dictate the following words of the letter. He arose abruptly, and, almost staggeringly, went into the parlor. After some time, he returned, "himself again," and dictated the conclusion of the letter. After that, he never seemed to me greatly depressed, though he appeared quite weak, and I regarded him as at the very door of death.

CHAPTER LV.

CHASE AND SUMNER—THE LAST DAYS OF CHASE—HIS DEATH.

MR. SUMNER called on the Chief Justice on the 2d of May. I was at luncheon with our hero when he went to receive the illustrious Senator. They met in the parlor; and, the door by which that room is entered from the hall being left open, as I went to the library (situated on the other side of the hall), I saw, as I passed, the large features of the visitor.

I had met Mr. Sumner in Ohio; but our acquaintance had not been kept up.

As I passed, his face appeared to me expressive of a very deep dejection. Neither he nor the Chief Justice was then speaking.

That was to be their last conversation on this earth.

After some time, they appeared at the parlor door, and, as they were about to come into the hall, I heard the Senator mention my name, and express his gratification at something he had, it seemed, just heard the Chief Justice say about me as his biographer. The Senator had a coarse, heavy voice, in keeping with his features; and the words here alluded to were loudly uttered. Then the Senator said, in substance:

"I would like to know Judge Warden. Possibly, I could aid him somewhat with some facts and some suggestions."

Not until after the death of the Chief Justice did I fully ascertain what Mr. Sumner had just said to his entertainer, and what the Chief Justice had just before said to his guest, touching my fitness or unfitness for this work. At my request, my nephew, Mr. Clifford Warden (correspondent of the *Boston Post*), conversed with Mr. Sumner on the subject, before I called on that gentleman. It was after I had heard my nephew's account of the statements made by Mr. Sumner as to his talk with the Chief Justice, on the subject under notice, that I first visited the Senator myself. And, having

then heard his account also, I feel warranted in saying that the Senator addressed the Chief Justice in this fashion :

"But is Judge Warden a *good* biographer? You want a *good* biographer. Can Judge Warden grasp¹ your life and character? If he can, can he then put on paper his conception, in such form that it shall be attractive to the reading public?"

It appears that the Chief Justice answered, in substance :

"I don't know, Mr. Sumner, that Judge Warden is quite up to your Massachusetts standard ; and I don't think I am quite up to it myself. But Judge Warden knows the people of Ohio, and they know him ; and I have always considered that the chief interest of the work on which he is engaged would be taken in Ohio "

Mr. Sumner, then, it seems, professed to be entirely satisfied, and expressed the wish I heard him utter, as already stated.

Hearing him express that wish, I walked out of the library into the hall, meeting the Chief Justice. He said : "Here is Judge Warden, now."

He then presented me to Mr. Sumner, and said, visibly embarrassed and almost confused :

"I have been telling the Senator some things about you. I told him you were forty years of age."

I said that if I was, indeed, so young, I must have a preternatural memory ; for I remembered him for almost forty years—that he must add nine years to the number he had allowed to me. I then said to the Senator that I had been pleased to hear him intimate that he desired to have me call on him ; that, indeed, in the interest of my biographic enterprise, I had been thinking of committing a sort of burglary on his privacy.

"Well, now," said the Senator, "I am glad to hear that, and I hope the burglary will begin very soon."

I promised that it should ; and then the Senator said to the Chief Justice, and the Chief Justice said to the Senator :

"God bless you! Good-bye!"

And so the great men parted, as it proved forever, as to all that is beneath the heavens.

After going in his carriage, driven by William, to the bank, and coming back to 601 E Street, the Chief Justice took me with him,

¹ Pronounced by Mr. Sumner *grawp*.

in his carriage, out to Edgewood. On the way, he said to me in substance :

"I am very glad that you have met Mr. Sumner, and I think it will be well to call on him as he suggested, and to be aided by him as he offered; though I am not certain that he can tell you much about me which is not already known to you. I have no doubt you understand my character and course of life much better than it has been possible for him to do. I have always admired Mr. Sumner. He is a much more learned man, and a much more scholarly statesman, than I have ever pretended to be; but he lived in Massachusetts, while I lived in Ohio; and he was an abolitionist, which I never was."

He then proceeded to discourse about his life at large. That brief, but full autobiographic utterance at least attempted to do perfect justice to the living and the dead. It more than ever bound the listener to the speaker. Yet, in some particulars, it seemed to me the product of a mere idealization of the Democratic party, and of his relation to that party.

It is not my purpose here or elsewhere in this volume to assail that party, or to advocate the cause of any other party. Many members of the Democratic party are endeared to me in many ways. This work, moreover, never was intended to do service as a partisan. I would but say, that whether the Democratic party ought to be preferred or treated with the opposite of preference, it never seemed to me that that party was rightly understood by Salmon Portland Chase, and this, in part, because, as I have intimated, he idealized that party and his own relation to its members and its tendencies. I can not think that he was ever really a member of that party, even for a moment.

At the time of that visit to Edgewood, it was expected that I would be much there during the ensuing summer. The Chief Justice, therefore, made known to his housekeeper, Cassy, that I was to be at home there, save as to the table—there was only to be a servant's table—while he should be absent, and that I was to have assigned to me there a lodging room, and this was designated.

I never actually occupied that room. In a few days, a great mistake or something worse than a mistake, was to undo that arrangement. I do not complain—I state; and I wonder as I state.

The leave-takings at Edgewood were most touching. I can not describe them. Cassy Vaudry's eyes were full of tears as she parted, as it proved forever, from the lord and master of the mansion.

Then we drove back to Washington. There were letters yet to write.

After dinner, several letters were worked off. But we had some talk about old times, and some about my biographic enterprise.

Again, no word about any other biographer! Again, no word about the biographic Schuckers.

"My chief" invited me to breakfast with him the next morning. I was with him as invited. I remember, above all, the kindness of his face and voice. He said but little; and not much was said by any one, though there were three ladies at the table—his old friend, Miss Susan Walker, and his relatives, Miss Moulton and Miss Auld. The conversation was not free, but it was not remarkably depressed.

Then came the time for parting; and his eyes were eloquent with feeling as he answered my parting salutation with a most affectionate "Good-bye!"

Here are his last words to his preferred biographer:

"NEW YORK, *May 4, 1873.*

"MY DEAR JUDGE: Please excuse my penciling, it is more convenient than ink.

"I had rather a cold and bleak ride yesterday, relieved by the comforts of a compartment, which I should call a box, but was rewarded at the end by seeing my children in good health and some of my grand-children.

"There is nothing changed in my personal condition.

"How do you feel now that I am gone? Relieved from my sick ways and utterances, or upon the whole, are you sorry to miss me?

"Remember me to Donn and Mrs. Piatt when you see them. I hope Mrs. Piatt has recovered from the shock and discomforts to which she was subjected by the fire. Tell Donn that I was disappointed by his non-fulfillment of his promise to Mrs. Sprague to call on me to say good-bye.

"Do you remember Dr. Brown-Séquard's note? Was it left among the letters of which you took charge? Please inclose it by return mail.

"I still propose going to Boston on Wednesday or Thursday, and particularly want the note. Faithfully, your friend,

"Hon. R. B. Warden.

S. P. CHASE."

In my answer, I said, among other things: "I miss you as a friend whose 'sick ways and utterances' have only endeared him to me more than ever; and I miss you, on account of my desire, as your biographer, to see you as much as possible, and to hear as much as possible from you, while the work referred to is in progress."

He was dying when that answer reached New York, and, in a few hours, he had ceased to live. That was on the 7th of May, 1873.

Of the last hours of the life we have been studying I can give no satisfactory account. The ill-will toward me which had been masked till then, now suddenly unmasked itself. I was, at once, offensively and studiously ignored, and, soon, I was insulted, very grossly. It was to a telegram from Mr. Sterne Chittenden that I was indebted for the only kindness that came to me from the scene of death.

Yet I endeavored to remember only my great obligations. Letter after letter, which I would most willingly submit to the perusal of my present readers, testified my earnest wish to be at peace with the daughters of the man who had so trusted, so respected me, in making me, in effect, his literary executor. But all my prayers for peace were scorned; and, very soon, the *New York Herald*, at whose instance I can only conjecture, told the public, in substance, that this work would not appear, in consequence of serious disagreements between the author and the surviving relatives of the hero.¹

Now, these facts appear to me not unimportant to the readers of this work as well as to its author. They are part of a strange history, a full account of which would fill a volume of decided interest. They appertain to a conspiracy, in which the surviving relatives of the Chief Justice appear to me, and have always appeared to me, as only the too ready instruments of a malice they had not the means of measuring, of fears they could not fathom, of designs which must have been imperfectly made known to them.

The body of this volume shows how many persons, in how many places, *might* have wished that the composer of this work had been less faithful, not so conscientious, not so fond of true biography and real history. I do not wish to say much more, at present, of the desperate but stupid plot against the very publication of this work. I think there never was such a combination of sheer stupidity with sheer desperation as that plot presented to my view. The stand-point of my observation of it enabled me to see, that if God would only spare my life, and give me health, for a few months, that stupidly desperate and desperately stupid plot must ignominiously fail. And, soon enough, without even seeking a publisher, I had a contract for the

¹ Here is the language of that ill-intended paragraph: "It is rumored that the work upon the life and times of the late Chief Justice, which was in progress with a view of speedy publication, by Judge Robert B. Warden, of Ohio, will not appear, in consequence of serious disagreement between the biographer and the surviving relatives of the Chief Justice."

publication of this work—the only contract ever made in that behalf; and the place of publication was the very place I had desired from the beginning—Cincinnati, namely, where the most creditable years of our hero's public life had passed, and where no libel could deprive the author of the reputation he had gained in public service and by private conduct.

Let me warn readers not to charge against the memory of Salmon Portland Chase the fair indications, yielded by the vile conspiracy just noticed. *He* desired no concealment whatever. All he had, in the way of biographic matter, he subjected to my examination and placed at my disposal; all he was, and all that he had been, he seemed to wish to show me, fully, and without exception or reserve. And, to the last, he showed that he had not lost that most precious of all possessions—self-respect.

But the conspiracy in question seemed absolutely infatuated. When the *Herald's* paragraph had rendered its nefarious tribute, other paragraphs were put into the same ignoble service. One of these was to the effect, that Mr. Hiram Barney was to write an elaborate biography of our hero, and that he had been *copiously furnished with material!* In every instance, the quite evident design was so to discredit and, if possible, disgrace the present work, that no publisher would venture to present it to the reading world.

The course of Mr. Sumner in relation to this work was most remarkable. He was an Eastern man, full of Atlantic prejudices and partialities. I would not have expected him to presume that *any* so-called Western man was fit for any literary enterprise whatever. Tolerably free, myself, from sectional aversion, I did not expect to find in him like liberality; but, I confess, his interference with the confidence reposed in me by the late Chief Justice, when the latter made me, in effect, his literary executor, somewhat perplexed me for some time; and, even now, it seems to me a thing of doubtful indications.

Very little does this volume owe to the aid he volunteered as has been told.¹ He showed himself a fearful egotist, when I conversed with him, as he invited. He could say but little about Chase without launching into talk about himself and his own senatorial exploits. I soon found that, though he said that Chase and he had, in the Senate, been as brothers, he could tell me very little about Chase which

¹ Ante, p. 802

I did not already know much better than he knew it. I own I could not learn to like him greatly. He appeared to me in every sense—in substance as in form—an egotist of the first water. His conception of biography appeared to me, moreover, colored by his own peculiar case—exceptional, unhappy, as it must have seemed, even to himself. He held up to me, as a model for my life of Chase, the life of Lord Eldon, by Twiss; and he talked to me about Talleyrand's private papers as though they could be regarded as analogous to those of Chief Justice Chase!

Ere long, I saw that I must not allow myself to be much influenced by Mr. Sumner in the composition of this work. He took, indeed, no exception to the specimens he saw of it; on the contrary, what he said to me, and what I heard that he said to others, about the indications of those specimens, was quite flattering; but soon I came to look upon him as having assumed a part that I could not permit him to perform without rebuke; and he more and more revealed pedantic tastes and notions.

He appeared to me an actor. There appeared in him but little of the simply natural. He seemed more English than American in his pronunciation, in his dress, and in his bearing.

Once I tried on him a rather hazardous experiment. I told him what the late Chief Justice had said to me, on the way to Edgewood, as related already.

It was quite distinctly that I enunciated to Mr. Sumner that communication. And I watched him closely as I slowly and distinctly uttered it, as just intimated. I confess that I was not surprised on finding how impatiently the Senator listened while I made that statement. He manifested great disturbance while I was proceeding. When I ceased to speak, he drove his hands deep down into the pockets of his gray trowsers, and stretched out his formidable length of person, while he said, in his coarse voice:

"I am astonished that he could have had such a notion! Really, now, I did not think that he could have fancied that the differences of opinion that divided us could have affected my account of him to you."

I said, replying:

"It appears to me, Mr. Sumner, that you do not notice the entire significance of what the Chief Justice said to me on that occasion. On reflection, you must comprehend, yourself, that the fact that he resided in Ohio, where I also lived, while you were always resident

in Massachusetts, must, more or less, affect the value of whatever you might have to say to me about his life at Washington."

The Senator had rather warmed toward me before I made that communication. Until then, he had apparently appreciated my determination to preserve due biographic independence. After that, he grew cold toward me. After that, in another conversation, he interrogated me as follows:

"Now, Judge Warden, let me ask you—mark! I only ask for information, and as a friend to all concerned—did you not intend, when the Chief Justice should have come back from Colorado, to submit to him your work, as far as it should then have gone; and does it not now appear to you reasonable that these children should expect to succeed to that supervision?"

Such, in substance, I am quite certain, was the question. And my answer, as I now remember, was in substance this:

"Senator, you shock me. In the first place, you shock me by the supposition that I ever had a thought of submitting my work to the hero of it; but you shock me still more by the supposition that, even if I could ever have intended to submit my work to *his* supervision, I could now think of allowing one or both of his daughters to succeed him in that supervision."

Here the Senator broke in with:

"I intended no offense. I only wished to ask the question—that is all."

"But, Senator," said I, "the question *was* offensive, I conceive, in spite of what you say was its intention. I am little known to you, sir; but I am not quite unknown in Ohio, where it would seem strange, indeed, that I could have stooped to play the sorry *rôle* your question indicated you considered not improper."

Mr. Sumner once more interrupted me. He said in substance:

"I perceive, now, that I was in error, and I beg your pardon."

Then I entered into a full explanation as to the impropriety of submitting any thing to be contained in this work to the supervision of the daughters, one or both; but told the Senator what, after the death of the Chief Justice, I had offered, in writing, addressed to the elder daughter, to do, in order to combine due accuracy with due independence.

I confess I had the feeling that the part Mr. Sumner had thought fit to undertake, had been, in effect, misleading toward all concerned.

He may not so have judged that part himself; it may have seemed to him simply the part of a friend to both parties; but it appeared to me, at the time, a part that no man should have undertaken to perform, in any circumstances whatever.

It is evident, at least, that it was well for this work that it so soon became relieved of Mr. Sumner's influence. Indeed, ere long, I saw that, painful as had been the manner in which it had been treated, after the death of its hero, by his family, I was thereby freed from another great embarrassment. Had I succeeded in persuading the daughters to regard my work with favor, would I not have been most fearfully embarrassed in the handling of certain material?

As to Mr. Sumner, I would not be understood to have found nothing in him to admire. Overrated as he was, in some respects; artificial, egotistic, and pedantic as he was; he had, undoubtedly, characteristic virtues in association with characteristic vices.

That this work might have been benefited, as to form, by greater intercourse and farther consultation with him, I do not deny. But, as to substance, I repeat, it would have been greatly damaged, had I suffered him to influence it considerably.

Doubtless, it will be severely handled by some critics, after all. I am prepared for every thing but self-reproach, in respect to its future. Self-reproach, respecting its contents, I could not bear; but that I have no reason, now, to apprehend. Imperfect as this volume is, I know that it has been composed with good intentions and with extraordinary care. In the circumstances (which have been extremely trying) I have done my best; and, so assured, I can not greatly concern myself about what may be said of it by reckless criticism. I allow myself to hope that it will be received with welcome by reviewers worthy of the name.

CHAPTER LVI.

CONCLUSION.

ALTHOUGH it had been known to the public for some time that the Chief Justice was not well, the tidings of his death quite shocked the public heart.

His obsequies, indeed, were very different from those of Lincoln. We have ascertained that Chase himself could comprehend that he had lived a very enigmatic life, especially with reference to party politics. By many of his old acquaintances, indeed, he had come to be regarded as almost a traitor to his old convictions and associations. It was not to be expected that his obsequies would be as had been those of our assassinated President, the very manner of whose death, while he was yet in office, had more than a little to do with the unmeasured tribute paid, in his obsequies, to his career and character. In Lincoln, the whole country venerated, for a time, a patriotic martyr. Chase's obsequies could not have been expected to resemble those of Lincoln.

Yet the work of eulogizing Chase, just after he departed from the battle-field of life, might have much deceived a young or a superficial observer. Really, it was, too often, artificial and extravagant. I felt that very soon I would have to make note of censures and disparagements instead of praises and glorifications. And it was not long till a portion of the press began to utter the anticipated censures and disparagements, one of the worst of which, as I remember, was in the *New York Herald*—the very paper which appears to have been chosen as the leader of the opposition to the undertaking of the work here offered to the public. But the very worst of all, perhaps (all things considered), was the elsewhere noticed article in the *North American Review* on the *Currency and Finances of the United States*. Two of the best articles ever published in that periodical were written by the pen of Salmon Portland Chase!

Perhaps, indeed, that almost savagely censorious article may now appear to its composer justified by certain revelations of this very work. For, judged uncharitably—judged in a censorious mood—the life I have endeavored to set forth is one which may be most severely censured, as to many of its actions and associations.

To suppress the revelations here in question would have been at once a great crime and a fearful folly. Other evidence of them would have hereafter come to light, and then the spirit in which that evidence would be regarded would distort its real indications.

The letter to Oliver Johnson, set forth in a foregoing chapter,¹ shows that our hero strangely deceived himself as to the attention he paid to self-vindication and self-exposition. He devoted quite too much attention to those things. He talked too much, and, above all, he wrote too much, in exposition and in vindication of his views.

His conduct toward Lincoln and McClellan I can not affect to view with admiration.

Jomini and our own Halleck have defined a comprehensive branch of martial art and science which might well be studied by civilians. My opinion is, indeed, and long has been, that not only every professor of the law, but every enlightened citizen, should be acquainted with a pretty comprehensive part of martial science. Therefore, when I entered on the composition of the work here offered to the public, I had read, not superficially, not narrowly, with the design of fixing in my memory some knowledge of the things which are of special interest to soldiers. Had John Hookham Fiere been better versed in military learning, he would not have so presumed toward the fated Sir John Moore. It is not the effect of thoroughness and depth in martial reading by a mere civilian, to dispose him to forget that here, as elsewhere, it is proper to respect the maxim, *ne auctor ultra crepidam*, or, as the Germans have it, *Schuster ! bleib bei deinem Leisten !*

Chase did not sufficiently respect the truth denoted in those proverbs. He presumed too much in judging men and measures of the martial order. He neglected duty in so doing. He was not, indeed, a mere meddler in taking that disproportionate interest in martial men and martial measures ; but he acted most unwisely when he took that ill-regulated interest, as we have found it indicated in his diaries and letters.

¹ Ante, p.

Doubtless, to the average reader, the matter of a martial cast presented by this work, as drawn from Secretary Chase's diaries and letters, will afford more entertainment than any other matter here inviting the attention of the public. Even men devoted to arms as a profession may discover in that matter much to interest them. I have faithfully endeavored so to state the *facts*, that competent investigators of the matter here alluded to may form their own opinions, touching the responsibility of Secretary Chase to history for what he did and said, and *recorded in his diaries*, respecting the rise and fall of generals and other martial figures, during his connection with the government as Secretary of the Treasury.

And how as to his purely economic views and actions? How as to his conduct and ideas as a financier? Do I presume to speak, as if judicially, respecting his characteristics and his course as keeper of the public treasure and adviser of the Congress and the President respecting ways and means?

About the rushing in of fools, where angels would at least go slowly, we have heard and read more than a little.

I have felt disposed, throughout, to bear in mind how easy it is to fall into pernicious errors in political economy. The contents of those portions of my work which manifest its hero's economic views and actions, stimulated me to new and deeper studies in the department of literature devoted to the science that professes to supply to economic art its necessary precepts; but they also warned me to abstain from the dogmatical in treating of the way to wealth for nations. It is not dogmatically, therefore, that I repeat that, in my judgment, Chase was not, in theory or in practice, a great financier.

On the 30th of March, 1870, he wrote to a committee of correspondence of colored Cincinnatians a letter, in the course of which he said:

"Almost a quarter of a century has passed since some of you, probably, heard me declare, on the 6th of May, 1845, in an assembly composed chiefly of the people whom you now represent, that all legal distinctions between individuals of the same community, founded on any such circumstances as color, origin, and the like, are hostile to the genius of our institutions, and incompatible with the true theory of American liberty; that true democracy makes no inquiry about the color of the skin, or the place of nativity, or any other similar circumstance of condition; and that the exclusion of the colored people, as a body, from the elective franchise, is incompatible with true democratic principles.

"I congratulate you on the fact that these principles, not then

avowed by me for the first time, nor ever since abandoned or compromised, have been at length incorporated into the Constitution and made part of the supreme law of the land."

That letter has relation to what seems to me the greatest *public* merit of our hero's life. I do not intimate, indeed, that he was always *right*, even in his agitation against slavery; he erred, I think, from time to time, even in that portion of his public conduct; but it was the truest, the least selfish, and the most nobly aspiring part of his relation to the country and the times in which he lived.

Incidental notice has been taken of Mr. Charles Francis Adams' far from measured eulogy of William Henry Seward. Incidental notice has been taken, also, of ex-Secretary Welles' expansion of his *Galaxy* articles about *Lincoln and Seward*. Weak as the last named work appears, as a defense of Lincoln, it is almost strong as an attack on Seward. But its *animus* is evidently bad;¹ and, after all, it clearly proves that, at least for some time, Lincoln *did* subordinate himself to Seward, as alleged by Seward's eulogist.

The sectional arrogance—nay, insolence—put by Mr. Adams into that eulogy, is not ill pointed out by Mr. Welles, whose work, indeed, is otherwise of real service to the interests of history. But the showing made by that volume being added to the showing here drawn from Chase's diaries and letters, there can be no reasonable question, that to Seward's influence the presidential life of Lincoln was, for a time, at least, too subject.

Lincoln yielded to Seward in not wishing to consult his Cabinet. He preferred to consult Sumner as to some things, Seward as to most; and he evidently did not relish Chase's disposition to concern himself more about the sword than about the purse.

We have seen² our hero's account of what Lincoln said to him, at Springfield, about Seward. We have seen how Lincoln combined with Seward to prevent due discussion in the Cabinet. In short, the revelations of this volume clearly tend to show that, while Mr. Adams may have exaggerated Seward's domination over Lincoln, Lincoln clearly was too greatly influenced by the man whom he evidently regarded as the premier of his ministry.

But does it follow that we are to look on Lincoln as a weakling? I think not. As well might we conclude that Washington was not

¹ This appears, I think, quite clearly on pages 46 and 86. But almost every page displays the disposition of the author to disparage Seward.

² Ante, p. 364

a really great man, because he showed too much regard for Alexander Hamilton, and was too much influenced by that predecessor of our hero in the treasury.

Not often has biography been brave enough to tell the simple truth. We must not judge either Seward, Chase, or Lincoln too severely. Any one by whom biography has been profoundly and methodically studied, must be ready to agree, that if either of the three distinguished men just named shall be faithfully compared with other famous characters, his title to remembrance will not thereby be annihilated.

Chase, we have seen, was a great student of the Bible. Did he study deeply, in the version he preferred, the words in the ninth verse of the thirteenth chapter of the Book of the Prophet Jeremiah? They read thus :

"The heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked; who can know it?"¹

Never was biographer more called upon than is the compiler of this work—for it is little more than compilation, generally speaking—to remember, constantly, that the heart, even of the most thoughtful, self-introspective man, may be its own deceiver and betrayer. Chase, at all times, I believe, supposed himself to be aspiring after none but worthy objects. Now and then, as in the case of

¹ I have not at hand the Douay version. Here, however, is the language of a French Catholic rendering:

"Le cœur de l'homme est trompeur et impenétrable; qui le connaît?"

A French Protestant rendering of the same verse has the words:

"Le cœur est rusé, et désespérément malin par dessus toutes choses; qui le connaît?"

But I have, "*Die Bibel oder die ganze Heilige Schrift des alten und neuen Testaments nach der deutschen Uebersetzung Dr. Martin Luthers*;" and here we have the words:

"Es ist das Herz ein trotziges und verzagtes Ding; wer kann es ergründen?"

Yet the German Catholic version, which is in my library, contains the sentence:

"Aller Menschen Herz ist böse und unerforschlich; wer wird es durchschauen?"

As already intimated, I prefer the Douay version and the French Catholic rendering; but learned preference may be the other way. Perhaps that of Luther may appear the best. However that may be, the world has long since accepted as a doctrine of the Bible that the heart may be deceitful even to itself.

"Unconscious cerebration" is the name given by some physiologists to the phenomenon of mental action that is not at all or but imperfectly self-conscious. Dr. Carpenter * is one of the explicators of the learning in relation to this topic, equally of interest to the psychologist as to the physiologist. But the most wonderful phe-

* *Human Physiology*, (Amer. ed.)

his indebtedness to Hiram Barney,¹ he was clearly wrong in act; but, even in that case, I can not think that he was wrong in purpose. Similar remarks appear quite applicable to his intimacy with the Cookes. But is it not quite clear that such a man was never fit for any other than judicial office?

In reviewing what I have advanced, here and there, about his judgments of persons with whom he had to deal, I find apparent inconsistency, resulting from occasional failure to express completely my ideas on the subject here referred to. I desire, in this final chapter, to retouch the theme.

In some circumstances, he formed very accurate conceptions of character. In other circumstances, he allowed himself to judge too favorably men whose want of worth he ought to have perceived quite clearly. Often, his desire to think well of a person overruled his judgment. He was very seldom disposed to judge severely. He discerned the good in character more readily than he discerned the evil in design and disposition. Jealousy and envy were almost strangers to his heart. Designing men, pretending to adopt his ethics, too often won his confidence, and involved him in apparent sympathy with their unworthy objects. How this damaged him, from time to time, some revelations of this work have very clearly shown.

He would, I think, have been a great Chief Justice had he not been worried out of due devotion to his high and holy office into almost silly presidential candidature. But the real glory of his life was in its private walks and ways, and in its persevering agitation against slavery.

In saying that, in my judgment, the great glory of his life was in its private walks and ways, and in its agitation against slavery, I do not forget that Salmon Portland Chase, for some time, seemed fanatical in the agitation just referred to. But there was admirable method in that madness while it lasted; and it lasted only a few years. Throughout, I think, it was inspired by conscientiousness and love

nomenon of unconsciousness is that which novelists and poets, as well as psychologists and physiologists, have long discerned in emotion, feeling, comprehending love as well as hatred, which is not at all or but imperfectly self-conscious. This phenomenon, it seems to me, was not unknown to the composer of that verse in Jeremiah's seventeenth chapter. Benedick and Beatrice are instances to prove that Shakespeare studied the spiritual phenomenon in question.

¹Ante, p. 557

of country. It drew out some of the finest utterances of the truly great heart and great mind we have been studying. And it was followed by a nobler agitation in the interest of freedom. This has been quite clearly shown in some of the foregoing chapters.

That he had the greatness of fine person, port, and presence, during much the greatest number of his years, will not be questioned. That he had an admirable mastery of words, in writing and in certain modes of oral utterance, is also not to be denied. That he had legal learning of a high order, I expect to be admitted by fair-minded readers. That he cultivated a high-hearted love of country, is quite evident. That his private life was pure, I am well satisfied.

In some respects, he was unfortunate. He would have seemed to me most fortunate, had he been undividedly devoted to his duties as Chief Justice. But, unfortunately, he was variously almost forced into presidential candidature, after he became possessed of his finest opportunity in public life. Thus, strange spectacle! in spite of his apparent fortunateness, he was really unfortunate—an object rather of compassion than of envy to discerning minds—while he was in the highest place he ever held.

The revelations of his diaries and letters are, it seems to me, of wonderfully various interest. Even if the final judgment of the reader should be, that the hero of this work does not deserve the credit I ascribe to him, it would not follow that the contents of this work should be considered unattractive. But I can not apprehend such final judgment.

A biographer of Goethe used these words:

“And, without wishing to excuse or to conceal faults which he assuredly had, we must always bear in mind that the faults of a celebrated man are apt to carry an undue emphasis; they are thrown into stronger relief by the very splendor of his fame. Had Goethe never written *Faust*, no one would have heard that he was an inconstant lover, and tepid politician. His glory immortalizes his shame.”

In some degree, the suggestions of these words are here of service.

Constant as a lover, Chase was never tepid as a politician; but I can not attempt to justify or even to excuse some features of his life.

Lewes also says, in his *Life of Goethe*:

“Merck said of him that what he lived was more beautiful than what he wrote; and his life, amid all its weaknesses and all its errors, presents a picture of a certain grandeur of soul, which can not be contemplated unmoved. I shall make no attempt to conceal his

faults. Let them be dealt with as harshly as severest justice may dictate, they will not eclipse the central light that shines through them."¹

I dare not say of Chase that what he lived was more beautiful than what he wrote. I think, indeed, that what he wrote was far more beautiful than what he lived. But I do say, and most heartily, that the life of Salmon Portland Chase, amid all its weaknesses and all its errors, presents a picture of intellectual and moral grandeur which can not be contemplated without wonder. I have made no attempt to hide those weaknesses, those errors. Let them be charitably judged; and let us pay the due attention to the central light of conscientiousness that, not uneclipsed at times, distinguishes his life at large.

And who among us feels entitled to uplift his voice in censure of that life? What famous European, what illustrious American, whose real conduct and true character are known to us, appears to have lived better than did Salmon Portland Chase, all things considered?

He appears to have been well devoted, in intention, to great causes, and, taken as a whole, the part he played in life seems clearly marked by beauty, dignity, and value.

In a private circular, intended to foreshadow some of the then intended matter of this work, appeared the since grossly misrepresented paragraphs:

"Let me carefully explain, before proceeding farther, that a special law of composition seemed to be dictated for observance in this work by this consideration, with some others: He whose life and times these pages undertake to make better known than they could be without the revelations here presented, having begun life as a 'literary lawyer,' never ceased, while life remained, to write much, and with rare mastery of words, in the expression of well-studied thoughts, relating to a great variety of subjects.

"Wherefore the special law of composition, dictated as just hinted, orders that the language of Salmon Portland Chase be put into the service of this tribute to his memory, whenever that is possible. In other terms, it orders that his words be used when that is not forbidden by the very nature of this undertaking.

"So may this work avail itself of superior style and diction, and so may the reader soon begin to see, as in a faithful glass, the man whose very physiognomy, as well as his distinctive traits and tendencies, these pages naturally wish to make familiar, just as soon as may be, to perusers of their revelations.

¹ *The Story of Goethe's Life*, by George Henry Lewes, p. 12.

"If, therefore, the judgments which the author of this work may from time to time express or imply about Salmon Portland Chase, shall seem to any reader false, each reader is to have at hand the means of forming his own judgment for himself."

But, after all, is it true that the writings of this man, who, in 1868, was not astonished that some good men found in him an enigma, yield a glass, deserving to be called a faithful mirror? Have I not already indicated my opinion, that what he wrote was far more beautiful than what he lived?

That saying of Merck about Goethe is not true. It is not true that Goethe's life was better than his writings. Neither life nor writings, in that case, deserved the praise they have received. However that may be, the language used by the present writer, about a faithful glass, as furnished by our hero's writings, clearly calls for some qualification, as this volume nears its final word. The glass in question yields rather an idealized likeness than a bare reflection. It must be corrected by the exercise of a judgment at once just and charitable. After all, we see in it a life and a character which form, together, an enigma, not to be interpreted in any single sentence. But this work at large, imperfect as it is, appears to its composer to have represented Salmon Portland Chase, with his imperfections and his virtues, with his greatness and his weakness, with the sins he committed and the good deeds he performed, just as they were; and so it leaves him to the proper judgment of these times and of the times to come.

APPENDIX.

NOTE A.

THE following is extracted from a letter to Chief Justice Chase from Mr. Newby Chase :

" You requested me to write to your daughter, Mrs. Sprague, at Paris, which I did without delay, and directed to the care of John Monroe & Co., Bankers, Paris. I also requested of her to drop me a line, that I might know she received it, but, never having heard since, I am afraid she did not get it, and, lest you should very justly consider me neglectful, I send inclosed a sketch of the arms, with an account of the family and name, as far as I could find it out yet. The ∇ on the shield is Saxon, but however that may be, the family, it is asserted, came first from Piedmont. I expect to find out the meaning of the ∇ yet, as there is a Lieutenant-Colonel Chase living at 8 Nottingham Place, Marylebone, London, W., and John Chase, Esq., 50 Upper Charlotte Street, Fitzroy Square, London, W., and a Miss Chase, Devonshire Place, London, W., from whom I expect to get information about it.

" I have a small book, entitled 'a report of proceedings in Ireland, relative to the Church of Ohio since the arrival of the Rev. G. Montgomery West, chaplain to the Right Reverend Bishop Chase, together with a list of Patrons and Donations as laid before the public meeting in the city of Dublin, 10th Nov., 1828.' It contains some letters from Bishop Chase to Sir Harcourt Lees, chairman of the meeting, etc., and if you would like to see it, I would forward it to you with pleasure, as I believe small books can now be forwarded by post to the United States for a trifle."

A letter to Mrs. Sprague from Mr. Newby Chase, Nov. 19, 1867, contains the following sentences :

"The family of Chase came originally from Piedmont, and belonged to the persecuted Waldenses who had to fly their country. Hamilton, in his History of the Albigenes, I think it is, mentions one of the name who accompanied a deputation to the Duke of Savoy to intercede for his persecuted subjects. Two brothers of the name came to England about the year 1654 or '5; took up arms under Cromwell, and for their services obtained estates in Ireland. One of these brothers settled in the County Wicklow, near a place called Limeahealy, where he got a confiscated estate; the other in the County Wexford, near a place called Bally Arnerd, where he also got a confiscated estate, and from which latter I am descended, and about the fifth in descent. One of the family from Wicklow emigrated to America, and lived in Boston, where he kept a hotel at the commencement of the war for Independence, and, taking the King's side, had to fly and come back to Ireland, where his wife followed him. They remained in Dublin until the peace, when they went back again and settled in New York, and I believe was the first of the name

in America. One of the same family settled in England, a great many years ago, in the Pottery District; married a rich widow there, and, after a few years, amassed a large fortune. He and his family used to communicate with their friends in Ireland until the Rebellion in 1798, when, I understand, all communication with them ceased; but I believe he had settled in London before that time. A Robert Chase, an uncle of my father's, kept a merchant tailoring establishment in Collingwood Place, Ratcliffe, London, a great many years ago; and some of the name, who, I have no doubt are branches of those families, are in respectable positions in England at the present time, but it is somewhat difficult to trace them where no regular record is kept. There is a Lieutenant-Col. Chase living at 8 Nottingham Place, Marylebone, London, W.; John Chase, Esq., 50 Upper Charlotte Street, Fitzroy Square, London; and a Miss Chase, Devonshire Place, London, W., who, I have no doubt, are of the same family, and I expect to get some information from them about the arms.

"The family in this country has dwindled down very much. I and my family and a few of the name who reside in the North of Ireland being the only ones of the family in Ireland at the present. The old people foolishly let their properties out of their hands, as many old people in this country did, 50 or 100 years ago.

"Underneath I send a rough sketch of the seal of the Right Rev. Bishop Chase, which, I believe, is the true arms of the family, as some old silver spoons which have been in my family for a great many years have the same crest.

"The shield is ensanguined, the Saxon F reversed, scroll blue and gold, crest a lion rampant, holding an T in his forepaws; motto, *Pro Christo et Patria*—For Christ and my Country.

"Hoping you will excuse this, I remain, Madam, very respectfully,

"NEWBY CHASE."

In a letter to the Chief Justice, Mr. Newby Chase, then at Blackrock County, Dublin, Ireland, said, on the 19th of November, 1867:

"I have just returned from the North of Ireland, where I and a daughter of mine have been for three weeks on a visit. I called to see all of the name in that part of the country, and they are not many; but every-where we were showed the greatest respect and kindness, and that by some I had never seen before, but who, like myself, would feel happy in meeting any one of the name. I will just relate an anecdote of the name, which I heard from my father forty years ago:

"A vessel arrived from England in the port of Dublin, a great many years ago, commanded by a Captain Chase. One of the name, who resided at that time in Dublin, hearing of the arrival of a name-sake, called to see him, and told him what brought him.' 'Oh,' says the captain, 'I am an English Chase, and don't know you.' 'Well,' says the other, 'I am an Irish Chase, and don't know you,' and was turning to go away, when the captain seized him, and said he should not leave him in that way, for he was surely a Chase. He made him go on board the vessel, and ever after they were intimate friends.' "

Surely, whoever knew the late Chief Justice long and well, saw in him a turn of temper not unlike that shown in these two Chases.

Here are extracts from a letter from the same pen:

"BLACKROCK COUNTY, DUBLIN, IRELAND, Nov. 19, 1867.

"HONORABLE SIR: I received your letter of the 17th of September, with the letter

of the adjutant-general inclosed, and I feel very thankful for your kindness in the matter. I am sorry that all efforts to find a clue to the sword and effects of my son have failed. It is too long since his death to expect to recover them now; but if I had the good fortune to have applied to you at the first, before the regiment was disbanded, I have no doubt you would have recovered them for me, and I would have them as a memorial of him. I received a letter a few days ago from Burlington Iowa, stating that Major McClure sold the sword, sash, and effects of my son, and has not made his appearance there since.

"I have tried to get the army list for the Western States, which was compiled and published immediately after the war—as it would show the engagements my son's regiment was in, his promotion, death, etc., but I have failed in this also. Mr. West, our United States Consul at Dublin, showed me one for the New England States, and promised me several times to get me one, but somehow or other he forgot it. The price is, I believe, one dollar; but it can not be got here.

"Hoping you will excuse this long letter, I remain, honorable sir, your much obliged, etc.,

"Hon. S. P. Chase, etc., Washington.

NEWBY CHASE."

Mr. Newby Chase thus appears to be a worthy bearer of his name. His interest in pedigree is by no means discreditable.

The book from which I have transcribed the foregoing extracts was furnished to me by the Chief Justice as part of the material for this work. It contains the memorandum, "See letters of Newby Chase for sketch of arms referred to."

It is not possible to pronounce with certainty upon the question as to the supposed origin of the Chases in Piedmont; but it would seem to me not improbable that the country, named from its lying at the foot of mountains, may have sent the earlier Chases forth, as indicated in one of the foregoing letters.

"Among the early settlers of New England," says the *New England Genealogical Register* for January, 1847, "were three persons by the name of Chase; namely, William, Thomas, and Aquila. The first settled in Yarmouth, and there died, in 1659, leaving two sons, Benjamin and William. The last two were certainly brothers, as appears from a deed given in 1667, by Aquila, to 'the sons of his brother Thomas.' The name is found in various places in English history, from the time of William the Conqueror to the present time. Thus, we find, in 1326, a family of that name in Suffolk; a Thomas Chase, who was barbarously murdered in 1506; a Sir Robert Chase, Knight, in the west of England, 1628; a Sir John Chase in Exeter, prior to 1637; a John Chase, Esq., Apothecary to Queen Anne, 1690, etc. See *Mayna Britannia*, *Lysson's London*, *Polwhele's Devonshire*, and other works.

"Thomas and Aquila Chase were among the first settlers of Hampton, N. H., in 1639."

Of Aquila Chase we know too little. He is set down by tradition, however, as a native of Cornwall, England, and tradition also fixes the year of his birth—it can not fix the day—in 1618. Bishop Chase assures us that the records of the town of Newbury, at the mouth of Merrimack River, prove that he was the first captain who, in a regular vessel, ever sailed into that port.

The Bishop adds, respecting Aquila :

"By reason of his nautical skill and enterprising character, he received an invitation from the inhabitants of that infant settlement to bring his family from Hampton, not far off, where they had lived a few years on coming to America, and make his home among them; and to insure his compliance, the '*selectmen*,' who acted as (what is called in other places than New England) a *town council*, tendered him the donation of several lots of land and some other immunities. He complied with their wishes and became an inhabitant of that then promising maritime village."

If the histories of men had had women for historians, would we have known so little of maternal ancestry?

Dudley Chase was, doubtless, a strong character. But Alice Corbett, I would say, was of yet stronger mold and temper.

Bishop Chase, her son, devotes a portion of one chapter and the greatest part of another to accounts of that heroic and devoted wife and mother. Under the title, *Story of the Pine-Apple*, he sets forth her relation of a series of facts which, he says, she "used to tell her children, to illustrate her abhorrence of the sin of covetousness—that sin which, by its idolatrous nature, calls down God's judgment on his people."—*Reminiscences of Bishop Chase*, I., 9.

Dudley and Alice lived in Sutton, Massachusetts, about ten years, and then moved to New Hampshire. When the family, in their painful journey through the woods, arrived at Fort No. 4, it was thought advisable that the mother and children should remain there for shelter and for their greater security from the Indians. To this arrangement noble Alice consented with the greatest reluctance, as she afterward related to her son, the future bishop.

"I shuddered," said she, "at the thought of being penned up with my precious bairns within the precincts of a narrow fort, rudely built for defense against savages, for a period of time I knew not how long; for it was sixteen miles up the river whither your father and his company of workmen were going, where the land was to be cleared and the crop for the approaching season was to be planted. But necessity is an imperious dictate, and submission was my duty. It was, nevertheless, a hard parting when your father pressed his babes to his bosom, and mine to his manly cheek, as he stepped into his canoe and took command of his little fleet of stout and cheerful men, both able and willing to subdue the forest and plant the virgin soil.

"It was some time in the early spring that this parting scene took place on the banks of the Connecticut River. The bud was then bursting from its wintry fetters; the birds were commencing their wooing songs, and the wild herbage sprang up all around me. Among these I wandered, admired their beauty, and inhaled their sweets; but all had no charms for me while your father was gone. I tried to banish my fears for his safety when I thought of his defenseless state and the proximity of the ruthless savage; for there was then war between France and England, and no fort between us and Canada. I also endeavored to seek refuge from my painful feelings in employment for myself and children; but our condition in the fort precluded the observance of regularity, and without that, little can be done. So much

mingling of contending interests, especially among a crowd of little children, bade defiance to all efforts for order or peace. Days seemed weeks, and weeks seemed months; and scarcely did a sun rise without witnessing my wanderings on the banks of the flowing stream where I had parted from your father and his blithe company of Cornish woodmen.

"It was in one of these walks that, with my children by my side, I saw, as the day drew near its close, a canoe coming round a point¹ of the river bank above me. I first thought of the approach of savages; but before I had time to flee, I recognized the well-known canoe of your father, and in it our trusty neighbor, Diah Spalding. My heart leaped with joy; and no sooner did the canoe reach the shore than the children were in it and on his knees; nor did they suffer him to stir till they had told him I was resolved that we should all return with him to their father in the woods.

"'Do you know, are you apprised, dear madam,' said he, respectfully approaching me—'are you aware that such has been our anxiety to put in a crop and plant the ground for the coming summer, that we found no time to erect the semblance of a house? I am come to tell you your husband is well, and all his men are well, and to obtain information of your health and safety; and to carry back with me a recruit of provisions for their comfort; but we have all slept upon the uncovered ground, and, as yet, have no place to shelter ourselves—much less you and your little ones—from the pelting of the storm; and will you venture with them into the woods before you are sure of a refuge?'

"'I will go, and, with all my children, endure any storm, if you will give me but a safe and speedy conveyance to my husband. If there be no shelter, or fence, or fort, his faithful arm will guard me, and his trusty men will aid him; and there God, who is above all, ruleth all, and directeth all, will provide.'

"A much smaller degree of sagacity than our neighbor Spalding possessed would have been sufficient to make him sensible that it was in vain to thwart a resolution so firmly taken; and the speedy removal once determined on, all the force of his ingenious and friendly mind was called into action to make things ready. Such goods as we needed least were secured in the fort; and such as the boats would carry, and we needed most, with ample provisions, were put on board; and the morning sun had scarcely risen ere the indefatigable exertions of Spalding and the assiduity of my children had made all things ready for the voyage. Spalding was a good canoe-man; and under the protection of the Almighty, in whom our trust was placed, the exertions of his strong arm and the industrious aid of my elder sons made our speed, though slow, yet unceasing; and, in time of war, ascending a rapid stream in a frail Indian canoe, we reached before night the little opening among the towering trees, from whence the spot of your father's choice appeared to our longing eyes."

Is the story long? The narrative of this devoted woman seems to me too brief. I can not bring myself to leave out one word thereof. It goes forward in this fashion:

"'There they are,' said the mingled voices of my children; 'there is our dear father, and yonder are his men; I hear his voice and the sound of their axes.'

"For a moment all was hidden from our view by the density of the intervening forest trees. This gave me time to utter what was laboring in my bosom—a prayer of faith and benediction.

¹ In the west, called a *bend*.

"God of our ancestors, bless your father and me, your helpless mother, and you, my loved children, now, even now, as we shall, in a few minutes, take possession of this our dwelling-place in the wild woods, and though, like Jacob, we have naught but a stone for our pillow and the canopy of heaven for a covering, may we all find God indeed to be in this place; and may this place be to us a house of God and a gate of heaven!"

"What a moment was this to one who had left all for her husband and the future fortunes of her children! The wealth of India would have been meanly estimated in comparison of the endeared spot before me.

"With your leave, madam," said pilot Spalding, "I think it prudent that your husband come to us, and give orders where he will have his family landed."

"Accordingly, he made fast the canoe to the willows, and desired us to await his return. Your father could get no direct answer from Spalding as to the nature of the cargo he had brought. 'Come and see,' was all he would say.

"Is all well?" said your father. "Have you brought us a good supply of food?"

"Come and see," replied Spalding, with animation, and in an instant they burst upon our view; and as your dear father stood on the margin of the high bank, he saw beneath his feet the frail bark in which were his wife and children. The emotion was almost too much for him. I saw this, and sprang forward, the children quickly following. He received us with a mixture of joy mingled with agony.

"Are you come to die here," he exclaimed, "before your time? We have no house to shelter you, and you will perish before we can get one erected."

"Cheer up, cheer up, my faithful!" said I, to your father; "let the smiles and the ruddy faces of your children, and the health and cheerfulness of your wife, make you joyful. If you have no house, you will have strength and hands to make one. The God we worship will bless us, and help us to obtain a shelter. Cheer up, cheer up, my faithful!"

"The sunshine of joy and hope began to beam from his countenance; the news was communicated throughout the company of workmen, and the woods rang with shouts at the arrival of the first white woman and the first family on the banks of the Connecticut River above Fort Number Four. All assembled to see the strangers, and strove to do them acts of kindness. The trees were quickly felled and peeled, and the clean bark, in large sheets, was spread for a floor; other sheets, being fastened by thongs of twisted twigs to stakes driven in the ground, were raised for walls, or laid on cross-pieces for a roof; and the cheerful fire soon made glad our little dwelling. The space of three hours was not consumed in effecting all this; and never were men more happy than those who contributed thus speedily and thus effectually to supply our wants. Beds were brought from the canoe to this rustic pavilion, and on them we rested sweetly, fearless of danger, though the thick foliage was wet with dew, and the wild beasts howled all around us, trusting in the protecting hand of Providence and the watchful fidelity of our faithful neighbors.

"The next day all hands were called to build a cabin, which served us for the coming winter, and in which, cheered by the rising prospects of the family and the mutual affection of all around us, my enjoyments were more exquisite than at any subsequent period of my life."

As one of the Cornish Chases, Alice is a character of great interest to this work.

And now let us look a little at the history of the so-called secession of Cornish and the fifteen towns associated with her.

Careful study of some paragraphs in De Tocqueville's *Democracy in America* might greatly aid examination of the tract of history about to be reviewed. According to that writer, there is a certain likeness between the *town* of New England and the European *commune*. Both he considers rather as the work of nature than as that of art. The *State* appears to him man-made, while the *town* and the *commune* seem to him God-made. It appears to me that in this respect, as in so many others, he draws considerably on imagination where it would have been better to confine himself to sober speculation. But, however that may appear, the paragraphs referred to are at least suggestively of interest,

Dr. Belknap says that "the inhabitants on the eastern side of Connecticut River were very conveniently situated to unite with those on the western side, and many of them had the same principles and views."¹ Another historian of Massachusetts tells his readers that "most of the settlers in that section were from Connecticut, and were more assimilated, in their manners and feeling, to the people of Vermont, than to those of the eastern parts of New Hampshire;" and he adds, that "they wished to form a State, whose center and seat of government should be in their own vicinity, at some town on Connecticut River."² But, however conveniently situated for association with the townships of Vermont, the Chases in Cornish and the dwellers in the western towns of Grafton County, did not vest their right to "secede" on such considerations.

On the other hand, the doctrine of secession at will appears to have had no part in influencing their action. They could not have been ignorant, that in the Exeter Convention, in January, 1776, the preamble of the proposed constitution was made to recite, that the British Parliament had, by many grievous and oppressive acts, deprived the colonists of their native rights; and that to enforce obedience to those acts of oppression and privation, the British ministry had sent a powerful fleet and army into this country, and had wantonly and cruelly abused their power in destroying lives and property. They must have known that, in the same preamble, farther recital was made to the effect, that the sudden and abrupt departure of the "late governor" of New Hampshire had left that colony destitute of legislation; that no judicial courts were open to punish offenders; and that the Continental Congress had recommended the adoption of a form of government; and that the convention thereupon proceeded to say: "We conceive ourselves *reduced to the neces-*

¹ Hist. N. H., II, 888.

² Whiton's *Sketches of the History of New Hampshire*, 141.

sity of establishing a form of government, to continue during the present unhappy and unnatural contest with Great Britain; protesting and declaring, that we never sought to throw off our dependence on Great Britain; but we felt ourselves happy under her protection, whilst we could enjoy our constitutional rights and privileges; and that we shall rejoice, if such a reconciliation between us and our parent State can be effected, as shall be approved by the Continental Congress, in whose prudence and wisdom we confide."¹ The Cornish men and the inhabitants of the other so-called seceding towns, moreover, must have known that, as late as March, 1776, the legislature of New Hampshire had not given up all hope of a satisfactory adjustment of relations with Great Britain. In the preamble of the then adopted plan of government, they said: "We shall rejoice if such a reconciliation between us and our parent State can be effected, as shall be approved by the Continental Congress."²

Cornish and the other "seceding" towns must have also known, that, in New Hampshire, on the 11th of June, 1776, a committee was chosen by the assembly and another by the council, "to make a draught of a declaration of the Independence of the United Colonies;"³ and that on the 15th of the same month "the committees of both houses reported a Declaration of Independence, which, having been unanimously adopted, was sent, by copy, to the delegates from the State in Congress."⁴ But they must have known also, that that bold paper based the claim to independence, not on the right of secession at will, but on the right arising out of British misrule.

The recital of the declaration here referred to is, in part, as follows:

"Whereas, it now appears an undoubted fact, that, notwithstanding all the dutiful petitions and decent remonstrances from the American colonies, and the utmost exertions of their best friends in England on their behalf, the British ministry, arbitrary and vindictive, are yet determined to reduce, by force and sword, our bleeding country to their absolute obedience; and for this purpose, in addition to their own force, they have engaged great numbers of foreign mercenaries, who may now be on their passage here, accompanied by a formidable fleet to ravish [*sic*] and plunder the sea-coast; from all which we may reasonably expect the most dismal scenes of distress the ensuing year, unless we exert ourselves by every means and precaution possible."⁵

It is not proper here to present at large the argument by which it could be shown, so easily, that thus far nothing like the notion of secession, causeless and capricious—nothing like the doctrine of the right to secede at will from a governmental union—found consideration in the town of Cornish. But it is proper to make some farther

¹ Belknap, II, 808, 809.

² Whiton, 133.

³ Barstow, Hist. N. H., 252.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

statements, touching the so-called secession of Cornish and her fifteen town associates.

We have seen how the *majority* in Cornish and the other so-called seceding towns could reason. Now, let Dr. Belknap tell us how the other side could argue. That delightful writer—whom one can not read without dearly loving him—relates as follows :

"In these sentiments, the people were not all united. The majority of some towns was in favor of their former connection, and in those towns where the majority inclined the other way, the minority claimed protection of the government.

"They supposed that the existence of their town incorporations, and of the privileges annexed to them, depended on their union to New Hampshire; and that their acceptance of the grants was, in effect, an acknowledgment of the jurisdiction, and a submission to the laws of the State; from which they could not fairly be disengaged without its consent, as the State had never injured or oppressed them."¹

The minority were not allowed to silence the majority, however. The historian relates, that the majority took "much pains" to "disseminate the new ideas." They resorted to the force of printed pamphlets and to public conventions, as well as to private agitation. A petition in the name of the seceding towns was addressed to the authorities of the new State which had assumed the name of Vermont. In this paper the petitioners prayed to be received by the State "into its union,"² and alleged "that they were not connected with any State, with respect to their internal police." At first, the Assembly of Vermont appeared to be against receiving them; but the members from the towns situated near the river on the west side now made themselves heard. They openly declared that they would withdraw and join with the people on the east side in forming a new State.³

It is quite clear that Cornish and the fifteen towns associated with her did not claim the right to nullify the legislation of New Hampshire. We have seen that, according to their views, the *town* remained intact, notwithstanding the effect of the revolution which put an end to British rule, but that, beyond the town, the inhabitants of the region in which they resided (namely, a region whose eastern boundary was a line drawn sixty miles from the ocean) were reduced to what they called "a state of nature."

The year before, the people of the "New Hampshire Grants," within the present territory of Vermont, had arrived at the conclusion that they, too, were reduced by the revolution to "a state

¹ J. Belknap's *Hist. New Hampshire*, III, 389.

² Such is the phrase used by Belknap. P. 389.

³ *Ibid*, 340.

of nature," leaving them destitute of government beyond the town authorities. They resolved to form themselves into a State. "A convention of delegates from the several towns west of Connecticut River met at Westminster early in 1777, which declared the said territory to be an independent jurisdiction by the name of Vermont, and made application to Congress for the admission of their delegates to seats in that body."¹

Dr. Belknap's account of the convention that framed the constitution of New Hampshire furnishes this interesting narrative :

"The inhabitants of the district on the western side of Connecticut River, which was severed from New Hampshire in 1764, had been engaged in a long and bitter controversy with the government of New York. They had even been obliged to have recourse to arms in defense of their estates ; and frequent acts of violence had been committed. There was among them a set of intrepid men, ready to encounter dangers, and trained to hardy enterprise. At the commencement of hostilities, by the advice of some principal opposers of the British government in the other colonies, a company of those people, styling themselves Green Mountain Boys, marched to Ticonderoga, and wrested that fortress, together with Crown Point, out of the hands of the British garrisons. A regiment of them was embodied by order and in the pay of the General Congress. Their exertions in the common cause were meritorious and their services were acceptable.

"Soon after the Declaration of Independence, the inhabitants of that territory assembled in convention to consider their peculiar situation, and concert measures for their safety. The opportunity which then presented for a change in their political connections was too precious to be lost. By the dissolution of the bonds which had held America in subjection to the crown of Britain, they conceived themselves free from the government of New York, to which the most of them had never voluntarily submitted; and being, as they said, reduced to 'a state of nature,' they thought that they had a right to form such connections as were agreeable to themselves. Accordingly, they made and published a declaration 'that they would at all times consider themselves as a free and independent State; capable of regulating their own internal police; that they had the sole, exclusive right of governing themselves, in such manner as they should choose, not repugnant to the resolves of Congress; and that they were ready to contribute their proportion to the common defense.' Under the influence of these principles, they formed a plan of government and a code of laws, and petitioned Congress to receive them into the Union."

The people of Vermont, on reference of the question to them, decided to admit the seceding towns of New Hampshire. Nay, the assembly of Vermont resolved that any other towns on the east side of the Connecticut might be admitted, on producing a vote of a majority of the inhabitants, or on the appointment of a representative.

Thereupon, Cornish and the other corporate "seceders" notified the government of New Hampshire of the political institution they

¹ Whiton, 185.

supposed themselves to have accomplished. They expressed, however, their desire to have an amicable settlement of a jurisdictional line, and a friendly correspondence.

In the name of the New Hampshire Legislature, the president of that State wrote to the governor of Vermont, claiming the sixteen towns as part of the State, the limits of which, he urged, had been determined prior to the revolution. He relied upon the facts, that those towns had sent delegates to the convention that met at Exeter, in 1775; that they had applied to the assembly of New Hampshire for arms and ammunition, which had been sent to them; and that their officers had accepted commissions from the government of New Hampshire, and obeyed the orders of that government. He pointed out, also, that the minority of the seceded towns was not only averse to a disunion, but had claimed protection of New Hampshire, which the assembly felt bound to afford; and he besought the governor of Vermont to use his influence with the assembly of that State to dissolve the newly-formed connection.

At the same time, the chief magistrate of New Hampshire wrote to the delegates of the State in Congress. He desired them to endeavor to bring about the interposition of the national legislature, and he did not hide his apprehension that, without that interposition, the sword must be resorted to, to end the controversy; since (to use Belknap's version of his letter) "every condescending measure had been used from the beginning, and rejected."¹

But the authorities of the new State of the "Green Mountain Boys" were not disposed to give up Cornish and the other seceded towns across the river. The governor and council sent a messenger to Congress, who was to sound that body on the subject, and to ascertain how Congress viewed Vermont. He found that Congress was unanimously opposed to the union of the seceders with the State, whose interests he represented, but, with the exception of the members from New York, had no objection to the independence of Vermont herself.

When the representatives of the so-called seceding towns took their seats in the next assembly of Vermont (which was held at Windsor, opposite to Cornish), they expected that the towns they represented would be formed into a county. They were disappointed. Debate arose upon the question, and it was decided in the negative. What then? Our plucky "seceders," "conceiving that they were not admitted to equal privileges with their brethren," made a new "secession." They withdrew from the Vermont Assembly, and

¹ Ibid, 841.

drew with them several other delegates, representing towns adjoining the Connecticut on the west side. A convention of the members so withdrawing was thereupon organized, which invited all the towns on both sides of the river to unite, and set up another State! They proposed to name the new formation New Connecticut.¹

According to Belknap, "this secession had nearly proved fatal to the State of Vermont." He adds: "A ridge of mountains which extends from south to north through that territory, seemed to form not only a natural, but a political line of division. A more cordial union subsisted between the people on the eastern side of the Green Mountains and on the eastern side of Connecticut River, than between the latter and those on the western side of the mountains; but these alone were insufficient, without the others, to make a State."

But the governor and other great men of Vermont, it seems, resided westward of the mountains. They became alarmed. They wrote to the assembly of New Hampshire letters, disapproving of the connection of Vermont with Cornish and its fifteen associates, east of the Connecticut. But the great men of New Hampshire looked upon these letters as ambiguous—as not expressing, clearly, disinclination to a *future* connection with our hero's native town and its associate seceders.

"Jealousy," remarks sage Dr. Belknap, "is said to be a republican virtue; it operated on this occasion, and the event proved that it was not without foundation."²

Cornish now becomes the scene of action. On the 9th of December, 1768, delegates from several towns on both sides of the river assembled in convention at that place.

At that time, Ithamar, the father of our Salmon Portland Chase, the brother of another Salmon Chase, a son of Dudley Chase, who still survived, and was to live yet many years, was a Cornish farmer.

And there was another Dudley Chase at Cornish, whom our hero was to know as uncle Dudley, and who was to be a great man in Vermont. This Dudley was to be Chief Justice of the Green Mountain State, and to represent it in the Senate of the Union. At the time that that convention met in Cornish, on the 9th day of December, 1778, he was nearly seven years of age.³ No doubt, he remembered the convention while he lived; and certainly his elder brother, Ithamar, the father of our hero, could have told the latter all about its action; and it is quite probable he did, though no evidence relating to that point has come within my knowledge.

Dudley Chase, the father of our hero's father, was a man of parts,

¹ Ibid, 341.

² Ibid, 342.

³ He was born in Cornish, Dec. 30, 1771

a figure of commanding interest, a character in whom, I am quite sure, the reader must feel lively interest. It is reasonable to suppose that he took decided part in the convention here referred to. But, on looking into the article, composed by "H. Chase, Esq.," under the title *Historical Facts about Cornish, N. H.*, and contributed by him to *Farmer & Moore's Collections*,¹ I find no mention of the name of Dudley Chase whatever.

It appears from that article, however, that Moses Chase, Esq., was chosen to represent Cornish in that convention. It was, no doubt, held in the meeting-house as ordered; and no doubt Moses Chase represented Cornish as a delegate in that assembly; but the evidence within my reach does not extend as far as I could wish.

It seems, however, the courageous, but perhaps, not very prudent little body came to the conclusion "to unite, without any regard to the limits established by the King in 1764."² In that year an order had been passed by the King in council, declaring "the western banks of Connecticut River, from where it enters the Province of Massachusetts Bay, as far north as the forty-fifth degree of latitude, to the boundary line between the two provinces of New Hampshire and New York."³ The Cornish Convention, having resolved to form a union, without regard to this royal limitation, farther resolved "to make the following proposals to New Hampshire, viz., either to agree with them on a dividing line, or to submit the dispute to Congress, or to arbitrators mutually chosen. If neither of these proposals were accepted, then, in case they could agree with New Hampshire on a form of government, they would consent that 'the whole of the grants on both sides of the river should connect themselves with New Hampshire, and become one entire State, as before the royal determination in 1764.' Till one or other of these proposals should be complied with, they determined 'to trust in Providence and defend themselves.'"⁴

To comprehend clearly the situation of these hardy people, it is necessary to bear in mind, that New Hampshire, east of the so-called seceded towns, was disposed not merely to resist their withdrawal, but to claim the towns on the west side of the Connecticut. The unsuccessful attempt made in 1779 to form a constitution for New Hampshire proposed, indeed, to define the limits of the State as "the same as under the royal government," but at the same time, the proposal contained the words, "reserving nevertheless our claim to the New Hampshire Grants, west of Connecticut River." Belknap,

¹ *Collections*, II, 153.

² Belknap, II, 342.

³ *Ibid*, 248.

⁴ *Ibid*, 342.

having so related, adds that, "though this form of government was rejected by a majority of the people, yet there was a disposition in a great part of the assembly to retain their claim to the whole of the grants westward of the river."¹

It is farther necessary to remember that the Cornish people and their associates in so-called secession had to consider the unabandoned pretensions of New York. That State set up a claim to the same lands west of the Connecticut. Belknap says "that it was suspected, not without reason, that intrigues were forming to divide Vermont between New Hampshire and New York, by the ridge of mountains which runs through the territory."²

The Vermonters were not to be outdone in *claiming*. Quite determined to maintain their young Statehood, they, to the end, according to Belknap, "that they might have the same advantage of their adversaries," set up claims extending westward into New York as well as eastward into New Hampshire. In consequence, not only Cornish and her fifteen associates, but several other towns in the counties of Cheshire and Grafton, assumed to be incorporated with Vermont by "articles of union and confederation."³

Local aspiration and ambition greatly complicated this remarkably suggestive controversy. Thus, the Vermonters westward of the Green Mountains wished to have the seat of government on that side of those heights, while the dwellers on both sides of the Connecticut wished to have the capital brought near that river; and the leading men of New Hampshire were in favor of retaining the center of jurisdiction where it was.

Congress recommended to the three States of New York, Massachusetts,⁴ and New Hampshire, to pass acts which should authorize the national legislature to determine the disputed boundaries. At the same time, the same body advised Vermont to relinquish jurisdiction over all *persons* on the west or east side of Connecticut River who had not denied the authority of New Hampshire; and to abstain from granting lands, or confiscating estates, within their assumed limits, till the matter should be decided. Massachusetts did not act as recommended; the Vermont assembly continued to grant lands and confiscate estates; but New York and New Hampshire passed the acts advised by Congress. Congress could do nothing, at that time, to end the controversy.

It was not till after discussion of the question whether the national assembly could, constitutionally, form a new State within the

¹ Ibid, 843.

² Ibid, 843.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Massachusetts, also, had claimed part of the territory now included in Vermont.

limits of the Union, that, in 1781, Congress laid down as an indispensable preliminary to the admission of Vermont, that that spirited community should "explicitly relinquish all demands of land and jurisdiction on the east side of Connecticut River, and on the west side of a line drawn twenty miles eastward of Hudson's River to Lake Champlain."¹

Vermont was not yet daunted. In October, her assembly, having met at Charlestown, stubbornly resolved to "remain firm in the principles on which" it "first assumed government, and to hold the articles of union inviolate." It resolved that it "would not submit the question of independence to the arbitrament of any power whatever; but it declared its present willingness to refer the question of jurisdictional boundary to commissioners mutually chosen, and made known that when Vermont should be admitted into the American Union, she would submit any such disputes to Congress."

Meantime, Cornish and the other towns which had "seceded" were not happy. Nay, according to good Dr. Belknap, they were "very unhappy." The minorities, respectively, were not disposed to submit to the control of the majorities, and the majorities attempted to compel submission on the part of the minorities. "At the same time and in the same place, justices, sheriffs, and constables, appointed by the authority of both States, were exercising jurisdiction over the same persons. Party rage, high words, and deep resentments, were the effect of these clashing interests;" and "an affray which began in the town of Chesterfield, threatened a scene of open hostility between the States of New Hampshire and Vermont."

A constable appointed by Vermont attempted to arrest an adherent of New Hampshire, on a writ in an action for debt. The defendant was with a number of people of his own party, and the owner of the house in which they were, interposed when the constable attempted to make the arrest. Thereupon the constable began to read from a book, which he said contained the laws of Vermont; but the owner of the house forbade the reading; threatening words ensued, and the officer retreated. This was followed up by the imprisonment, in Charlestown gaol, of the owner of the house and another of the resisters of the constable; and this imprisonment occasioned a petition to the legislature of New Hampshire for relief. The assembly of New Hampshire empowered the committee of safety to direct the sheriff of Cheshire to release the prisoners. In attempting to release the prisoners, the Cheshire sheriff was imprisoned by the Vermont sheriff, under the real or supposed authority of a warrant

¹ Belknap, II., 346.

² Ibid, 347.

issued by three justices. The New Hampshire sheriff thereupon caused application to be made, not for a *habeas corpus*, but for the offices of a New Hampshire brigadier, in raising the militia for his liberation. This fired the heart of the Vermonters; and the governor of the Green Mountain Boys ordered the Vermont militia to meet force with force.

But now, pacific thoughts arising, a committee of Vermonters wended their way to Exeter, empowered "to agree on measures to prevent hostilities." Unfortunately, the arresting sheriff was of that committee of intending peace-makers. He was at once arrested, and thrown into prison, and there held as hostage for the release of the sheriff of Cheshire; and the assembly of New Hampshire issued a proclamation, allowing forty days for the people in the revolted towns to repair to some magistrate of New Hampshire, and to subscribe a declaration acknowledging the extent of New Hampshire to Connecticut River, and engaging that the subscribers would demean themselves peaceably as good citizens of the State.¹ At the same time, the same angry body ordered the loyal militia of New Hampshire, in all the counties, to hold themselves in readiness to march against the men of Cornish and the other residents of the revolted district.

The "revolted towns" did not apparently care much for these warlike demonstrations. Even after the committee of Congress, having under consideration the matter of Vermont, prevailed on General Washington to prevail on the governor of Vermont to prevail on the majority in the legislature of that State to relinquish the late extension, the revolted towns, including Cornish, still held out. They continued to hold out in some measure even after they were cut off from Vermont. At last, in 1782, they were induced to recognize the jurisdiction of New Hampshire, and their unbloody secession was no more.

At a meeting held in Cornish, May 31, 1783, William Ripley was chosen a delegate to sit in the convention to be held at Concord in June, 1783; and, November 27, of the same year, Moses Chase was chosen to represent the town in the General Court to be held at Concord on the third Wednesday of the next December.²

Here we see, in some respects, an adumbration of the fate and fortunes of the nullifying secessionists of our own times. But how many and how wide the differences between the attempt of the South to dissolve the Union in order to perpetuate slavery, and that enter-

¹ Belknap, II., 348.

² H. Chase in the before cited paper, *Farmer & Moore's Collections*, II., 156.

prise of the Cornish Chases and their associates, in the interest of what appeared to them a due regard for their autonomy, must be apparent to each reader.

Chase, perhaps, knew little of the facts just reviewed. He said to me nothing whatever about them.

In an extremely hasty notice of some pages of this work, a reviewer, who, it seems, supposed himself to be a friendly critic, represented me as knowing about as much of New England as a Kentucky farmer, who had never left his farm, might be expected to know of Yankee life and manners. It was the same hasty criticism that discovered in the author of this work a judge, seated on a high, infallible throne, pronouncing judgment on all persons and all things. I never believed in the infallibility of any merely human person in this world. I have not so spoken in this work as to justify any one in saying that my work is too judicially inclined. But I must say that my studies of American chorography, at large, have been far from superficial, far from narrow; and, also, that they have greatly occupied my leisure for more than a quarter of a century. My feeling for New England, *consequently*, is most kindly. I appreciate her virtues and her services, though I discern her weak sides and even her occasional misconduct. On the whole, I respect her people very highly; and, surely, I have endeavored, in this work, to manifest a due appreciation of our hero's obligations to New England, sometimes called the Scotland of America.

On the other hand, I would that I had more to tell about his obligations to the blood of Sandie Ralston and his gude wife, Jennie, born Balloch.

Jennie had, it seems, an inquiring mind. She was a black-eyed body, full of pluck and spirit. Once, it is related, she endeavored to initiate herself into the secrets of Free Masonry, in a decidedly irregular fashion. In the course of that remarkable adventure, she literally "put her foot in it"—her right foot, to wit, and the ankle—nay, the calf thereto belonging. Her right lower extremity slipped (it is said) through the ceiling of the lodge-room, at Keene, while the worshipful, mysterious lodge was in full session, her own gude man being one of the brethren present. Sandie (says tradition) put an instant end to all consternation by exclaiming, in substance, if not in terms:

"Yon's Jennie's leg! I'd swear to it among a thousan'. All right, brethren!"

Possibly, this anecdote (related to me by General Balloch) would be rather difficult to authenticate. I give it for what it may seem

worth; and it seems not quite improbable. If true, it may be deemed somewhat suggestive.

Very clearly, the disposition of tradition is to credit Jennie, the gude wife of Sandie Ralston, with the soul and body of no ordinary character. But I never heard her famous grandson even mention her. Perhaps, he had heard too little of her history. Or, perhaps, he did not quite appreciate her most distinguishing peculiarities. I do not think he ever studied character profoundly. Indeed, the body of this work, while it ascribes to him a various possession of true greatness, does not credit him with deepness as a thinker.

NOTE B.

In saying that I can give no satisfactory account of the last hours of Salmon Portland Chase, I imply no doubt of the reliableness of accounts given by the press. But, had things gone as I had reason to expect, I could have furnished an *original* account. As things are, I have to depend on borrowed matter, which I can not look upon as leaving nothing to desire.

One account says :

"Monday evening there was not discernible any shadow of the disaster so fast approaching. He seemed in usual health, and in very good spirits, although complaining of a little fatigue, and entered into animated conversation with the friends who were present. About ten o'clock, the usual hour for retiring, he said, 'Good-night,' and left the room. These were the last words he spoke.

"On Tuesday morning, about half-past six o'clock, his servant entering his room found him sleeping quietly, with his hand under his face, as he habitually lay. On approaching the bed a few minutes later, the servant saw that the Chief Justice was seized with a spasm, and the features were convulsed, and a light foam appearing on the lips.

"His daughter was immediately summoned, and servants dispatched for medical aid. When the physicians arrived, the unconsciousness was found to have resulted from a recurrence of paralysis. . . . All efforts to relieve him proved unavailing, and it was evident that his vitality was ebbing away. Gov. Sprague and his wife, daughter of Judge Chase, were summoned, and arrived in the city last evening. His two daughters remained by his bed-side till 10.30 this morning, when he breathed his last.

"He remained totally unconscious from the time his condition was discovered until the end."

JW
17..

